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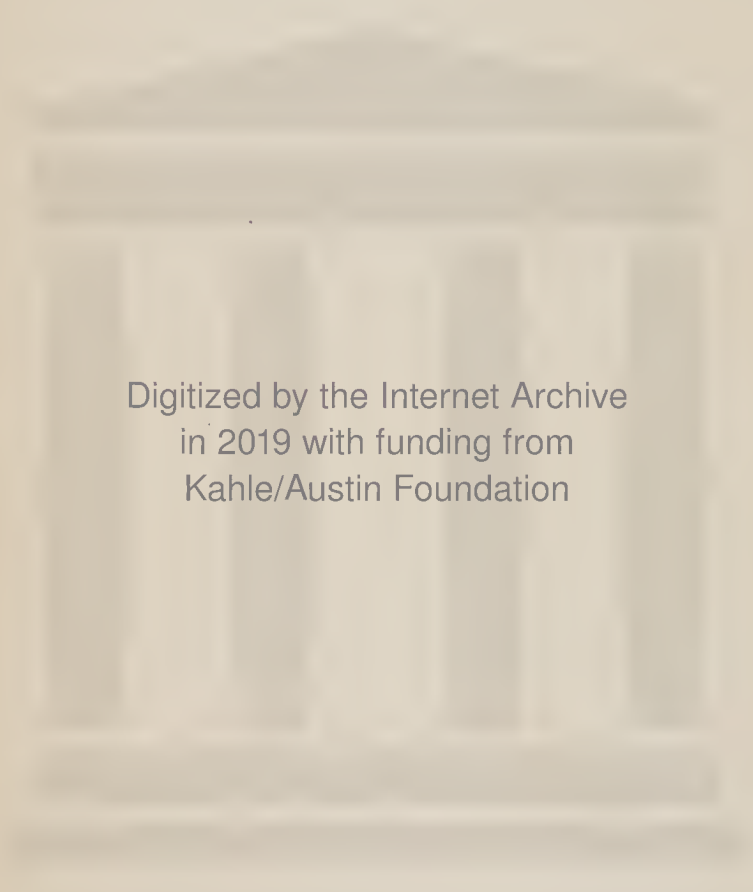
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THE
HISTORY OF CANADA,

FROM ITS
FIRST DISCOVERY TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY
JOHN MERCIER McMULLEN.

THIRD EDITION,
REVISED AND GREATLY ENLARGED.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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ERRATA.

Page 22, note, for 1885 read 1888.

Page 57, line 22, for forty read *thirty years*.

Page 60, line 14, for people read *peoples*.

Page 188, line 39, for expects read *expect*.

Page 190, line 2, for were read *was*.

Page 237, line 16, leave out in reading the words *which was*.

Page 245, line 9, for wholly read *fully*.

Page 308, line 42, for eat read *ate*.

Page 433, line 29, leave out in reading the word *good*.

Page 447, line 34, for so read *as*.

Page 481, line 27, for was read *were*.

Page 504, line 32, for amount of money read *sum of money*.

Page 506, line 15, leave out in reading the word *Reptile*.

☞ Aside from the *errata* in both volumes, a few small errors, which in no way affect the accuracy of the text, and which the educated reader can readily detect and correct, had also their origin with the proof-reader.

THE HISTORY OF CANADA.

CHAPTER I.

UPPER CANADA FROM 1828 TO 1836.

THE GOVERNMENT OF MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JOHN COLBORNE.

IN pursuance of its customary policy, in the first half of the present century, a military man was chosen by the Home Government as the successor of Maitland. The new Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Colborne, was a distinguished soldier, who had won his major-generalship by many years of hard fighting and meritorious service. Born in England, and educated at Winchester College, he entered the army as an ensign, in 1794, while still a mere youth. For the ensuing twenty years he was present at a number of severe battles—in Egypt with Abercrombie; at Corunna with Sir John Moore; in the Peninsula with Wellington—and commanded the 52nd regiment at Waterloo, and a brigade during the ensuing march to Paris. Napier, the eminent military historian of the period, describes him as having “developed an extraordinary genius for war.” For his gallantry he was knighted by his sovereign—by Portugal, Austria, and Russia. He was afterwards created a peer of the realm for his services in Canada during the rebellion, and died a field marshal of the British Empire. But, if he had acquired great experience as a military man, his civil experience was of the slenderest description; and gathered as the lieutenant-governor of the Channel island of Guernsey, about half the size of a small Canadian township, with a population, at that time, of some fifteen thousand souls. His training, therefore, in state-craft and civil administration, was of a very limited character,

and he was almost wholly unfitted for the position of a constitutional governor, and knew little or nothing about the complex political element he had to deal with in Upper Canada. His blunt military honesty, his purity of intention, mainly constituted the sum total of his qualifications for civil administration. He arrived at Toronto in the first days of November, almost immediately fell into the expert hands of the Family Compact, and was moulded to their purposes, like potter's clay, by Dr. Strachan and John Beverley Robinson. Hardly had he assumed the reins of office when a committee waited on him to present a petition, on behalf of Collins, from a number of influential inhabitants of Toronto and its neighbourhood. The facts of the case were recited in detail, and he was asked to release the prisoner from his melancholy position. Colborne's reply was non-committal, but not wholly discouraging; and wound up by stating that he would enquire more fully into the matter. Although within the ensuing two weeks numerous facts in Collins' favour came to light, showing very clearly that his prosecution was a vindictive one, and his punishment altogether too severe, Colborne returned no answer to the petition he had received. On the 26th of the month Collins sent to the Lieutenant-Governor a fresh petition praying for his release, in which the desolate state of his young and helpless family, and the ruin of his business, his sole means of support, were most pathetically and forcibly described. Accompanying this petition were affidavits setting forth the admitted ignorance of one jurymen of the meaning of the word "malignancy," in the indictment of Collins, and forming the basis of its principal charge, and the fact that two other members of the jury had stated, before the trial, their determination to convict him. But all his pathetic pleading, and the extenuating circumstances in his case, did not move Colborne to an act of gracious clemency against the advice of his Executive Councillors. The petition of Collins was curtly refused, and he was told, with bitter irony, that at the expiration of his term of imprisonment any application he might then desire to make, as to remission of bail, would be taken into consideration. The *Freeman*, however, continued to be published, and Collins wrote a series of open letters to the attorney-general which reviewed the latter's previous career, and that of his party, with the most intense bitterness, and which added, in no small degree, to the prevailing excitement.

The new Parliament was convened on the 9th of January, and Marshall Spring Bidwell chosen speaker of the Assembly, 1829. by a majority of three over Wilson, the speaker of the former House. The speech of Sir John Colborne on the occasion was guarded in the extreme, and presents few features of importance. The division on the address in reply showed that the House was almost entirely a Reform one. One paragraph of the address was a direct censure on the Executive, apart from the Lieutenant-Governor. "We, his Majesty's faithful Commons," it urged, "confiding in the candour of your Excellency, and in your

readiness to recognise us as constitutional advisers of the Crown, do humbly pray your Excellency against the injurious policy hitherto pursued by the Provincial Administration ; and although we at present see your Excellency unhappily surrounded by the same advisers as have so deeply wounded the feelings and injured the best interests of the country, yet in the interval of any necessary change, we entertain an anxious belief, that under the auspices of your Excellency the administration of justice will rise above suspicion ; the wishes and interests of the people be properly respected ; and the revenues of the Colony be hereafter devoted to objects of public improvement, after making provision for the public service on a basis of economy suited to the exigencies of the country.” “It is less difficult,” said the Lieutenant-Governor in reply, “to discover the traces of political dissensions and local jealousies in this Colony, than to efface them. I anticipate that the principles of the Constitution being kept steadily in view, and the good sense of the people, will neutralise the efforts of any interested faction.”

Colborne's answer, like that of the Delphian Oracle, could be interpreted either way. The Reformers fancied it favoured themselves : they were soon undeceived. During the month of January the case of Collins was taken into consideration by the Assembly, and a committee appointed which made a rigid enquiry into its facts.—The attorney-general was examined at considerable length, and the two judges concerned, Sherwood and Hagerman, were summoned before the committee, but declined to answer its questions on the score of privilege. Several important facts, however, were elicited in favour of Collins, upon the strength of which the Assembly based an address to Colborne praying for the prisoner's release. But the Lieutenant-Governor was still inexorable, and refused to pardon him or even mitigate his penalty. “I regret exceedingly,” said he, “that the House of Assembly should have made an application to me, which the obligation I am under to support the laws, and my duty to society, forbid me, I think, to comply with.” The House retorted by a resolution to the effect, “that they had not merited the imputation conveyed in his Excellency's message, and that their request was not inconsistent with the due support of the laws and their duty to society.” The Family Compact rejoiced over the refusal to release Collins, but a general feeling of indignation spread throughout the country, and in the town of Hamilton the Lieutenant-Governor was hung in effigy. The exercise of clemency, on this occasion, would have done much to satisfy the people and make Colborne popular ; but the stern veteran preferred what he mistakenly deemed to be the path of duty to the acclamations of the crowd. The Assembly, meanwhile, did not relax its efforts to procure Collins' release ; and on the 12th of March agreed to an address to the King, praying that the royal clemency might be extended to him. Not much success, however, was expected from this proceeding as it was felt that the whole influence of the Executive would be adversely exercised with the

Home Government ; and the prisoner made up his mind to accept the inevitable, and serve out the full term of his imprisonment.—Contrary to expectation, however, the action of the Assembly proved effective, and Collins was pardoned. But the shadow of his prison house never afterwards left him. He returned to the world a sadder and a wiser man, and there was little to complain of in the *Freeman* afterwards. He continued to publish it until September, 1834, when he fell a victim to the cholera, and the *Freeman* died with him.

Having disposed of the Collins matter, the Assembly turned its attention to other business. In Upper, as well as in Lower Canada, Government still retained the casual and territorial revenues ; and these, in addition to a permanent grant of \$10,000, made several years previously, had now increased sufficiently to make the Executive completely independent of the Assembly, as regarded an annual vote for the Civil List. Strong resolutions were passed against this condition of things, and a firm determination evinced to acquire control of all the provincial revenues.*

An address was voted to the Crown, setting forth the impure administration of justice in the Province, and praying that judges should be made independent of the Executive, and Mr. Willis restored. With very trifling difference the Reformers of Upper Canada and the anti-Executive party of the lower Province now sought the attainment of the same objects, but for very different ulterior ends. One desired social progress and greater constitutional liberty ; the other embarked in the movement with a view to acquire power in order to make their Province more exclusively a French-Canadian colony.

During this session of Parliament, which terminated on the 20th of March, twenty-one of the bills passed in the Assembly were thrown out in the Upper House, which showed the little cordiality subsisting between the two bodies. Among the measures rejected in this way was an act repealing a former statute granting \$10,000 in aid of the Civil List. The Province now presented the unconstitutional spectacle of a Government requiring no moneys from the Assembly, and a Legislative Council of a totally different complexion from the popular branch of the Legislature. No restraint could therefore be imposed on the Executive by an annual vote of supplies. It was completely independent of the people.

The British House of Commons had scarcely recovered from the excitement consequent on passing the Emancipation Bill, when we find Lord Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby, presenting a petition there, from three thousand one hundred and ten inhabitants of Toronto, praying that judges in Upper Canada might be placed on the same permanent footing as in the mother country. “The peti-

* The public debt of Upper Canada at this period amounted to \$448,664. Of this amount \$300,000 had been contracted for the building of the Welland Canal.

tioners went on to hope," said he, "that they might have a *local* and *responsible* administration." And thus, for the first time, the question of "Responsible Government" in Upper Canada loomed distinctly on the public view, as the great panacea for its many evils. In Lower Canada, the popular party sought to carry out its purposes by having an elective Legislative Council, which it knew very well it could construct as it pleased. In Upper Canada the same party felt that if it had the Executive power in its hands, it could very readily coerce the Upper House into its measures. Unlike the French Canadians, it sought the triumph of constitutional principles and not of a race.

Towards the latter end of July, the elevation of the attorney-general, John Beverley Robinson, to be chief-justice, created a vacancy in the representation of Toronto; and, for the first time, Robert Baldwin, now twenty-five years of age, appeared prominently before the public as a candidate for the suffrages of the electors. Destined to fill a conspicuous position in the annals of his native country, he merits more than a passing notice. Descended from a respectable Irish family, the Baldwins of Summer Hill, county of Cork, his father, a medical man, emigrated to this country in 1798, while the Irish rebellion still raged, and settled in the township of Clarke, on Lake Ontario. The family subsequently removed to Toronto, where Robert, named after his paternal grandfather, was born in 1804. Here Dr. Baldwin discarded the practice of medicine for that of law. Of respectable abilities, and great integrity of purpose, he soon came to be regarded with much respect by the public, especially that part of it attached to popular liberty, and was chosen to represent the county of Norfolk in the Assembly. He died in 1844, six months after he had been called to the Legislative Council by his sovereign; and the eloquent pen of Francis Hincks paid a fitting tribute to his memory. "Our country has lost a friend," he wrote, "and will follow him as mourners to the grave. By the removal of one so worthy, so disinterested, so excellent, we have sustained a loss the magnitude of which it is difficult to appreciate, much more in this community to repair."—And the son was eminently like the father. No public man in Canada has ever commanded more general respect than Robert Baldwin; and his opponents, while combating his opinions or traversing his policy, bowed to his integrity and personal worth. Nor did he owe his great reputation to his popular manners, or the easiness with which he could move the multitude. Naturally of a mild and affable disposition, he rather shunned than courted the popular applause, and ever disdained to bend to those petty arts which inferior men find so indispensable to success in dealing with the public. To Robert Baldwin, Canada owes a perpetual debt of gratitude. An able lawyer, well acquainted with precedent, possessed of wealth which placed him alike above the breath of calumny and all temptation to profit by his position; of sterling honesty and singleness of purpose, he was the man precisely to

lead his country safely through a great constitutional crisis into an era of larger and more matured liberty. Eschewing the licence of extreme democracy on one hand, and opposed to unconstitutional Executive pretension on the other, he persevered in his efforts for Responsible Government—for a ministry based on a Parliamentary majority—until he met with the most ample success. Toronto did not hesitate to respond to his appeal, and elected him as its representative, in the room of John Beverley Robinson; ninety-two votes being recorded for him against fifty-one given to his opponent, a clever lawyer of the name of Small. Mackenzie supported Robert Baldwin, attacked the professional character of his opponent, and so got himself into a libel suit.

As the summer progressed, Colborne made a tour of the Province in order to become better acquainted with its people and its resources. Numerous addresses were presented to him, as he progressed from town to town, and settlement to settlement; but the honest old soldier was no courtier, did not evidently understand these kind of things, and his invariable blunt reply was, "I receive your address with much satisfaction, and I thank you for your congratulations." A censorious Assembly would find it a difficult matter to quarrel with a speech of this stamp. He had scarcely returned from his tour, when the hearts of the people were gladdened by the news that George IV. had not only directed the release of Collins, but also remitted the fine and bail imposed by the court, in response to the petition from the House of Assembly, which had found more grace with the King than in the eyes of his representative. Shortly after this event we find Egerton Ryerson issuing the prospectus of the *Christian Guardian*, a religious journal to be established in the interest of the Wesleyan Methodists.* It made the fourteenth newspaper then published in Upper Canada, and still progresses in an honourable and useful existence.

On the 30th of November the Welland Canal was formally opened for navigation, and sloops could now descend from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario. It was a gigantic work, undertaken when the Province was thinly populated and its people poor, and gave a great impetus to the progress of the country. It benefited northern New York equally with Canada, and gave a new impulse to the commercial prosperity of Oswego and Ogdensburg. The Rideau Canal, a work undertaken by the Imperial Government to connect the Ottawa River with Lake Ontario, and so form a safe military route from Montreal to Kingston, was now being pushed rapidly forward towards completion, and steamers would soon be able to ascend from tide water to the great lakes.

When the Legislature assembled on the 8th of January, the Lieutenant-Governor informed the House that not only had 1830. the revenue at the disposal of the Crown been sufficient to

* At this date the membership of this body in both Provinces was about 10,000.

pay the Civil List, but a considerable balance was now at its disposal. The Assembly, in its address, asserted its right to the control of the Imperial duties levied under the 14th George III., and to the disposal also of the other resources of the Province. It likewise expressed a solicitude for the purer administration of justice, and did not hesitate to ask for the dismissal of the Executive Council. "Gentlemen of the House of Assembly," said the General in reply, "I thank you for your address."

The legislation during this session was of a common-place description, and if the fact is excepted that forty bills passed in the Assembly were thrown out in the Upper House, there was little to distinguish it. Still some useful bills were placed on the statute-book. Among these was one for the long-expected remuneration of war losses; another for the repair of roads; and a third granting a loan for the completion of the Welland Canal, not yet entirely finished, some of the locks having given way.

During the earlier part of the summer there were few subjects broached to agitate the public mind, and in the rural districts the bulk of the people turned their attention to the formation of agricultural societies, and to the furtherance of their own welfare, aside from politics. The death of George IV., and the consequent dissolution of the Assembly, again produced political excitement, and the country prepared for a general election, which took place in the month of October. Its result showed that a new epoch had arisen in Upper Canada.

Prior to the war of 1812, what might properly be called political parties did not exist in the Province. The existence of a Reform Party proper cannot be traced farther back than 1820, when it had its origin in the endeavour to remove existing abuses, the desire to procure the promised grants of lands for the militia, and the agitation aroused by the advent of the eccentric Gourlay. During the next ten years, the line of demarcation between the Family Compact and the Reform Party was distinctly and broadly drawn. From the close of Simcoe's administration to 1820, the Compact had held a firm and almost unquestioned grasp of the administrative power of the Province. Receiving at times fresh accessions to its numbers, its members established themselves in nearly all the highest public offices, maintained a decided influence in the Executive Council, and by wielding the whole powers of government, and thus having the patronage of all the petty posts throughout the Province, they long preserved their influence in both branches of the Legislature, but particularly in the Upper House, where until the Union they continued to hold supreme sway. From Hunter to Colborne successive Governors,⁵ in their turn, either at once submitted to their influence, or were compelled to do so after a short and unavailing struggle. The Bench, the Magistracy, the high offices of the Church of England, were filled by their adherents, who were also numerous among the members of the Bar. By grants or purchase they had likewise acquired the bulk of the best

located wild lands, and were all-powerful in the chartered banks, in which they shared among themselves nearly all the offices of trust and profit.*

For a period of over thirty years, the prominent characteristics of the Family Compact party, had varied very little, if at all. Originally formed by the majority of the leading men of the U. E. Loyalist immigration, by half-pay British officers, and by other settlers of the same aristocratic pretensions, it continued to admit fresh accessions to its number of this description of persons only, and thus preserved its exclusive character. While it desired to acquire adherents among what it deemed the common people, it did so merely for the purpose of strengthening and perpetuating its own position, and carefully excluded them from its inner circle, and from participation in all real power. Devotedly loyal to the Crown, attached to monarchical institutions as the source from whence sprung its own oligarchical position, originally better educated, and possessed of more talent and more wealth than the rest of the community, it presented the aspect of an exclusive Tory school, long scouted in Great Britain for its illiberality, and consigned to merited political oblivion.

On the other hand, the Reform Party was at first composed of a part of the U. E. Loyalists, and the bulk of the immigrants from the United States who had settled in the Province, before the war of 1812, to escape high taxation and improve their fortunes. Many of the latter were shrewd practical men, familiar with the disputes which led to the American War of Independence, and soon desired a larger measure of constitutional liberty than existed in the land of their adoption. Few, if indeed any, of these had quitted the United States because they disliked their constitution; and not finding political matters suited to their wishes in this country, they naturally considered that a monarchical form of government must be necessarily arbitrary, regarded republican institutions as the only liberal ones, and desired to see them established in Canada. Up to 1826 this class of persons formed fully one-third of the Reform Party, and consequently in many of its movements a covert, though very guarded, leaning to republicanism can distinctly be traced. Like the Family Compact, it also betrayed in its political conduct a jealousy of the new immigrants, and a wish to maintain the powers of office, and the emoluments of the professions, in the hands of persons born or long resident in the colony.†

Subsequent to 1826 the large British immigration which poured continuously into Upper Canada, and which, in 1831, had swelled its population to over a quarter of a million, produced a complete change in political parties. While the recent immigrants took different sides in politics—while one class, among whom were a large proportion of the Irish Roman Catholics, ranged themselves on the side of Reform; and another class, which embraced the

* Lord Durham's Report, p. 56. † Lord Durham's Report, p. 59.

great bulk of Irish Protestants, stood up in partial opposition—all, as a rule, were decidedly British in their feelings and predilections, and had little sympathy with the republican institutions of the United States.

This immigration did not strengthen the Reform Party as speedily as it did its opponents. It had a more decided dislike to strangers, and as it considered it had still a majority of votes in the different electoral districts, it was unwilling to unite itself closely to, or avail itself of the aid of, Irish Reformers. On the other hand, the sturdy and independent conduct of Sir John Colborne made the members of the Family Compact tremble for their influence; and they saw that unless they obtained a majority in the Assembly, and thus showed that they were popular with the people, they could not long hope to preserve their influence in the Legislative and Executive Councils. They accordingly disguised their dislike of immigrants, and courted their support. But Irish and English Protestants were a well-informed body of persons—few who could not read and write; they loved constitutional liberty as a general principle, while they eschewed republicanism in the abstract; were not opposed by any means to rational reform; and had not forgotten the revolution of 1688, which freed them from Toryism of the extreme school. Hence, they did not now feel very much disposed to support the undue pretensions of the Family Compact. They had leaders of their own, too, who declined to be the tools of the men in power, and sought place and power for themselves; and who, if they served the old Tory party of Canada, expected that the old Tory party should serve them in turn. From these causes gradually arose the Conservative Party of Upper Canada, which soon absorbed the entire Family Compact in its ranks, or pushed it out of the way.

Thus we see that during the period between 1826 and 1831 the two great political parties of this country were completely reconstructed, and the republican element in the Reform Party reduced to a mere fractional proportion. For some years afterwards the causes which produced these changes were still at work. Immigration steadily continued to flow into Upper Canada from the mother country, and the great mass of the people were sincerely attached to constitutional monarchy. Settlers from the United States found every liberty they could desire, soon learned to pray for the Queen and constituted authorities, were fused into the great mass of the people, and, as a rule, became excellent citizens. After 1826 Reformers and Conservatives of talent and education poured into the Province from all directions. The press grew able and enlightened; both parties became more national, more patriotic, and more conducive to the development of rational liberty. The full force of progress and intelligence swept away monopolies and abuses one after another, and finally made Canada what she is to-day—one of the freest countries in the world.

From the circumstances just noticed, as well as from the fact

that several of the constituencies were desirous to try what a Tory Assembly (the Conservative Party not yet taking the lead) would accomplish for the country, the Reform Party, at the close of the general election of 1830, found itself in a decided minority. Toronto returned a member of the Family Compact in William B. Jarvis, and the elder Baldwin no longer sat for Norfolk. When the Legislature assembled, on the 8th of January, its opponents 1831.* were able to appoint a speaker, Archibald McLean of Stormont, from their own body, by a vote of twenty-seven to fifteen.

There is little upon the statute-book to distinguish this session, beyond an act granting £6,500 sterling in perpetuity to the Government, to pay the salaries of the Lieutenant-Governor, the three judges, the attorney and solicitor-generals, and the five Executive councillors, in return for the Crown ceding to the Legislature the control of the Imperial duties of the Province, now amounting annually to about £11,900 sterling. Thus one cause of public dissatisfaction was removed. The opposition press grumbled a good deal about not making the grant an annual one. But Parliament acted wisely, under existing circumstances, in meeting the liberal action of the Crown in a corresponding spirit.

Mackenzie had been excessively busy during the session, and was a deep thorn in the side of the majority. The House had scarcely well settled itself to business, when he moved a resolution denying the right of the Executive to appoint the chaplain. But three-fourths of the Assembly decided "that the question be not put;" and a subsequent resolution, that the various ministers of Toronto be requested to say prayers in turn during the session, met with no better success. In the course of the debate, Solicitor-General Hagerman threatened the House with confusion if it ventured to oppose the wishes of the Lieutenant-Governor, while Attorney-General Boulton likened its assumption to appoint its own chaplain to the assassin who gave exercise to the brutal forces of his nature in shooting down a man in the street; and the majority tamely accepted the illogical argument, and bowed like cravens before the menace. It was quite evident, however, that the Reform Party had lost its influence in the House, and that Mackenzie could not sway the latter as he had done in the preceding Parliament. He speedily sought to take his revenge, by moving for a committee of enquiry on the state of the legislative representation in the Province. It could not well be worse. When he rose to address the House in support of his motion, a collector of customs sat at his elbow; the speaker held the office of clerk of the Crown in the town of Cornwall; six postmasters occupied seats in the Assembly, which also embraced a sheriff, inspectors of tavern and distillery licenses, county registrars, and a revenue commissioner. Mackenzie forcibly urged that his colleague and himself,

* The census of the Province taken this year put the population at 235,064.

with the member for Lanark, represented a larger number of persons than fifteen other members ; that the House had more than one member whose whole constituency did not number thirty votes all told ; and that the county of York (for half of which he sat) contained more inhabitants than Hastings, Dundas, Haldimand, Niagara and Brockville. A majority of the whole House represented less than a third of the entire population, and if property were considered as an electoral basis, the matter would be still worse. His arguments so alarmed the Assembly, that it finally agreed to grant the committee asked for, on a vote of twenty-eight to eleven, and even allowed him to nominate its members, amid the applause of the spectators in the gallery—no unusual occurrence in those days. Nor was Mackenzie satisfied with this success, and now applied himself resolutely to harass the majority at every opportunity. Pension lists, fees, official salaries and rewards, were one and all assailed, and a stinging attack made on the management of the Bank of Upper Canada, even then in incipient preparation for its ultimate failure. Mackenzie insisted on regular returns of its condition being made public, and ultimately carried his point, despite the strenuous opposition of its solicitor, Attorney-General Boulton.

There was no repose for the Family Compact ; and the policy of Responsible Government, now clearly limned out by Mackenzie, began to settle its unpleasant shadows upon it. As the session progressed it became more and more furious, and determined to get rid in some way of the man who gave it so much trouble. The fact of his having circulated some copies of the journals of the House, was seized upon as constituting a breach of privilege, although reports of the proceedings were now constantly published in the Toronto newspapers. A select committee of enquiry, composed of the attorney-general, Allan MacNab and three others, reported that William Lyon Mackenzie, printer, employed to print the journals of the House, had abused the trust reposed in him, by distributing part of the same, for political purposes, among individuals not entitled to receive copies thereof. On this report MacNab founded a motion of breach of privilege, with a view to Mackenzie's expulsion. But this discreditable plot failed, the vote standing twenty against the motion, to fifteen for it, although the names of the attorney and solicitor-generals figured in the minority.

During the recess of the Legislature, Mackenzie was particularly active in the agitation for reform. In the middle of July he issued, in temperate language, a call for a series of public meetings throughout the country, to petition King William and the Imperial Parliament against the abuses of power by the authorities of the Province. He attended many of these meetings in person, and did not hesitate to assail the Family Compact even in its great strongholds of Brockville and Cornwall. The success of this mode of agitation was very great. The petition adopted in Toronto

became the basis of all the other memorials, in all of which a well-defined demand for Responsible Government found a place. In addition, the King was asked to give the Legislative Assembly the full control of all the revenues of the Province, and the disposal of the public lands; to permit the secularisation of the Clergy Reserves; the establishment of municipal councils, law reform, the power to impeach public servants, the exclusion of judges and clergymen from Parliament, and the abolition of the right of primogeniture. Each and all of these prayers have long since become the law of the land, to be transmitted as the heir-loom of freedom to posterity. The aggregate signatures appended to these petitions were nearly twenty-five thousand, a prodigious number, considering the sparse population of the Province, and the hostility of the Family Compact.*

The Legislature was again convened on the 17th of November, and for a brief space matters proceeded somewhat peaceably; but the majority had not abated its intense dislike towards Mackenzie, and merely awaited a favourable opportunity to wreak its vengeance upon him. The occasion sought for soon presented itself. A caustic article in the *Colonial Advocate* of the 24th of November, relative to the cavalier manner in which the people's petition for reform had been treated by the House, and another article in the issue of the succeeding week, reflecting, in severe and injudicious terms, on the character of its majority, on motion of James H. Samson, member for Hastings, and Hugh C. Thomson, proprietor of the *Kingston Herald*, were voted "gross, scandalous, and malicious libels, a breach of privilege; and that Mackenzie, having avowed their authorship, be called on for his defence." But, in the present temper of the majority, no defence could avail its victim; so, on the 9th December, the Assembly, acting as accuser, judge and jury, declared him guilty of libel, by a vote of twenty-seven to fifteen. Three days afterwards it followed up this action by declaring that his defence aggravated his original misconduct, and expelled him from the House, on a vote of twenty-four to fifteen, four of the official party purposely absenting themselves. During the debate Attorney-General Boulton, who acted as a sort of prosecuting counsel against Mackenzie, truculently described him as a reptile, while Solicitor-General Hagerman facetiously varied the description to a spaniel dog. Short-sighted majority! It was unwittingly digging its own grave, and converting the imprudent and erratic Highlander into a popular martyr, and the idol of the people. While the House still debated his case, public indignation rose to fever heat, and several petitions, numerous signed, were presented to Colborne, asking him to dissolve a body tainted with the worst vices of judicial partiality. On the day of Mackenzie's expulsion nine hundred and thirty of the petitioners proceeded in a body to Government House, to get his Excellency's reply. It was curt in the ex-

* Life and Times of Mackenzie, vol. i. p. 203,

treme, and was—"Gentlemen, I have received the petition of the inhabitants." But he was prepared to answer them in a still more stern manner, if their number and excitement should have led them into a riot. Artillerymen stood at the moment to their loaded guns, and the troops had been served with a double allowance of ball cartridge, and held ready for service at a moment's notice. But the crowd departed peaceably, and on their way to do homage to Mackenzie at his dwelling, stopped to hoot at the Parliament House, and then to cheer opposite the office of the *Guardian* newspaper, in which the pen of its editor, Egerton Ryerson, had warmly espoused the cause of their idol. The Family Compact quailed at these popular demonstrations in behalf of a man it dreaded so much; and in the House sought to make some amends for his expulsion, by voting an address to the Crown, praying that the Clergy Reserves might be sold, and the proceeds applied to the purposes of education. This was a large bid for popularity, and in the hope that it might not pass without effect, a new writ for the county of York was directed to be issued.

The election took place on the 2nd of January. Two thousand persons crowded to the polling place, the Red Lion Inn, to witness the proceedings. Forty sleighs escorted Mac- 1832. kenzie thither, and in an hour and a half after the poll opened, he had received one hundred and nineteen votes, while one vote only had been recorded for his opponent, Street, who now abandoned the hopeless contest. And then came the presentation of a gold medal, valued at sixty pounds. On one side were the rose, the thistle and the shamrock, encircled by the words, "His Majesty King William, the People's Friend:" on the reverse, "Presented to William L. Mackenzie, Esq., by his constituents of York, U. C., as a token of their approbation of his political career, Jan. 2nd, 1832."

But the majority of the Assembly had as yet learned nothing from experience. A vast crowd accompanied Mackenzie to the Parliament building, into which not a few forced their way, to hear a motion made and put for his second expulsion, while he still waited below the bar of the House to be sworn in. But the motion was lost by a majority of four. New cause for expulsion was found three days afterwards, in an article in the *Colonial Advocate*. This cause was merely an almost naked recital of facts. After a hurried and scandalous trial Mackenzie was now expelled a second time, and declared ineligible to sit in the existing Assembly. The excitement increased, and the Legislative Council also declared itself libelled by the *Advocate*, and prayed the protection of the Lower House.

Public meetings were now held in every direction, at which resolutions were passed favourable to the liberty of the press, and condemning the course of the majority of the Assembly. The Reform Party was thoroughly aroused, became willing to acquire all the support it could from any direction, and exhibited a decided

inclination to incorporate as many of the recent immigrants into its ranks as possible.

Towards the close of the session, a message from Colborne stated that it had been decided that the Church of Scotland in Canada had a right to share in the Clergy Reserve lands. But no action was taken upon it, and the Legislature was prorogued on the 28th of January. Seven days afterwards Mackenzie was again elected for the county of York, by an immense majority over two other candidates. He was now decidedly the most popular man in the Province, and was chosen to act as agent, by a large meeting held at Toronto, to support the petitions for the redress of grievances to be laid before the King. Some of these petitions prayed that a new Assembly be called, as the present members did not represent the people, that the Legislative Council be made elective, the Lieutenant-Governor removed, the Bank of Upper Canada prevented from becoming a moneyed monopoly dangerous to popular liberty, and that a favourable answer might be returned to previous petitions asking for a more equal representation, many of the borough towns being very small. The promotion of education was also prayed for, the proper expenditure of the public revenue, and the regulation of the land-granting department. All the evils complained of were capable of constitutional settlement, and afforded slender pretext for revolution. Unlike the Papineau faction, the Reform Party of Upper Canada had no disposition to hunt up new grievances as old ones were removed; and had no desire, as a general rule, to push matters to an extreme point, with an ulterior aim to a total independence of the mother country.—Mackenzie, after a narrow escape from being murdered, sailed for England in the month of April, and arrived there safely on the 1st of May.

The summer of this year was not distinguished by much political agitation. A numerous immigration crowded up the St. Lawrence to establish itself in the new townships, and swell the population of the Province. It was a sad season for the poor fugitive from fatherland. The Asiatic Cholera was sweeping with its deadly plague-breath over affrighted Europe, and decimating the terror-stricken passengers of the crowded and ill-ventilated emigrant ships. With the first sunny days of spring it established itself in Quebec and Montreal, the great outlets of Canadian commerce, and from thence passed up the St. Lawrence, and around the shores of Ontario and Erie, carrying death and dismay into all the frontier towns and hamlets of the country. Until the scourge passed almost entirely away with the cool days of October, the terrible word “cholera” stared at one continually from all the public prints, and mingled daily with the matin and vesper orisons of the prayerful.

The Legislature assembled on the 31st of October. In his opening address Colborne alluded to the rapid increase of population by immigration, the completion of the Rideau Canal, and the

almost complete disappearance of the cholera.* Mackenzie still continued absent in England, and was busily engaged in attracting the attention of the Colonial Office, now controlled by Lord Goderich, to the affairs of the Province. One of the first measures of the session was his third expulsion from the Assembly. But he was again re-elected by acclamation, no other candidate presenting himself, and on the same day the first political Reform Union of Upper Canada was organised, on a basis proposed by Dr. Morrison.

Five times, altogether, was Mackenzie expelled by the Family Compact majority of the Assembly, to be as often re-elected. The Home Government disapproved of its conduct in this 1833. respect. It was decidedly opposed to its Whig policy, to the principles of reform professed by the Imperial Parliament, and although averse to complying with all the prayers of the petitions, for which Mackenzie acted as agent, the latter had the satisfaction of seeing Attorney-General Boulton and Solicitor General Hagerman deprived of their situations for prominently aiding in his frequent expulsion. Hagerman, however, proceeded promptly to England, and soon procured his own restoration to office, while 1834. Boulton got a judgeship in Newfoundland, where he quickly embroiled himself with a large section of the population, and was finally dismissed from all employment by the Imperial Government.†

These occurrences added largely to the intensity of party spirit, and the agitation which they aroused reacted to some extent on the Legislature, which this year passed the long and much desired act making the judges independent of the Crown, and enabling them to hold their office for life, provided they conducted themselves properly. This act also declared both branches of the Legislature a competent court to try impeachments against judges, giving, however, a right of appeal to the King in Council. Thus one serious and long-standing abuse was removed, and the flagrant case of a Thorpe or a Willis could never again occur in Upper Canada.

The session closed on the 6th of March, and in a short time afterwards the Town of York, now containing nearly ten thousand inhabitants, ceased to exist. An Act of incorporation had been passed changing its name to the City of Toronto, and dividing it into wards, with two aldermen and common councilmen to each ward, who were to choose a mayor from among themselves. The election took place on the 27th of the month, and although the larger part of the electors had hitherto been supporters of the Family Compact, so great was the indignation at the treatment to which Mackenzie had been subjected, that a majority of Reform

* As a proof of the respectability of this immigration 300,000 sovereigns were deposited during the summer in the Bank of Upper Canada.—*New York Albion*, October, 1832.

† Seventh Grievance Report, p. 31.

candidates were returned to the council, to the infinite disgust of the opposite party, who had always regarded Toronto as its great stronghold. Among the aldermen elected were Mackenzie and Dr. Rolph. The latter had abandoned altogether the profession of law, owing to dissatisfaction with the unfair conduct of the judges towards himself, and was now engaged in the practice of medicine, and in lecturing to a private class of medical students, in which he was most successful. But he still continued to take a leading part at Reform meetings, and did his best to give practical shape to the Reform policy. Sir John Colborne had a high opinion of him, and urged him to found a permanent medical college, but without success, as he had fully made up his mind to re-enter Parliament when happier times came round ; or, perhaps he was even then dreaming of becoming president of the Upper Canada republic.— His friends had determined he should be chosen as the first mayor of Toronto, but as he chanced to be absent from the council when the election took place, and was said to be indifferent about the honour, Mackenzie became the choice of the majority, to the intense disgust of the members on the opposite side, who had decided to support Rolph as much the least of two evils.

As the first mayor of the City of Toronto, and the first, also, ever chosen in Upper Canada, Mackenzie did very little credit either to his friends or to himself. Instead of presiding over the council in an impartial and prudent manner, he constantly obtruded, upon its notice, his particular antagonisms, and sought to make political issues in every possible way, to the serious detriment, at times, of the city business. As a magistrate he was guilty of a number of indiscretions, and showed much pettiness, and even vindictiveness, of spirit whenever his sense of personal dignity chanced to be wounded. On one occasion he placed a wretched woman in the stocks, which still existed in Toronto, to the no small indignation of the public, with which he was fast becoming decidedly unpopular. During the summer he increased this feeling, in no small degree, by giving publicity to a private letter from the great English Radical, Joseph Hume, which unfavourably criticised Egerton Ryerson as editor of the *Christian Guardian* ; and characterised the proceedings of the Assembly, in expelling Mackenzie, “as events which must hasten the crisis that was fast approaching in the affairs of Canada, and which would terminate in independence and freedom from the baneful domination of the mother country.” The publication of this letter, or rather extracts from it, proved a very embarrassing matter, not only for Hume but also for Mackenzie. While it was generally regarded as an exceedingly improper act on the part of a mayor, and left him open to the accusation of being a rebel at heart, it led to a prompt disclaimer of any participation in his opinions by the Reform leaders, and the Reform journals, also, among which were the *Free-man* and the *Kingston Whig*. One newspaper correspondent, a Reformer, denounced Mackenzie as a self-acknowledged traitor,

and the secret abettor of a heartless conspiracy. Indignation meetings were held all over the Province, at which loyal addresses to the King were agreed to ; while the Methodist Conference, and other bodies, secular and religious, passed resolutions condemnatory of Hume's opinions, and forwarded them to the Lieutenant-Governor. At a public meeting, in Toronto, a resolution condemning Mackenzie was unanimously passed ; and although the support of his political friends enabled him to escape a similar censure in the city council, he was forced to listen to the most galling criticism of his improper conduct. He never afterwards recovered his former standing with the public, politically or otherwise ; and many Reformers lost confidence in him altogether. On reflection he evidently became sensible of the fact that he had acted most unwisely, and discontinued, in the following November, the publication of the *Advocate*. He afterwards offered himself again as a candidate for the position of alderman, but was defeated.

The general election, which took place in October, was productive of a greater amount of political excitement than had ever prevailed before on a similar occasion. The unlooked-for majority, which the Family Compact had acquired in the late Assembly, led that party to make great exertions to secure the same preponderance in the new chamber. Hume's letter, and Mackenzie's disloyal conduct in giving it publication, were made the most of, and formed a large part of the electioneering capital of the Family Compact candidates. But their past arbitrary course had lost them many friends, and it became evident, as the final struggle drew near, that their prospects of success were extremely slight. Mackenzie's conduct was very generally disowned by the Reform candidates, who, made wiser by past experience, now sedulously courted the support of the Irish Roman Catholics, as well as of all those recent immigrants who, they considered, were most likely to assist them, and exerted themselves so effectually that they secured a clear working majority of ten in a House of fifty-eight members. The County of York had been recently divided into four ridings, which returned four Reformers, among whom was Mackenzie, and, also, his subsequent rebel associate, David Gibson, a Scotchman born in 1804, and now a land surveyor, who resided some eight miles north of Toronto on the highway known as Yonge Street. Bidwell and Perry were elected for Lennox and Addington. Doctor Charles Duncombe, who also took a leading part in the rebellion, was elected for Oxford. He was American by descent, and resided a few miles west of Brantford. The County of Simcoe returned an extreme Tory, in a brother of Chief Justice Robinson, and an extreme Radical, in Samuel Lount, afterwards executed at Toronto for his share in the rebellion. His father was an Englishman, who had resided for a time in the United States, but removed with his family into Canada, in 1811, and settled in the township of Whitchurch, where he followed the profession of a surveyor. Samuel Lount had learned the trade of blacksmith in the United States,

and carried it on, for several years, at Holland Landing,* in connection with a good farm. He became a comparatively wealthy man, and was greatly esteemed by his neighbours, mainly composed of immigrants from the State of New York. Dr. Morrison of Toronto, a prominent Reformer, and afterwards involved in the Rebellion, was elected for the third riding of York. But the Baldwins, father and son, who cordially disliked Mackenzie, and deprecated his political ascendancy, had absolutely refused to stand for any constituency, and Rolph for some reason of his own kept locked up in his breast, in his customary secretive way, had followed their example.

The result of this election may be regarded as the last knell of the Family Compact. The moderate opinions of Sir Robert Peel's political school, in the mother country, had commenced to re-act on Upper Canada, and a new party which repudiated the extreme political doctrines of the Family Compact, denied its exclusive right to office, maintained that preferment should be open to all men of talent, and was not opposed to necessary measures of reform, while at the same time it was sincerely attached to British connection, was now rapidly rising into importance. This party disclaimed alike the name of Family Compact or Tory; and then, as now, called itself Conservative. Its principles differed as widely from those enunciated by the Family Compact, as the principles of the Reform Party of the present day differ from the extreme Radical and revolutionary theories of the Rolph and Mackenzie school of 1837-8, which would fain have merged constitutional monarchy into republicanism.

The Legislature met on the 15th January, and Bidwell was a second time elected speaker of the Assembly. This first 1835. session of the twelfth Parliament of Upper Canada was chiefly distinguished for its famous "Seventh Grievance Report," mainly concocted by Mackenzie and Dr. Morrison. This report is a temperate and truthful document, in which the impartial reader can find very little to quarrel with. After making due allowance for the natural desire to reduce political foes in public estimation, all lovers of rational liberty will admit that it exposes many grievances which required constitutional remedy; and a feeling of regret must arise, that any other than constitutional means were ever resorted to by way of obtaining redress. Twenty-one out of its forty-eight pages† were devoted to the question of

* Lount's two sons carried on this blacksmith's shop up to the rebellion, and were busy pike makers for the insurgents. In the autumn of 1836 an engineer officer and his assistants, on the way from Penetanguishene to Toronto, stopped at Lount's shop to have some repairs made; and was told the time was coming when the Tories would be put down. This was the first inkling he had of the coming rebellion.—*Vide Canada as it Was, &c.*, vol. 1. p. 236.

† This was the extent of the report proper. It was accompanied, however, by a large mass of other and very useful information of some 450 pages.

Responsible Government, to procure which the members of the Reform Party were now concentrating all their exertions, sensible that if they once could control the Executive Council the Legislative Council must speedily adapt itself to their views.

The great change which had taken place in the political opinions of the people of Great Britain, and the moderate and more rational tone which now began to pervade parties there, led to the supposition, in Upper Canada, that the High Church party could not much longer maintain its exclusive claim to the Clergy Reserve lands; and that, agreeable to the original statute setting them apart, they must be soon divided among other Protestant denominations, or diverted to the purposes of education. The Executive accordingly determined, while it had yet the power, to make provision for the maintenance of the Church of England. Fifty-seven rectories were set apart from the Clergy Reserves, and put in possession of ministers, with the view of giving them a personal interest in the lands, and thus, as it was supposed, preventing them from being ousted by legal enactment.*

This procedure produced among the opposition a large amount of ill-feeling towards the Executive, and a very violent spirit manifested itself on different occasions. In Toronto even the soldiers were tampered with,† but evidently more with the view of annoying the Lieutenant-Governor, who was greatly blamed for giving his assent to the rectory endowment, than with any ulterior design to rebellion.

During the recent session the Assembly had agreed on a petition to the Crown, setting forth the arbitrary conduct of the Executive, and the determined antagonism of the Legislative Council to popular legislation, and praying for redress. This petition was accompanied by the fullest documentary evidence, and in connection with the Grievance Report convinced Lord Glenelg, now Colonial Secretary, that public affairs in Upper Canada were in a very unsatisfactory state. The Home Government, after considering the matter, came to the conclusion that there was well-grounded cause for discontent in Upper Canada, that the Reformers were justified in some at least of their demands, and that reasonable concessions should be made to them. Acting on the advice of his Executive Council, where Archdeacon Strachan and Chief Justice Robinson still ruled supreme, Colborne appeared very unwilling to pursue a new and more conciliatory line of policy, or to make the concessions suggested. The Colonial Office, accordingly, and pursuant to his own request, also, now determined on his recall, and to appoint Sir Francis Bond Head as his successor.

* The Trinity Episcopal Corporation of New York acquired its property also from the Crown before the American Revolution, and still retains possession of it owing to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. The Canadian Rectory Endowments were also declared to be legal by the law Courts.

† Canada as it Was, &c., vol. i. p. 188-190.

CHAPTER II.

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS.

IF the reader will turn to any good map of Canada, and trace the course of the Upper St. Lawrence from Lake Ontario to the town of Cornwall, he will find that it forms the boundary line between the Dominion and the United States. Near Cornwall the line turns away from the river, at an obtuse angle, until a point about 120 miles due east of Montreal is reached, when it again trends northwards until it approaches, at Kamouraska, to less than thirty miles from the St. Lawrence. Within this narrow strip of territory, all situated in the Province of Quebec, and extending from Cornwall downwards for about two hundred miles, lie what is known as the Eastern Townships. During the Old *Régime*, this part of Lower Canada, with the exception of the settlements along the Richelieu and the Chaudière, remained almost an unbroken wilderness, and so continued until many years after the conquest. It was regarded as a protection against the inroads of the Iroquois and the English, and was only penetrated, at wide intervals, by Indian trails easy of defence, and a few partially navigable rivers and streams. During the "War of Independence" this wilderness proved an important barrier against invasion, and was traversed with much difficulty : and in the war of 1812, and the two succeeding years, it materially retarded the operations of hostile armies ; and proved an important factor in their discomfiture. During Haldimand's and Dorchester's administrations partial surveys were undertaken in this belt of country, and grants of land made to U. E. Loyalists and others. At an early period of the present century immigrants from the British Islands began to come in, and take up farms in the new townships. But their settlement, as a rule, was accomplished under much more difficult conditions than prevailed in the sister Province. There the English-speaking element was entirely in the ascendant. It came largely, at the first, from the United States, in the U. E. Loyalist inflow of 1784, and embraced numbers of men well-skilled in all

the mysteries of the backwoods, who thoroughly understood how to wield the axe, swing the scythe, build log houses, make potash and maple sugar, and all the other arts necessary to the comfort and prosperity of frontier life, and the thorough subjugation of the forest. Anxious to see the country around them well-filled with new settlers, and their own happiness and prosperity thus increased, these skilful backwoodsmen were only too glad of the opportunity to teach their friends and neighbours from the Old World, all the knowledge of wood craft and bush-farming which especially belonged to the New ; and in this way proved most invaluable helpers to every fresh immigrant who was willing to work. Deeds of mutual kindness, of neighbourly counsel and comfort, of Christian sympathy, softened, like a ray of gentle sunshine, the roughness of backwoods' life ; and drew the people more closely together. But in Lower Canada matters were less favourable for the British immigrant. Surrounded by a people of foreign race and foreign speech, who frequently regarded him with positive dislike, and looked upon him as an intruder, he had to battle with the wilderness unaided, and gather his needed experience as best he could ; a circumstance that often seriously militated against his ultimate success, and rendered it much more difficult of accomplishment.—Fortunate indeed was it for him, when some American backwoodsmen came, like a good angel, to make his home in the English, or Irish, or Scotch settlement, to become its schoolmaster in the mysteries of frontier life. The failures to succeed among the Old World immigrants in Lower Canada, owing to their unfavourable environments, were much more numerous than in the Upper Province, and many abandoned in despair the struggle with the wilderness, and essayed some other mode of living. In numerous cases, the Scotch farmers who possessed a little means eschewed the woods altogether, and purchased from the *habitants* their worn-out farms, which had become almost totally exhausted by continual cropping with wheat and oats and indifferent cultivation. Deeper ploughing, a proper rotation of crops, and a better supply of barn-yard manure, soon produced results which astonished the former occupants of these farms. Dull and non-progressive as the *habitant* was, and still much wedded to the rude implements of husbandry of the Frontenac period, he nevertheless could not shut his eyes to the benefits of good Scotch farming, so he gradually began to copy the methods of his Old Country neighbours by raising coarse grains and roots, by increasing his live stock, and by even seeding down an occasional field. As the tithes of the clergy were payable in grain they soon became alarmed at the turn matters were taking, and counselled their flocks to continue the cultivation of wheat like their fathers before them. A decision of the courts, however, establishing the fact that peas were grain, and liable to tithe, removed, in a great measure, the objections of the priesthood to Scotch farming, and the *habitant* was permitted to carry out his new ideas in peace. He had never taken kindly to the payment of tithes,

from the day that Laval first imposed them upon him much against his will, and felt grieved that he had to hand over a per-centage of his peas to the cure ; but there was no help for it, and he had to submit to the inevitable. At a more recent period he sought refuge from tithes in the cultivation of hay for the American market, to the no small depletion of his pastor's income, which led to a mandement from a bishop on his dishonest evasion of the payment of his just dues. But the passage of the McKinley Bill, by the Congress of 1890, proved a much more potent cure for the new evil than even episcopal censure.

While the archives of France teem with a vast official correspondence, and other historic memorials of the Canada of the Old *Regime*, the settlers who first did battle with the wilderness in the Eastern Townships have left few records behind them. They departed in sorrow from the land of their fathers ; crossed the stormy Atlantic in indifferently found sailing vessels ; and, after a tedious voyage, ascended the St. Lawrence to disappear in the forest. There they toiled on forgotten by the outside world ; there they lived out their day of hardship and privation ; there they died ; and there they were buried, sometimes on their own farms, sometimes in the little cemetery attached to a place of worship, rudely fenced with split rails, to prevent the roving cattle from desecrating their graves. If the dead one had prospered in his or her day and generation, a quaint headstone of Vermont marble told the place of birth and the time of death : but boards at the head and foot of the grave marked the last resting place of the poorer folk, who were much the more numerous at the beginning. But through the thick darkness shrouding the past of the Eastern Townships, one strong ray of light has recently penetrated. Within the present decade the Editor of the *Huntingdon Gleaner*, in a truly patriotic spirit, and with most commendable industry and perseverance, has applied himself to the collection of all the available memorials of the early settlement of the County of Huntingdon and the seigniories of Chateauguay and Beauharnois. During the progress of this enquiry old settlers were interviewed, old records consulted, and three years ago, as the result of his valuable labours, a generous octavo of some six hundred pages was added to the historical records of the Dominion. This book should be in the library of every Canadian who desires to make himself acquainted with the early annals of his native or adopted land, as the case may be.* In many instances the author gives the narratives of the old settlers, themselves, which pourtray with a simple power and pathos which nothing else could supply, their many trials, their many difficulties, the moving story of their checkered simple lives, their sorrows, their joys.

There was at first the flow of a U. E. Loyalist wave into Hunt-

* The History of the County of Huntingdon, and of the seigniories of Chateauguay and Beauharnois, from their first settlement to the year 1838, by Robert Sellar, 1885.

ington and Beauharnois, but on a limited scale when compared with the exodus to Ontario and the seaboard Provinces. Then a scattered Yankee squatter immigration next came across the border, which planted itself gingerly near the boundary line, as if in doubt how the unauthorised intrusion would be regarded. By-and-by Old Country immigrants began to make their appearance ; and then the war of 1812, and the fear of Indian raids, sent the American squatters and borderers into rapid flight, but to return again, in many cases, to their clearings, when the danger had finally passed away, and peace was restored, to find, however, that their second advent was anything but acceptable, and no small resistance to their squatter-right claims. The war had left its sting as yet behind, and more time was necessary for its removal. Two years of partial famine succeeded to the three years of bitter war. The summer of 1815 was unusually cold and backward. Snow fell in the Eastern Townships on the 14th of June, and the settlers planted corn with their overcoats on. Grain crops of every description proved a failure, famine stared the people in the face, and only for potash and lumber their condition would have been most deplorable. In the ensuing year the crops were also very poor. Indian meal rose to three dollars a bushel, flour to fifteen dollars a barrel, and hay to forty dollars a ton. Many of the poorer farmers kept their cattle alive by felling trees, and feeding them on the leaves and tender twigs.* In 1820 a number of immigrants—shepherds and farm-labourers, from Lanarkshire in Scotland, settled in Huntingdon. They knew nothing of bush life ; and over six weeks passed away in the unaided struggle to build rude shanties, which were so poorly constructed that during the ensuing winter the frost penetrated between the chinks, and the breaths of the sleepers froze as they fell upon their blankets at night. Separated from town and city by almost impenetrable woods, the new settler even if he possessed the money could not procure furniture. His Old Country trunk or box sufficed for his clothing, and answered also for seat and table. His bedstead was made from poles, picked up near his shanty, and fashioned into shape with the few joiner's tools he chanced to possess. His fire was made on the clay floor, with stones for andirons, and the green wood with which it was fed sadly tried the temper and the eyesight of his poor wife. Cloth of every kind was very dear, and the clothing of the family speedily became a matter of much difficulty. Men had often to face the keen blasts of winter in cotton shirts, and the women in print dresses ; and their suffering in consequence was very great. But, by-and-by, a few sheep supplied the necessary wool, and warmer clothing of rude texture became available.

Among the immigrants from Scotland were frequently to be found men who had mainly made their living there by smuggling, and they soon took kindly, in their new home, to their former

* Sellar's History of Huntingdon, &c., p. 132.

illegal occupation, but with much less danger of detection. Tea, tobacco, whiskey, and some kinds of dry goods, were much cheaper in the United States than in Canada, and when roads came to be made smuggling soon set in on a large scale. In winter long strings of teams, from Glengarry and Stormont, crossed the ice to Dundee and elsewhere to exchange grain and pork for smuggled goods. Even Montreal shared largely in this contraband traffic, and many of its wholesale dealers drove a lucrative business with the smugglers of the frontier.

The struggle with the forest was as little favourable to religion in the Eastern Townships as elsewhere. There were no clergymen, no churches, and the wandering lay preachers, who occasionally found their way into the frontier settlements, were lightly regarded. Many of the religious habits of the Old Land were wholly forgotten, or, at least, suspended for a time in the backwoods.—Sunday became simply a day of rest from hard work, and was usually devoted to idle lounging or visiting by the older people, to hunting or fishing by the younger ones. But the standard of morals continued good, despite the crowding of families in small log houses, and female lapses from virtue were of very rare occurrence. Cheap whiskey led to a good deal of difficulty at times, and intemperance was the most besetting sin of the Eastern Townships, as well as of backwoods' life in Upper Canada at this period. Like religion education was much neglected, and for many years the schools of the Eastern Townships were of the poorest character it is possible to conceive.

THE GOVERNMENT OF LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR JAMES KEMPT.

LOWER CANADA FROM 1828 TO 1837.

Lieutenant-General Sir James Kempt, selected by Sir George Murray, now Colonial Secretary, Huskisson having resigned, to succeed Dalhousie in the government of Lower Canada, was already well acquainted with that Province. During Craig's administration he had been quarter-master general of the army in this country, and came out hither again in 1814 as a general of brigade. His recent direction of the government of Nova Scotia had given him, in addition, considerable experience in colonial affairs. Great reliance was accordingly placed on his tact and prudence by the Colonial Office, which confidently anticipated that his administration would relieve it from the embarrassing position in which it was now placed by the unsatisfactory condition of things in Lower Canada.

In pursuance of the conciliatory policy now proposed to be adopted, Papineau, on the Legislature assembling in November, 1828, was confirmed in the speakership of the Assembly. Nothing was effected, however, towards arranging the financial disputes be-

tween the Crown and the Lower House, which again voted a Supply Bill in a manner which asserted its claim to the entire control of all the provincial moneys. The Supply Bill for 1829 was also voted in the same way, and both bills narrowly escaped being lost in the Legislative Council. Complaints continued to be made against judges, and Wolfred Nelson, returned for William Henry, protested against the conduct of Attorney-General James Stuart, his opponent at the recent election, as wholly unbecoming an officer of the Crown. Robert Christie,* the member for Gaspé, and chairman of the quarter sessions for the District of Quebec, was expelled the House, principally on the ground of his having procured the dismissal from the magistracy of members of the Assembly who had voted contrary to the wishes of the Executive. He was also accused of abusing his position as a member of the House, by making Government aware of the votes and conduct generally of the leading men of the opposition, a system of espionage which was voted to be a gross breach of privilege. He was subsequently re-elected several times, to be afterwards expelled, however, on every occasion for the same causes.

During the session grievance-petitions poured in from various quarters, which were referred to a committee appointed for their investigation. The report of this committee was adopted by the Assembly, and recommended the settlement of the financial question on a permanent and economical basis, the independence of judges, and their removal from political business, the proper accountability of public officers, a reconstruction of the Legislative Council to make it act more harmoniously with the popular chamber, the application of the Jesuits' estates to educational purposes, and the removal of all obstructions to the settlement of the country, particularly as regarded the Crown and Clergy Reserve lands remaining unoccupied in the neighbourhood of roads and settlements, and still exempt from the common burthens. This session was also distinguished by an act increasing the representation of the Province to eighty-four members, and giving to the Eastern Townships eight members, who were elected in the autumn under a royal proclamation which also sanctioned the measure.

During the ensuing session of the Legislature, financial matters remained in the same condition. The Governor informed the Assembly, that an act of the Imperial Parliament was necessary to give it the control of the casual and territorial revenues of the Crown, and until that right had been conceded no permanent arrangements for the Civil List could be made with constitutional propriety. He thus, under instructions from the Home Government, ignored the position, on this point, assumed by his predecessors. The Supply Bill voted for the year amounted to £62,250 sterling, but was nevertheless £7,500 short of the estimates, the Assembly having cut off several items, and among others

* Author of the History of Lower Canada.

the salaries of the chairmen of the quarter sessions for the Districts of Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec. The bill had a narrow escape in the Upper House, seven voting for it and seven against it, among whom was the speaker, Chief-Justice Sewell. He insisted he had a right to one vote as speaker, and to another vote as councillor, and thus managed to carry the measure. The legality of this procedure was very properly questioned. Several liberal appropriations were made for public purposes.

Although dissatisfied with the conduct of the Assembly, in not voting the entire amount of the estimates, Sir James Kempt steadily pursued his policy of conciliation. The magistrates dismissed by his predecessor were restored to office, as well as the cashiered officers of militia. He added new and more popular members to the Executive Council, and requested the judges to retire from the Legislative Council.* This the judges refused to do, although they promised to take no part in its deliberations.

So far Kempt's policy of conciliation had been fairly successful, and appeared to satisfy the majority of the people. But the Assembly still continued firm in its determination to obtain control of the whole provincial revenue. Meanwhile, an untoward circumstance neutralised, to no small extent, the efforts of Kempt to bring about a better state of things. The complaint in the petition of the French-Canadians to the King and British Parliament, as to the obstructive course of the Legislative Council, and the existing difficulties of the same character in Upper Canada, had led the Home Government† to ask the governors of both provinces for their opinion and advice in this matter. Sir John Colborne wrote to the Colonial Minister‡ that his Executive Councillors must necessarily reside at York, and could not afford to accept the position without holding some other office under the Crown. He admitted that the Province had a right to complain of the too great influence exercised by the Executive Council in the Legislative Council. The latter body consisted of eighteen members, of whom not more than fifteen were ever present at its meetings, and out of that number six belonged to the Executive Council, and four others held offices under the Government. He advised that the membership be increased, and the Executive Council excluded—a recommendation that, becoming publicly known, alarmed the Family Compact in no small degree. Kempt waited for more than a year before he gave his opinion to the Colonial Office.§ He stated that the Executive Council consisted of nine members, eight of whom held office under the government, and only one was a Roman Catholic. The Legislative Council consisted of twenty-three members. Of these twelve held offices under the Crown, sixteen were Protestants, and seven Roman Catholics. He did not consider it expedient to make

* Martin's *British North America*, p. 25. † Murray to Kempt, September 29th, 1828. ‡ Colborne to Murray, February 16th, 1829. § Kempt to Murray, January 3rd, 1830.

any change in the constitution of either of the Councils, but advised that the Legislative Council should be rendered more independent, by the creation of new members not holding office; and that judges, with the exception of the Chief Justice, should be excluded. He also recommended that the Assembly should have a representation in the Executive Council. These despatches, having been laid before the Imperial Parliament, were shortly afterwards published in the Canadian newspapers; and Kempt was at once placed in a very awkward predicament, and his position seriously compromised; the majority of his recommendations being in opposition to the aspirations of the French-Canadian leaders. He immediately demanded his recall, and being of a sensitive disposition was determined to leave the country as soon as possible. His successor, Lord Aylmer, arrived out on the 13th of October, and Kempt departed for England seven days afterwards.

Meanwhile, great social and political changes were taking place in the mother country. For the long period of some twenty-six years Lord Liverpool had been a member of one cabinet after another, and prior to his death, in February, 1827, he had stood at the head of the ministry for fifteen years. He was a man who possessed a wonderful faculty of government, and a profound knowledge of state-craft; and it was difficult to fill his place.—Great changes in popular opinion were now in progress, reforms of every description were demanded on all sides by the people, and the old period of class privileges and class exclusiveness was fast drawing to a close. The King, hoping to find another Liverpool in the Duke of Wellington, asked him in January, 1828, to form a ministry. The Duke applied to Peel, now the ablest man on his side of politics; and that astute statesman, to meet the exigencies of the times, formed a union cabinet, which pre-eminently distinguished itself by passing the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act.

On the 26th of June, 1830, after a reign as Regent and King for a period of nearly twenty years, George IV. departed this life at the age of sixty-eight. Like his ancestors, the first two Georges, he left his ministers and Parliament to direct public affairs; and, unlike his father, kept himself, as a rule, within the limits of a constitutional sovereign. His reign formed one of the most important and glorious epochs in the annals of the British Empire. But personally his life had been one of great opportunities wasted, and of perverted natural powers. The vices of his youth—the sins of his manhood, brought down upon him domestic misery, and the total loss of the respect and esteem of the people he had been appointed to govern. “He was indeed,” said Wellington, “the most extraordinary compound of talent and buffoonery, obstinacy and good-feeling,—a medley of the most opposite qualities, that I ever saw.” “*He* the first gentleman in Europe!” bitterly says Thackeray. “There is no stronger satire on the proud English society of that day than that they admired the last

George." So he was gathered to his fathers, and his brother, William IV., a gallant sailor and an honest and genial-hearted gentleman reigned in his stead.

With the new King came in stronger than ever, the agitation in England for Parliamentary Reform, and the success of which reacted most favourably on the Canadas, and eventually led to the removal of many existing abuses in this country. Wellington steadily set his face against reform, was beaten by a small majority in the Commons, and resigned. The Whigs returned to power, with Earl Grey as premier, and Viscount Goderich as Colonial Minister. The measure of Parliamentary Reform was eventually carried, despite a strongly adverse House of Lords, which, while it refused to yield to mob menace and dangerous rioting, bowed, at length, to the solicitations of royalty. Fifty-six English boroughs, of which six great peers controlled forty-three, were disfranchised by the Reform Bill. The borough of Old Sarum had only one elector, whose solitary vote returned two members to Parliament. Bramber with seven electors also returned two members. Dunwich, the seat of the first East Anglian bishop, had been almost entirely washed away by the sea, but it still had half a dozen electors left who returned two members for their share. In several cases, under ancient franchises, the mayor and aldermen chose the parliamentary representatives for the people at large. From time immemorial these rotten boroughs had been constantly put up to sale by their patrons, and brought large sums to them; while great cities like Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham, were left unrepresented. Such was the system which was so completely destroyed by the Reform Bill of 1832, and so tenaciously clung to by the Lords, as the great source of their own influence in the Commons. The Irish and Scotch Reform Bills speedily followed; a purer era dawned upon the British Islands; and there was now a promise of a better state of things in the New World also.

THE GOVERNMENT OF GENERAL LORD AYLMER.

Like so many of his predecessors the new Governor General was a distinguished military man, who had been crowned with honours for his gallant conduct on many a hard-fought field. He had little or no experience, however, in civil government; but as the Colonial Office had now fully made up its mind to direct the affairs of this country it was considered that a soldier would suit its purpose as well as any other person.

The general election, consequent on the death of George IV., had altered somewhat the condition of parties in the Assembly.—Out of the eighty-four members which now constituted that body, sixty were French-Canadians, the majority of whom had sat 1831. in the former House. The Legislature met on the 24th of January, and the Assembly again elected Papineau as its

speaker. The opening speech of Aylmer was very conciliatory in its tone. He alluded to the desirability of reforming the currency, stated that no instructions had been received from the Home Government touching the existing financial difficulties, owing to the absence of necessary Imperial legislation, and expressed the hope that a suitable provisional Supply Bill would be passed. He trusted that his efforts for the good government of the Province would be crowned with that success which he would endeavour to deserve. His blandishments, however, had little weight with the Assembly, which although making a courteous address, in reply, resolutely resolved to continue its former course.

Shortly after the commencement of the session, Aylmer, in accordance with instructions from the Home Government, announced, in a message to the Assembly, that a bill would be introduced into the Imperial Parliament, by the British ministry, securing to the Lower Canada Legislature the control of the Crown duties and other revenue, amounting to £38,000 sterling per annum, provided it guaranteed a civil list during the King's life, as had been done in England, of £19,000 a year. The timber duties, and other casual and territorial revenue, creating an annual fund of £11,231 a year, were to remain, however, at the disposal of the Crown. This offer was rejected by the Assembly, which on every fresh concession being made, appeared only more determined to obtain control over every branch of the public revenue, and now passed a strong resolution to that effect.* It next agreed to a series of resolutions detailing the several public grievances complained of. On these resolution petitions, to the Crown and Imperial Parliament, for redress were based, which the Governor was requested, by a deputation of the House, to transmit to England. This he promised to do, expressing a hope, at the same time, that they contained all the grievances sought to be redressed, and that nothing of the kind would be afterwards brought forward. During this session provision was made, for the first time, to pay members of the Assembly the expenses incurred in attending the Legislature.

As the year progressed, the newspaper, *Le Canadien*, which had given so much trouble to Sir James H. Craig, was again established; the Chambly Canal was commenced; and a vast immigration, chiefly from Ireland, of over fifty thousand souls, passed up the St. Lawrence, like a disorganised army, leaving the inhabitants to provide for the sick and wounded, and to bury the dead.† During the season of navigation one thousand and sixteen vessels arrived

* Garneau, so partial as a rule to his countrymen, so frequently one-sided and unfair, is forced to condemn the Assembly for rejecting this exceedingly liberal offer. The proposed Civil List was based on the most rigid economy. There were £5,300 for the Governor's salary, his secretary and contingencies; £11,450 to pay the salaries of 2 chief justices, 6 superior court judges, 4 other judges, and the attorney and solicitor generals; £1,000 for pensions, and £1,759 for miscellaneous expenditure.

† *Quebec Gazette*, 11th November, 1831.

at Quebec, trade and commerce continued to increase, the Province had now a large surplus revenue, and the population of what was once Champlain's little colony of fifty souls, had, as regarded Lower Canada alone, swelled up to over five hundred thousand inhabitants.

Despite the unfavourable action of the Assembly on the question of a permanent Civil List, a bill was introduced by Lord Howick, Under Secretary for the Colonies, into the British Parliament, handing over to the control of the Lower Canadian Legislature the Imperial duties levied agreeable to 14th Geo. III., chap. 88, under the belief that this course would be met by the latter in a corresponding spirit of liberality. This act passed both Houses of Parliament, and was assented to by the King. In its passage through the Lords it was protested against by the Duke of Wellington. In addition to this important concession the grievance-petitions were replied to in the most conciliatory spirit, the control of the Jesuits' estates handed over to the Assembly, which might now devote them to purposes of education, and the assent of the Crown given to the appointment of judges for life, and to remove them altogether from the political arena. It was, therefore, confidently hoped that the long-pending disputes would now be fully and satisfactorily settled.

The Legislature had met on the 15th of November, and the House of Assembly, in its first moments of surprise at these important and beneficial concessions, evinced a feeling of gratitude, which it embodied in several resolutions. This feeling, however, speedily disappeared, and in the act making judges independent of the Government, it was declared that their salaries should be drawn from the timber duties and territorial revenue, amounting as already stated to £11,231, retained chiefly for the payment of the pension list, and the support of the Church of England; and the control of which had not yet been surrendered by the Crown.—The permanent Civil List had been fixed in the estimates at the very low sum of £5,900, which included £4,500 for the Governor's salary, £500 for that of his secretary, £400 for provincial secretary, £300 for the attorney-general, and £200 for the salary of the solicitor-general. Still, small as this sum was, the Assembly refused to grant it—a most illiberal and unwise course. It brought 1832. that body directly into contact with the Home Ministry, who now began to discover that fresh concessions only led to fresh demands. As usual the Supply Bill fell short of the estimates.

Party spirit was rapidly on the increase. The British portion of the population, satisfied that every reasonable concession had been made, very generally sided with the Executive; the French-Canadians sustained the Assembly. An election riot at Montreal, in which three men were killed and two wounded, by the fire of the military in self-defence, added to this antagonistic feeling, scarcely checked by the cholera, now decimating the principal towns and villages. On the 30th of July a meeting was held in

the parish of St. Charles, at which England was denounced for permitting emigration at such a sickly time, and thus desolating the Province. It was likewise declared at this meeting that the Legislative Council ought to be elective, and that the conduct of Lord Aylmer, in censuring the Assembly for not voting a Supply Bill as he desired, was an insult to that body. A very hostile feeling was also evinced towards British immigrants of every description. They were stigmatised as foreigners, and the conduct of the Government in selling them lands denounced as an injury to the French population, to whom the soil of the country of right belonged, and for whose sole use it should be reserved.

Despite this unsatisfactory state of affairs, the Whigs, still resolving to carry out their policy of conciliation, conceded to the Assembly the right to vote the Supply Bill by items, which at once terminated the long dispute on this point. At the same time the Colonial Secretary pressed upon the House the propriety of permitting Mr. Christie, whom it had so frequently expelled, and who was as frequently returned by the electors of Gaspe, to take his seat. This it refused, however, to do. The session of 1832-3 was particularly distinguished by a petition to the 1833. Crown, praying that the Legislative Council should be made elective; and for an increase of ill feeling towards the Executive. The Supply Bill also was £7,000 short of the amount required, leaving the difference to be made up, at the pleasure of the Government, from the small Crown revenue still retained. The Bill was lost in the Upper House, now deeply incensed by the conduct of the Assembly in endeavouring to alter its constitution. It had already memorialised the Crown in strong language against the prayer of the grievance-petitions on that head.

Lord Stanley, now Secretary of State for the Colonies, was decidedly opposed to making the Legislative Council elective, and stated that he deemed such a measure opposed to monarchical institutions, and, therefore, could never advise his Majesty to assent thereto. He also hinted that the existing dissensions in Lower Canada might lead to a modification of its charter.

When the Legislature again assembled, it soon became evident that little cordiality might be looked for between its two branches. Among the earlier proceedings of the Assembly, 1834. was the passage of an address to Aylmer, asking him to advance \$28,000 for the payment of its contingent expenses. This he declined to do until the Supply Bill had first been agreed to, and great was its indignation accordingly. Incensed still further by the threat of Lord Stanley, as to the modification of the constitution, the Assembly applied itself, in an angry temper, to adopt the "Ninety-two Resolutions," chiefly drawn up by Papineau, and embodying its real or supposed grievances, on which petitions for redress to the King, Lords and Commons of Great Britain were founded. The address to the King was presented to Aylmer for transmission. Morin, one of its own body, was deputed to convey

the addresses for the Lords and Commons to England, and hand them to Viger still there as its agent. No Supply Bill whatever was voted; and there not being a quorum for the transaction of business, Aylmer, on the 18th of March, prorogued the House.

The appeal to the Imperial Parliament by the Assembly of Lower Canada, caused Mr. Roebuck, on the 15th of April, to move in the House of Commons for the appointment of a committee to enquire into the means of remedying the evils which existed in the form of government of the Canadas. This motion, however, he withdrew on another being made in amendment by Lord Stanley for "a select committee to inquire into, and report to the House, how far the grievances complained of in the year 1828, on the part of certain inhabitants of Lower Canada, had been redressed, and whether the recommendation of the committee which sat thereupon had been complied with." To this committee the subsequent grievances, as embodied in the ninety-two resolutions, were also to be referred. In order that everything might be done that was reasonable, the committee was so formed as to include all the members then in the House of the Canada committee of 1828, which had reported so favourably for the petitioners. Among the members of the new committee was Bulwer, the celebrated novelist, and the still more celebrated liberal, Daniel O'Connell. Joseph Hume, who shrewdly saw that its report would hardly go to sustain the ultra position he had assumed on Canadian affairs, and not wishing to be under the necessity of apparently censuring his own conduct, managed to have his name withdrawn.

The committee sat until the 3rd of the following July, examined the various petitions and documents connected with Canadian grievances, as well as several witnesses, and spared no pains to acquire a just knowledge of the questions at issue. The result of the investigation was a report, which declared, in the most unequivocal language, that the Governors of Lower Canada had been unremitting in their endeavours to carry out the suggestions of the select committee of 1828, and that any want of success, on their part, was entirely owing to the quarrels between the two branches of the Canadian Legislature, and other local causes." The report further stated, "that it would be inexpedient to made the documents public which had been submitted to the committee, and that the interests of the empire would be best subserved by leaving practical measures for the future administration of Lower Canada entirely in the hands of the Imperial Government." In other words, the members of the committee had come to the conclusion, that every reasonable concession had been made to the French-Canadian majority of Lower Canada, and that no further measure of conciliation could be adopted with regard to them, without serious injury to the British portion of the inhabitants, now more than a fourth of the entire population, and representing all its great commercial and monetary interests. They could not fail to see from their minute inquiry, that the tenor of the ninety-two resolu-

tions, the extreme views of the Assembly, and the latent desire for a total independence which pervaded all its movements, as well as its thinly concealed hostility to Great Britain.

While these events were transpiring in England, a very general feeling began to prevail in Lower Canada that a struggle which would probably terminate in bloodshed was near at hand. The differences between the French-Canadian and British inhabitants became every day more marked and distinct. Societies were formed by the latter in Quebec and Montreal to support the constitution ; while, on the other hand, the French-Canadians organised associations for purposes evidently hostile to the Government. The menacing and revolutionary tone adopted by the opposition press added greatly to the alarm of the Anglo-Canadian population, while the general feeling of despondency was increased by the second appearance of cholera, which this time afflicted Quebec and Montreal with even greater severity than in 1832.

During the summer a loyal address to the King, largely signed by the more respectable French-Canadian and English-speaking residents of Montreal and its neighbourhood, was forwarded, by a deputation, to the Governor-General at Quebec for transmission to England. This address strongly condemned the factious spirit exhibited by the Assembly, and the "Ninety-two Resolutions."* Aylmer, in replying to the complimentary language of the deputation towards himself, alluded with considerable warmth to the unhandsome, and even insulting, manner in which he had been treated by the Assembly. "To be stigmatised as a foreigner," said he, "while treading the soil of a British colony, sounds strange to the ears of an Englishman. Those who make use of the term should be emphatically told, that in every quarter of the world

* John Neilson, the publisher of the *Quebec Gazette*, the Nestor of Reform in Lower Canada, who had worked with the French-Canadians for a number of years, refused to endorse the treasonable designs of Papineau, and thus speaks of the "Ninety-two Resolutions :"—

"But they have not only usurped authority which was not given to them, and produced all the consequences before stated ; they have excited to sedition, rebellion, and treason. Their ninety-two resolutions of last winter are a long declamatory address to the passions and prejudices of the majority of the people, whom they formally designate and class in these resolutions as of 'French origin,' in contradistinction to 'British or foreign origin.'—They grossly insult and falsely accuse individuals, public authorities, and whole bodies of men, in aid of their attempted usurpation on the established Constitution and the rights of their constituents. They tell the people that they have been subjected to 'a long series of injustice and oppression' under the British government,—that allegiance and protection are co-relative obligations,—refer to the example of the United States,—and finally threaten to seek a remedy 'ELSEWHERE,' if their demands are not granted by the British Parliament. If there is a man of unsophisticated mind and common honesty, who has read, or will read, the ninety-two resolutions, and say, before God and man, that such is not the bent and character of these resolutions, then I will consent that these latter allegations against the members of the late House of Assembly should be taken as not proven."

where the British flag flies every British subject is always at home."

While loyal addresses, also, from other districts were numerously signed and forwarded to the King, the Papineau faction were by no means idle. A convention of delegates from the towns and rural districts assembled at Montreal, on the 4th of September, at which strongly-worded resolutions were passed denouncing the recent adverse action of the special committee of the House of Commons, appointed to enquire into the condition of the Canadas, and repudiating the right of the Imperial Parliament to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Province. Several fresh grievance resolutions were also agreed to, which were to be forwarded to Viger, Morin, and Roebuck for presentation to the Colonial Minister. And thus the breach grew wider and wider as time went on.

The general election took place in October, and the Papineau party swept the Province from end to end, with the exception of the Eastern Townships and a few other localities. Neilson, of Quebec, a pronounced liberal, but a loyal one, a cautious and able man, who had for many years acted with Papineau, now saw clearly through his ulterior purpose, refused to follow him any longer, and was defeated in the county he had represented for many years. Andrew Stuart, one of the most useful members of the Assembly for a long period, was defeated in the city of Quebec.—Owing to the ultra party spirit that now prevailed, no candidate of British name or descent, at all independent of faction, had the smallest chance of being elected wherever French-Canadians had the majority of votes. Papineau and his future rebel general, Robert Nelson, had a hard fight in the West Ward of Montreal, where, with few exceptions, the Irish and English made common cause against them, and were finally unlawfully declared elected, as the partisan returning officer closed the poll too soon, fearing as he said for his personal safety. There were only eighteen persons of British descent elected to the new House, and several of even these were supporters of Papineau.

The first session of the last Parliament of Lower Canada was convened on the 21st of February, and Papineau again elected speaker, by a vote of seventy in his favour against six for 1835. Lafontaine. In his speech the Governor stated, that the late period at which he had called the House together was owing to his having waited for instructions from the Imperial Ministry. The latter, he added, had directed the advance of £31,000 from the military chest, for the payment of the salaries of the judges and other officers of the Crown, who had been suffering extreme distress, owing to no Supply Bill having been passed for two sessions, and he trusted this amount would be cheerfully refunded by the Legislature.

The first act of the Assembly showed an uncompromising spirit of hostility to the Executive. It directed that the Governor-

General's speech censuring its proceedings, when proroguing the last session, be expunged from its journals. The usual address asserted its right to control all the revenues of the Province, condemned the advance made from the military chest as interfering with its privileges, declared that the great body of the people desired an elective Legislative Council, and requested Aylmer to inform his Majesty that they continued to seek the redress of all grievances and abuses. As several new grievances had arisen in the Province since the passage of the ninety-two resolutions, a petition to the King, specifying them and praying for their removal, was prepared.

Among the earlier measures of the Assembly was an address to the Governor-General, asking him to advance the sum of seventy-two thousand dollars, to pay its contingent expenses for the current and the former session. Aylmer replied, that in the absence of the necessary legislation he must decline to take the responsibility of granting his warrant for this advance ; and pointed to the fact that part of the contingent grant of 1833 had been improperly applied by the Assembly to pay a large sum to Viger, its agent in England, without the concurrence of the other branch of the Legislature. This reply produced a very angry feeling among the members of the Assembly, who passed strong resolutions condemning the conduct of Aylmer in refusing to make the advance asked, and directing his impeachment on that and other charges. This bad feeling was still further increased by an official communication from Spring Rice, stating the adverse decision of the Canada Committee to its petitions, and the intention of the Imperial Parliament to adopt coercive measures, if the existing unsatisfactory condition of affairs should much longer continue. No Supply Bill, however, was voted, and only one act passed during the session, which was prorogued for the want of a quorum on the 18th of March.

These occurrences increased the general alarm ; and, while the unthinking masses of the French-Canadians blindly and rashly followed their ambitious leaders towards revolution, the " Constitutional Associations" of Quebec and Montreal were actively preparing for the crisis, now evidently near at hand. Branch associations were formed in every direction, where the inhabitants of English, Irish, and Scotch origin were sufficiently numerous to warrant such a course, and circulars explanatory of their views, and of the state of the Province, scattered throughout the country.

Such was the condition of matters in Lower Canada on Sir Robert Peel's accession to office in 1835. He at once determined on sending out a special commission for the examination of existing grievances, and felt disposed to yield up the casual and territorial revenue, if the Assembly would vote a Civil List for at least seven years. Before this arrangement could be matured, Peel's brief administration of four months' duration was succeeded by that of Lord Melbourne, now the Whig leader. His plan was nevertheless carried out, and the Earl of Gosford, Sir Charles Grey, and Sir

George Gipps, were appointed commissioners to proceed to Lower Canada. Besides being a commissioner, Gosford was to succeed Aylmer as Governor-General.

Lord Glenelg, now Colonial Secretary, determined to continue the policy of conciliation, and stated his readiness to concede the control of the entire revenue to the Lower Canadian Legislature, if an independent provision were made for the judges, and the salaries of the civil officers fixed for ten years. He likewise professed his readiness to yield up the proceeds of the sale of wild lands, and conceded the principle that the Imperial Parliament, unless in very extreme cases, had no constitutional right to interfere with the internal affairs of the Province; but declared, at the same time, in general terms, that the King was opposed to an elective Legislative Council, yet willing nevertheless to have its expediency inquired into. Lord Aylmer received numerous addresses, on his departure, from the British inhabitants, who deemed him unfairly dealt with in being recalled.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF GOSFORD.

The new Governor-General, accompanied by the other commissioners, arrived at Quebec on the 23rd of August, at once assumed direction of the administration, and summoned the Legislature to meet, for the despatch of business, on the 27th of October. In the interval he sedulously courted the good opinion of the leading members of the Assembly, invited them to his table, and declared "that, he considered, to be acceptable to the great body of the people was one of the most essential elements of fitness for public station."

Meanwhile a caucus meeting of members of the Assembly, and other leaders of the French-Canadians, was held at Three Rivers to determine on the course to be pursued towards the Governor-General personally, and also towards the commission of which he was the head. After some discussion it was agreed not to recognize the commissioners, on the ground that they had not been directly appointed by the Imperial Parliament (although well aware that it had left the matter with the ministry) but by the King.

On the day appointed Lord Gosford opened the Legislature with the most important speech ever made to that body by a Governor. Its tone was eminently conciliatory, and showed every disposition to meet the wishes of the French-Canadian majority, even to the detriment of the British population. He declared himself the head of a commission to inquire, upon the spot, into all grievances, and to offer to his Majesty and his ministers advice thereupon. "Some of their grievances," he said, "could be redressed by the Executive alone, others by the aid of one or both branches of the Legislature; but part of their demands could only be complied with by the authority of the Imperial Parliament." He declared himself pre-

pared to act impartially in every respect, plurality of offices should no longer exist, and French-Canadians of talent and standing would have the path of official preferment opened to them equally with their British fellow-citizens. In future, every information with regard to the public accounts, and all other public matters, should be rendered to the Assembly, and copies of the Blue Book, or general annual financial and statistical return, which he invited the aid of both Houses to make as complete as possible, would be presented to each branch of the Legislature. Bills should not, unless on the gravest grounds, be reserved for the decision of the Crown, nor would any undue partiality be given to the English language over the French. Whatever abuses might exist in the law courts, the members of the Legislature were themselves invited to remedy, as well as to regulate by enactment the matter of the Clergy Reserves. In addition, Gosford offered his warrant to both Houses, without any condition attached, for the payment of their contingent expenses. "The Home Government was prepared," he said, "to surrender the control of all public revenue arising from any Canadian source, on condition of a moderate provision being made for the Civil List. He trusted, therefore, that a proper Supply Bill would be voted, and the £31,000 advanced from the military chest repaid." He informed them that the suit instituted against Caldwell, the former Receiver-General, had been brought to a favourable termination for the Province, and the large property of the defendant, who was about to relinquish his seat in the Upper House, thus made liable for the debt. In conclusion, he recommended the passage of several useful bills; and endeavoured to soothe the asperities of the two races. As regarded the inhabitants of British descent, he urged "they had nothing to fear on the score of commerce, the main support of the empire;" while to those of French origin he repeated, "that there was no design to disturb the form of society under which they had so long been contented and prosperous."

In this liberal manner all real grievances were offered to be redressed, and every point in dispute, consistent with the retention of Lower Canada as a British Province, conceded. This was the view of the matter taken by the more moderate portion of the educated French-Canadians, themselves; and could the intentions of the British Government have been placed before the several constituencies, so that they would fully understand them, the influence of their leaders must have been seriously affected. But the great majority of the people were as illiterate, as unreflecting, and as little capable of judging for themselves in 1835, as they were when Amherst descended the St. Lawrence for the final subjugation of Canada. The clerical order alone could have counteracted effectually the extraordinary influence wielded by the ambitious, talented, yet visionary and imprudent Papineau; but they shared in the anti-British prejudices of the masses, and either held aloof altogether from the existing agitation, or covertly aided

in establishing the ascendancy of their race. Not till rebellion had raised its head, and matters assumed a threatening aspect with regard to themselves, did they discover how little they could be profited by revolution, or by a closer connection with the United States. Then their great moral power was decidedly and effectually exercised against Papineau and his friends, whose real influence from that moment rapidly dwindled away. The same cause precisely which made Smith O'Brien's rebellion in Ireland, in 1848, alike impotent and ridiculous, paralysed the Lower Canadian rebellion of 1837-8, to wit, the opposition of the Roman Catholic clergy.*

However satisfactory to all moderate men and true patriots might have been the conciliatory tone of Gosford's opening speech, it was soon evident that Papineau and his immediate friends had ulterior views, which no concessions could possibly affect. Their hatred of British ascendancy had already reached the culminating point, and they now aimed at total independence. Papineau, intoxicated with the long continuance of arbitrary moral power, allowed himself to indulge in visions of his prospective presidency of *La Nation Canadienne*, while his needy followers, the briefless French lawyers and patientless young physicians, exulted in the hope that they would soon grasp every place of emolument and honour in the country, to the exclusion of the much-disliked English, Irish, and Scotch. Accordingly, one of the first measures of the House was to pass a bill appointing Roebuck its agent in England, with instructions to press its grievances on the attention of the Imperial Parliament. In this way it utterly ignored the mission of the commissioners; and whom, in fact, on the score of their not having been appointed by the Lords and Commons of Great Britain, it had already determined not to acknowledge, although fully sensible that the report of the special committee had left Canadian matters completely in the hands of the British ministry. In its usual address all mention of the commission was consequently avoided. This address, however, was couched in complimentary language as regarded Gosford himself. In his reply he thanked the Assembly for its courtesy, declared he would continue to pursue the conciliatory line of policy he had already publicly announced, and would be rejoiced to find that it promoted the good understanding so desirable to have re-established in the Province. On the 9th of November he submitted to the Assembly a statement of the arrears due for the Civil List, amounting to £135,617 sterling, and requested that provision should be made for their payment. Before considering this matter, and pursuant to the policy already agreed upon, the Assembly now asked for an advance of \$80,000 to pay its current expenditure and past liabilities. This advance was courteously and promptly made, and one great cause of dissatisfac-

* A few only of the French-Canadian clergy sided openly with the insurgents during the rebellion.

tion thus removed. The Legislative and Executive Councils were also re-constructed, and several French-Canadians admitted to both bodies ; while a considerable addition, from their ranks, was also made to the roll of justices of the peace. Gosford went so far to secure their good-will, that the Anglo-Canadian portion of the community became seriously alarmed for their own rights.

The public accounts for the preceding year, and the estimates for the current one, were laid before the Assembly at an early period of the session. But it showed itself, however, very unwilling to approach the question of a Supply Bill, and instead commenced to discuss a new and lengthy chapter of grievances of various descriptions.

Roebuck had declared the Legislative Council to be a nuisance. His appointment as Canadian agent, in consequence, was particularly unpalatable to that body, and the bill for that purpose was accordingly thrown out. This event increased the hostility of the Assembly towards the Upper House ; and Papineau, in the heat of debate, forgot his ordinary prudence, and avowed himself a republican in principle. "The time has gone by," said he, "when Europe could give monarchies to America ; on the contrary, an epoch is now approaching when America will give republics to Europe."—Other members used equally violent language, the loyal population became alarmed, deemed the Government criminally supine, and determined to organise for their own defence. At Montreal a volunteer rifle corps was formed, but suppressed by Gosford's proclamation, although it was now notorious that bodies of the French-Canadians were being drilled by their leaders.

The unsatisfactory condition of matters in the Assembly was presently increased by the course pursued by Bidwell, speaker of the Lower House of Upper Canada. Lord 1836. Glenelg had given instructions to Sir Francis B. Head which were decidedly opposed to the project of an elective Legislative Council. These instructions Head had communicated to the Legislature of his Province, and seeing how unfavourable the policy of the Colonial Office was to the wishes of the Lower Canadians, Bidwell forwarded extracts therefrom to Papineau. An elective Legislative Council would have enabled the latter to fill both Houses with his adherents, and thus remove the antagonism from between them to a united Legislature and the Crown, a course which must have practically resulted in French-Canadian independence. The firm position assumed by the British ministry on this point, left him no hopes of accomplishing his purpose unless by revolution, and thus forcibly wresting the country from Great Britain. Fancying that the United States would fly to his assistance he determined on this course. It soon became evident, therefore, that Gosford's mission was a complete failure.

On the 22nd of February, the Assembly resolved itself into a committee of the whole on the public accounts and state of the Province, and speedily determined to vote a Supply Bill for six months only, without refunding the moneys to the military chest, or grant-

ing supplies for the preceding years. It next proceeded to vote addresses to the Crown and Imperial Parliament, in which it reiterated all its old grievances, and urged several new ones in addition. The concession of an elective Legislative Council was particularly insisted on, as well as the abolition of the North American Land Company, established by imperial charter, which was already buying up Crown lands. The appointment of Mr. Gale to a judgeship by Aylmer was next strongly condemned, chiefly on the ground of his having, in 1822, advocated a union of the two Provinces, a measure still particularly unpalatable, and his dismissal required, as well as that also of Judge Fletcher and several other officials, who had likewise become obnoxious to the Assembly. The administration of Aylmer it censured in the strongest language.

The Supply Bill, as a matter of course, was rejected by the Upper House, and the Government again left without funds to pay its civil servants; and matters were now in point of fact in a more unsettled condition than ever. Gosford was completely at fault, and when he prorogued the House, on the 21st of March, his speech evinced how deeply his failure mortified him. "It is to me," said he, "a matter of sincere regret, that the offers of peace and conciliation of which I was the bearer to this country, have not led to the result which I had hoped for. The consequences of their rejection, and of the demands which have been made to his Majesty, I will not venture to predict." Gosford, in his subsequent despatches to the Colonial Office, ascribed his failure to the disclosures made by Sir Francis Head. He was completely in error. Anything he could have done would merely stave off the crisis to a later period, without removing the causes which had produced it.

After the close of the session Gosford sent a despatch to Glenelg, on the 12th of March, giving a brief sketch of the course which the Assembly had pursued; and stating that, on the ensuing 1st of May, there would be some £130,000 sterling in the treasury of the Province. Its total liabilities at that date would amount to £142,000 sterling, so the deficit would not be a large one.

Meanwhile Sir Charles Grey and Sir George Gipps, the King's commissioners, and, like Gosford, Whigs of the liberal type, were actively engaged in making the most searching enquiry into the state of the Province. Easy of access to all persons desiring their acquaintance, freely mingling with the politicians of both parties, and acquiring all the information possible, but very reticent as to their own opinions, they became popular with the people generally. On the 1st of February Sir John Colborne reached Montreal *en route* to England, having to travel all the way by land. His progress from Toronto had resembled a triumphal procession, the loyal population escorting him in crowds, on horseback and in vehicles, from village to village and settlement to settlement. At Montreal he was received with the warmest acclamations by the whole Anglo-Canadian population. On the 19th of May he pro-

ceeded with his family to New York, to embark for England.—At New York he received despatches from the Colonial Minister and Lord Hill, the commander-in-chief, notifying him that he had been appointed to command the forces in the two Canadas. To the great delight of the loyal part of the people he returned to Montreal on the 1st of July.

The British portion of the population were now thoroughly aroused, and defensive associations formed by them in various parts of the Province. The tone of Gosford's speech on opening the Legislature had alarmed them for their liberties, and they feared that French-Canadian influence would speedily be paramount in the Province, to the detriment of its other inhabitants. The close of the session relieved them, in a measure, from apprehensions on this score, and this feeling speedily gave way to one of anxiety for the safety of person and property. An intelligent and influential press fearlessly discussed the questions at issue, and completely showed the anti-British spirit which actuated the leaders of the French-Canadian majority, and that it was not in reality the amelioration of their condition as British subjects they desired, but total independence and a distinct nationality.

The Legislature was again convened on the 22nd of September. Gosford's speech on this occasion was brief, and he did not by any means show the same disposition to court the good opinion of the Assembly as when opening the preceding session. He stated that his Majesty desired to give it another opportunity to reconsider the course it had pursued, and trusted that this time a proper Supply Bill would be voted, and the money borrowed from the military chest repaid. "The course I have hitherto pursued," he said, "has been approved by my sovereign, and I have never ceased to remember that the two first objects of my government were the removal of abuses, and the reconciliation of opposing parties. By caution, by forbearance, and by the exercise of what I believe to be a liberal policy, I have sought to promote the welfare of the country, and to gain your confidence. If I succeed in this latter object I shall rejoice at it principally because it will afford me the means of doing the greater good, and if I fail of success, I shall always be consoled by the consciousness of having laboured earnestly to deserve it." The address of the Assembly in reply to this speech, urged the necessity of an elective Legislative Council, as all measures of reform must be abortive under the existing constitution. But it neither alluded to the commission of enquiry, nor to a Supply Bill.

Despatches from the Colonial Secretary were laid before the House at an early period of the session. These, while they expressed a strong desire to redress all real grievances, repudiated the principle of an elective Legislative Council, and the right of interference with the British North American Land Company, unless its claims of a corporate character, and the ownership of its lands, should be declared invalid by due course of law. As its

charter had been granted by the Imperial Parliament, a procedure of this nature would involve the question, whether that body or the Canadian Legislature had the right to incorporate such a company? "No single complaint had been alleged," added these despatches, "which has not been either promptly removed, or made the subject of impartial enquiry. Yet the House declined a compliance with the proposition to provide for the arrears and supplies, pending such enquiry." These despatches drew from the Assembly a long address to the Governor-General, in which it endeavoured to sustain the extreme position it had assumed on all the points at issue. The Legislative Council was again denounced in the strongest language, and the Executive and judicial authorities stigmatised as "a faction combined against the liberties of the country, and its public property." At the same time, it avowed its determination not to transact any business until the Legislative Council had been made elective. A dissolution was out of the question altogether, under existing circumstances, as it would only end in the return of the same members, or of others equally hostile; so Lower Canada was now virtually without a House of Assembly. The Legislature was prorogued on the 5th of October, Gosford expressing his regret, in his closing speech, at the embarrassing position in which the country must remain, "until a remedy was applied by the supreme authority of the empire."

The commissioners, having fully investigated the matters referred to them, returned to England with the exception of 1837. Gosford, who remained in his capacity of Governor-General.

Their report, at once elaborate and comprehensive, convinced the Home Government of the necessity of immediate action, if Lower Canada were to be longer retained as a British Province. The Colonial Minister accordingly laid that report as early as possible before the Imperial Parliament, which promptly proceeded to consider it. Its recommendations were most unfavourable to many of the demands of the Papineau party; and, in some cases, the most drastic measures of coercion were recommended. It advised the expenditure of the public income of the Province without the concurrence of the Assembly, should it still continue contumacious. It fully justified the action of the Legislative Council, in refusing to sanction the grant of supplies for six months only; and suggested that the electoral franchise should be so modified as to insure a working government majority in the Assembly; and that an allowance of £19,000 sterling ought to be made for the life of the Sovereign, or, at least, for seven years. It further declared that an elective Legislative Council was wholly undesirable, that ministerial responsibility was inadmissible, and that the North American Land Company should be maintained. In short, it generally advised that, in the existing temper of the French-Canadian people, it would be most unwise to place a power and authority in their hands which must imperil British ascendancy in the Province,

and make it virtually independent of the Crown, which was plainly the result sought to be achieved by existing agitation.

On the 6th of March Lord John Russell, in the House of Commons, submitted a series of resolutions respecting Lower Canada which he declared to be rendered necessary by the discontented and agitated state of that Province, and the absolute refusal of its Assembly to vote the supplies of money requisite for the administration of justice, and the expenses of its government. The resolutions stated that the Legislature of Lower Canada had voted no supplies since October, 1832, and that the arrears up to the current year amounted to £142,160 sterling: that the House of Assembly demanded an elective Legislative Council, and the repeal of an act passed by the Imperial Parliament in favour of the North American Land Company, which in the present state of the Province it was inexpedient to grant: that for defraying the arrears due for public expenditure, and the customary charges of the government, the Governor-General be empowered, by Parliament, to apply to these purposes the hereditary, territorial and casual revenues of the Crown, and that the surplus remaining be alone at the disposal of the Legislature. These resolutions further set forth, that it was advisable to repeal certain acts affecting trade and tenures, provided the Legislature of the Province would pass a law for the discharge of lands from feudal dues and service; and that the Legislatures of both the Canadas be empowered to remove the obstacles to greater freedom of trade between them. Roebuck and some other members opposed these resolutions, as an infringement of the constitution of 1791, and an undue coercion of the people.—But the great majority of both political parties of the House supported the Government, on the ground that the violent proceedings of the Lower Canadian Assembly now called for strong measures. The resolutions were all finally agreed to, and a bill founded upon them was quickly passed in both Houses.

This unqualified rejection of their demands aroused a storm of indignation on the part of Papineau and his party. The French-Canadians, with a few exceptions, were loud in their execrations of the British Government, and the *Vindicator*, a paper published in the English language at Montreal, was still more hostile in its denunciations. Its editor, Dr. O'Callaghan, a Roman Catholic Irishman, and a member of the Assembly, unlike the great majority of his countrymen, had fully identified himself with Papineau and his party. During the summer the *Vindicator* became extremely violent in its language. In one of its issues it denounced Lord John Russell's resolutions, touching Lower Canada, as infamous; the policy of the Government as Machiavelian and treacherous; and called upon the people to destroy the revenue, by refusing to buy dutiable goods, and, also, to prepare for resistance. On the 7th of May a great indignation meeting took place at St. Ours, on the Richelieu river, which was attended by over a thousand persons. A series of very hostile resolutions were passed, one of which express-

ed regret that the people had fought against the United States, which had offered them liberty and equal rights, while England sought to enslave them. It was also resolved to abstain, as much as possible, from the use of certain lines of imported goods, in order to injure the revenue, and that smuggling was now fair and honourable, and should be encouraged.* Indignation meetings were held in various parts of the Province, at which violent resolutions were passed, and Papineau, the chief orator and actor on these occasions, was escorted by crowds of his countrymen from one district to another. Gosford endeavoured to stop these meetings by a proclamation pointing out their seditious character, and directing their suppression. But they were still continued, and the cry of "*Vive Papineau ! vive la liberte ! point de despotisme !*" was shouted by the simple *habitants* with as much eager enthusiasm, as though they had been Blouses of the Parisian Boulevards.

While the popularity of Papineau was thus at its zenith in the country, the better informed of the French-Canadians in the towns did not share altogether the feeling of the rural population. Their closer intercourse with the British had given them juster views of the questions at issue, and of the fierce struggle which must ensue before French-Canadian nationality could be established, if that event indeed should ever take place. Many, therefore, held wholly aloof from the quarrel in progress, and a few startled by the near and tangible approach of civil war, and sensible, possibly, of the privileges they enjoyed, attached themselves openly to the Government. Nor were the British supporters of the constitution inactive. Loyal meetings of an imposing character took place at Quebec and Montreal, at which resolutions were passed avowing devoted attachment to the Crown, and a determination to support the constitution at all hazards.

In the midst of this excitement died, on the 20th of June, William IV., the amiable citizen King of England, after a brief reign of eight years ; and, after the lapse of a century and a quarter, a female sovereign again sat on the British throne. The news reached Quebec on the morning of the 31st of July, and in the afternoon sixty minute guns thundered from the citadel, while the Royal Standard flung out its folds to the passing breeze at half mast, in mourning for the dead King. On the following day, the Governor-General and the Executive Council took the oath of allegiance to the new sovereign ; and the commencement of her reign was proclaimed with the usual ceremonies in the cities and towns of the Province. A great public meeting was convened at Quebec, at which resolutions were passed expressive of condolence and sympathy with the young Queen's affliction for the death of her uncle, and congratulating her on her peaceable and auspicious succession to the throne. Not to be behind in their expressions of loyalty and good-will to their new Sovereign, the Roman Catholic

* Christie, vol. iv., p. 354.

bishops directed that a grand *Te Deum*, to celebrate the opening of her reign, should be chanted in all the churches of the Province. In the disturbed districts this act of thanksgiving was most unfavourably received. The disaffected crowded out of the churches in anger, and several priests were afterwards threatened with violence. The accession of Victoria I., interesting and amiable as she was, awoke no feelings of gallantry or forbearance in the bosoms of the Papineau faction, and they plotted against her crown as earnestly as they had done against that of her predecessor. More violent language than ever was uttered at public meetings, and in various parts of the district of Montreal, the focus of sedition, magistrates were compelled to resign their commissions, and the laws otherwise violated with impunity. In consequence of these proceedings Papineau and several other militia officers were dismissed.

The Home Government, very unwilling, at the commencement of a new reign, to adopt coercive measures, instructed Gosford to convoke the Legislature once more, and give it an opportunity to rescind its resolves, and pursue a wiser and more constitutional course. On the 18th of August it accordingly assembled for the last time at Quebec, many members of the Assembly, pursuant to a determination, recently agreed upon, to discountenance the use of British manufactures, appearing in homespun clothing.

The Governor General's speech was most conciliatory in its tone. He stated that he had convened the Legislature in accordance with his instructions from the Home Government, in order to give the Assembly an opportunity to provide for the payment of the arrears due for the Civil List for the past four years, and so render any coercive measures, on the part of the Imperial Parliament, unnecessary. The accession of Queen Victoria had made no change in the policy which had already been determined on by her ministers. He expressed the desire, that the Legislature would co-operate with him in the removal of every obstacle to the beneficial working of the existing constitution; that several local acts about to expire would be renewed; and that some twenty-seven thousand dollars, paid out during the past winter, to prevent famine in several parishes where the crops had failed, would now be repaid, as well, also, as a considerable amount expended by the Government for necessary repairs on the Chambly Canal. The address, in reply, was debated for several days, and was at length adopted on a vote of 61 to 16. It arraigned in the strongest and most defiant terms the course pursued towards the Province, both by the Imperial and Colonial Governments; and especially as regarded the refusal of its own demands for an elective legislative council and otherwise; declared that the authority of the Crown, in Lower Canada, "would no longer depend on feelings of affection, duty, and mutual interest, but on physical and material force; a state of things scarcely to be found under the most absolute civilised governments;" and hitherto believed to be impossible of "perpetration by England on the American Continent." As the

Home Government had declined to redress its grievances, the Assembly declared its intention to decline, on its part, to transact any business. Two amendments, one of which was to the effect that the most pressing wants of the Province should be provided for, and the other that it was the duty of the Assembly to support the connection with Great Britain, while using all constitutional means for the redress of grievances, were voted down by large majorities.

This address was presented to Gosford on the 26th. He expressed his deep regret at the continued refusal of the Assembly to transact the public business ; and said it only now remained for him to use the authority vested in him, by his Sovereign, for the preservation of the rights of all classes of Her Majesty's Canadian subjects. After the members of the Assembly had retired from his presence, he immediately issued a proclamation proroguing Parliament, and they met no more.

These occurrences increased the prevailing excitement. Military associations were organised by the *Patriots*, as the disaffected now termed themselves, in the disturbed districts, a central committee formed at Montreal, to which returns of the numbers and equipments of the several corps were to be regularly transmitted, and the determination to establish the North-West Republic of Lower Canada openly avowed. Treason began to raise its head boldly as winter approached, and the British population of all nationalities, fearful of the gathering storm, drew closer to one another for mutual aid and protection. Owing to the almost universal prevalence of disaffection, at this period, among the French-Canadian community, legal prosecutions would be of no avail. The very sources of justice itself were poisoned. The Legislature, the bench, the bar, the people, were all tainted with the spirit of hostility to Great Britain and the British races, and no jury would dare, if they even desired it, to convict a political criminal, whose triumphant acquittal could not fail to be the result of his prosecution. From a civil stand-point the hand of the Government was palsied and powerless ; and its officials, unpaid for their services during the four preceding years, were in a state of despondency, and in many cases so destitute of resources as to be in actual want. Uncertain as to what the policy of the Home Government, which now moved slowly and with apparent uncertainty, might eventually lead to, no small doubt and dismay pervaded the British population in Quebec, Montreal, and the Eastern Townships, still true to their allegiance. One strong ray of comforting light shone steadily through the dark gloom of this period, and that was the prospect of sure support, in any great emergency, from their kindred in the neighbouring Province.*— Civil war itself would be preferable to the state of doubt and uncertainty that now prevailed. The military power alone could effectually grapple with the existing order of things. But positive

rebellion only would excuse its intervention. That had not as yet raised its head, so matters in the meantime were permitted to take their course.

The project of a republic at length effectually aroused the French Roman Catholic clergy to a sense of their true position, and they now vigorously applied themselves to check the progress of the storm, which they had so long quietly allowed to gather strength, or covertly fomented. Bishop Lartigue, of Montreal, addressed a circular letter to his clergy, directing them to oppose the revolutionary spirit, and to inculcate obedience to the laws of their country. At the same time he painted in forcible language the horrors and misery of civil war. In the excitement of the moment his address had little apparent effect : still, from the hour of its publication, a moral influence was steadily at work at the altars and confessionals of the many churches of the Province, which gradually, but surely, effected a powerful reaction. Papineau was soon made to feel that the " Church " exercised a mastery over the unlettered *habitants* which he had not yet attained to.

CHAPTER III.

CAUSES LEADING TO THE LOWER CANADIAN REBELLION.

UNEVENTFUL, indeed, must the pages of that history be which conveys no lesson of instruction to the reader. Comparatively brief as the existence of Canada has been its annals are pregnant with import ; and their careful consideration must always prove of no small benefit to its public men. The history of Canada solves in a great measure, if not altogether, two important problems in political science. On one hand it forcibly illustrates the fact, that the Colonial Policy of England has been revolutionary in its results, and founded communities on a basis which, sooner or later, led to practical independence of the parent state. On the other hand it strongly tends to prove, that the natural temperament of a Gallic community is not favourable to the sober and rational exercise of constitutional liberty.

For one hundred and four years—from the accession of James I. to the reign of Anne, England and Scotland were under one ruling head, but still continued separate nations ; with their own Parliaments, their own fiscal systems, and, in a measure, their own creeds. That great statesman, William III., fervently desired a legislative union between the two countries, confident that it would greatly add to their prosperity, give additional strength to the Revolution and to Continental Protestantism, and enable him to carry out, more effectually, his cherished policy of hostility to France. “ It may be done, but not yet,” said William speaking of the proposed union to Defoe ; but although it did not come in his day he laid the foundation for its future accomplishment ; and in 1702 commissioners were appointed, by the English and Scottish Parliaments, to consider its conditions. Despite the dislike of Scotland to the House of Hanover, despite great adverse agitation and almost civil war, its Parliament, five years after William’s death, finally passed the Act of Union, which was speedily ratified by the Lords and Commons of England. From an impoverished country distracted by tribal feuds, hostile clans, and much diversity

of interests, that Union has raised Scotland to a most enviable position in the scale of nations. From that day to this her commerce, her wealth, her greatness, have advanced with steady and solid strides, until she now stands in every way the peer of England, which before the Union stood so far above her in national prosperity and resources. "I consider this Union" said Queen Anne, when giving her assent to the Bill which bound England and Scotland together, "as a matter of the greatest importance to the wealth, strength and safety of the whole island." After the lapse of almost another century the Irish Rebellion of '98 led to a second Union Act, which made all the British Islands legislatively one; and from that day forward the English Parliament assumed an imperial function, and has steadily pursued its mission of a united metropolitan power.

When the eloquence of Grattan was transplanted from the College Green of Dublin to the Westminster of London—from an Irish to a British Parliament, there were over a million of people in Ireland who could scarcely speak a word of English. Fully as many more while they spoke a little English could only think in Irish; and all alike regarded the Anglo-Saxon people, from beyond the sea, as a race of odious foreigners, who neither understood the language nor appreciated the religion of the Celt. Here, then, was a clear and tangible basis for a genuine Irish nationality, and the celebrated Daniel O'Connell ardently desired to preserve it as a distinct social and political element, and make it the foundation of future success. But his astute mind clearly realised the fact, that there could be no separate national existence for Ireland so long as it continued to send members to the British Parliament. Hence he persistently agitated for the "Repeal of the Union," as the first great step towards Irish nationality; but opposed alike by Conservative and Whig, he sank to rest with his fathers leaving his grand purpose unaccomplished. The imperial policy triumphed. The English language broke roughly and continuously over that of the Celt, invaded the bogs of Connaught, and the rude cabins of Connemara, pervaded the bench, the bar, the national school-room, and effectually performed its mission of breaking down the lingual barrier between the two races; and thus made future separation a much more difficult matter. A few generations more and the tongue which once gave accomplished scholars to Europe, and was a learned one when Anglo-Saxon speech was a barbarous jargon; in which Carolan sang, and the erudite "Four Masters" indited their "Annals," will have wholly passed into oblivion, to be only acquired by the studious. All the so-called Irish patriots of to-day are essentially English in speech and habit.

It can scarcely fail to create a feeling of surprise, in the mind of the philosophical enquirer, that the policy of a united authority—of an imperial union, so successful in fusing the antagonistic elements of Ireland and Scotland into the great Anglo-Saxon family, was not also carried out in the colonial system of Great

Britain. Had an imperial representation been interwoven in the constitutions of the American Colonies, they would still, in all human probability, have remained an integral part of the British Empire. There would have been no taxation without representation, and the indignant feelings consequent on the secondary and inferior positions their legislatures occupied, could not have been produced. The Anglo-Saxon of the Antipodes, by a paramount law of his nature, is just as strongly in favour of self-government as the Anglo-Saxon of the British Islands; and can little brook the idea that the mere circumstance of his being a colonist should relegate him to an inferior and subordinate position. A representation in the Imperial Parliament would have effectually prevented any feelings of this description, and secure in every privilege of the mother country, the colonist would still be a British freeman although he had ceased to dwell in the British Islands. At the same time, the union policy of William III. would have prevailed over the whole empire, French Canada in that event would speedily have been brought into immediate touch with the seat of dominion, and a powerful factor would thus be created to mould it to Anglo-Saxon speech and thought.* Had the principle of imperial federal union been established from the first, and the colonial policy of England framed upon it, what a solid and magnificent empire, bound well together in all its parts, would she now possess; whereas to-day she stands bereft of half the North American Continent; while all her principal colonies are held to her side by comparatively slender ties. Unfortunately for the unity of the English-speaking races a narrow commercial policy, meanly looking to mercantile profit rather than to the founding of what in the future must have been almost universal empire, influenced all the primary colonial legislation of the mother country. The proper time for the founding of such an empire has long since passed away beyond recall; and the union of opinion, of natural affection, of self-interest, is the only one that now can subsist between Great Britain and her principal colonies. Their existing political condition, crystalised to a point which does not permit of great organic change, their wide geographical separation, their great diversity of interests, render a federal union impossible of accomplishment, and put it wholly outside the sphere of practical politics. The colonial system of the British Empire must continue to stand as it stands to-day, each colony with its own local government, with the Imperial Parliament to supervise and care for all; or it must cease to exist, and disintegrate into separate nations.

* This result is now being produced by closer contact with the Anglo-Saxon race in another direction. For the past two decades there has been a large emigration of the Quebec *Habitants* into the New England States, where they find it absolutely necessary, for their own well-being, to learn the English language. Bishop Grandin, of Sherbrooke, has recently issued (1891) a pastoral condemning the emigration of the *Habitants* to New England, as alike dangerous to their language and their religion, and exhorts them to remain in their own country.

The American Revolution produced no change in the fundamental principles of the English colonial policy. The surrender of the right of internal colonial taxation by the Imperial Parliament was merely an abstract measure, and involved only a slight modification of the general system, which, while it conceded the principle of local legislation, would check the full development of constitutional liberty, which the very concession of self-government itself involved, and arrogated to itself a supervising dictation. That position had to be abandoned, sooner or later, and the Imperial hand now rests so slightly on colonial authority that its touch is scarcely felt.—All the great colonies of the British Empire are now practically as independent of the mother country as the United States. They make their own laws, regulate their own tariffs, collect and expend their own revenues, create armies and fleets if they will, and do anything else they please so long as they do not conflict with a few imperial prerogatives almost invariably exercised for their benefit. They are virtually self-governing nations, with the mother country as their natural ally and best friend ; and with whom, if a general federal union is impossible, commercial union is most possible and most desirable. But it should always be borne in mind that the future colonial policy of Great Britain, from a purely political standpoint, can exercise only a very partial influence on the condition of Canada. Its destinies rest principally with its own citizens. Hence the enquiry, how far the French element in our social and political system is favourable to the progress of rational constitutional liberty ? becomes eminently important. Its reply necessarily involves an investigation into the causes which produced the Lower Canadian rebellion, and of which that in Upper Canada may be regarded as a consequence.

Before the Conquest Canada was a purely military colony, and subjected, like France, to a despotism of the most exacting and imperious character. While the customs of the Parisian tribunals, and the edicts of the French monarch, formed the statute law of the country, its administration was confided to the Governor and an Intendant, who, unchecked by a public press, and having the patronage of the whole colony completely at their disposal, usually acted on the caprice of the moment, and were generally able to set public opinion, such as it was, completely at defiance. Having thus the means to provide for the more educated, they either silenced or enlisted on their side every person of influence. The common people, steeped in the grossest ignorance, and oppressed by feudal exactions, submitted without a murmur, from long habit, to the arrogant claims and pretensions of their seigniors and also of the public officials. The meanest officer of the government was regarded with the most slavish fear, and his mandates promptly obeyed ; while their superiors generally were looked upon by the *habitants* as almost beings of a higher order in creation to themselves. By these they were treated with the greatest severity. In the law courts, as we have already seen, the torture was frequently applied ;

while, by the military authorities, they were compelled to serve as soldiers without pay, and in every condition of life taught that the one cardinal virtue was a blind and implicit obedience to those in power. This doctrine was continually rung in their ears, from generation to generation, by the ministers of religion, by the judicial authorities, and by officials of every grade. On the other hand, there was no one to expose its fallacies or abuses—no newspaper to criticise the actions of the superior class. The writings of Montesquieu could not reach the inert masses and awaken them to a juster appreciation of human liberty, nor the impassioned eloquence of a Mirabeau penetrate to the fireside of the *habitant*. The people, ignorant, and, what was worse, contented in their ignorance, looked upon their own laws and customs as equally admirable and excellent; and, like the Chinese, regarded the rest of the world, France alone excepted, as “outside barbarians.”

A despotism of this nature was eminently calculated to debase the human mind, render a people frivolous and dissipated in their habits, and make them careless of the future. “In winter,” said a French writer, the Abbe Raynal, speaking of the *habitants*, “with the exception of a few moments given to their flocks, their time was chiefly passed at public houses, or in driving about to see their friends. In spring, they ploughed their ground superficially, without ever manuring it, sowed it carelessly, and then returned to their former indolent manner of life till the harvest time. The numerous festivals prescribed by their religion interfered with the progress of industry, and a passion for war, purposely encouraged amongst them, rendered them adverse to the labours of husbandry. Their minds were so entirely captivated with military glory, that they thought only of war, although they engaged in it without pay. In the capital, especially, the inhabitants spent summer as well as winter in a constant scene of dissipation. They had no taste for arts or science, for reading or instruction. Their only passion was amusement.”

Such was the social condition of the French-Canadian people immediately before the Conquest, and more than forty years afterwards it had undergone no change, if we may believe the testimony of a most intelligent French traveller, the Duke de Rochefoucault. “No Canadian,” said he, “has just grounds of complaint against the British Government. They acknowledge they are better treated now than ever; but they love the French—forget them not, long after them, hope for their arrival, and will always love them. In their estimation a Frenchman is a being much superior to a native of Great Britain. The farmers are a frugal set of people, but ignorant and lazy. In order to succeed in enlarging and improving agriculture in this Province, the English Government must proceed with great prudence and perseverance, for, in addition to the unhappy prejudices which the farmers of Canada entertain in common with those of all other countries, they also foster a strong mistrust against everything they receive from the British. This

mistrust is grounded on the idea, that the latter are their conquerors and the French their brethren." "It is questionable," declares Mr. Silliman, a distinguished American scholar, "whether any conquered country was ever better treated by its conquerors than Canada : the people were left in complete possession of their religion, and the revenues for its support, as well as of their property, laws, customs, and manners ; and even the defence of their country is no expense to them.

No people in the world were more decidedly Tory, or ever clung more tenaciously to old customs and abuses, than the French-Canadians. They desired no innovations—no improvement of any kind, and all they asked from their conquerors was to leave them their properties, their religion, their laws, their customs. Never have they been more oppressed under British rule than immediately after the Conquest. Yet, whatever little feeling was then evinced in consequence was easily soothed by the introduction of the French language and civil law into the courts, and permitting the French-Canadian attorneys, the persons who gave the most trouble, to practise in them. The Quebec Act of 1774, which separated them completely from the other British colonies, and consigned the Province to the authority of a governor and council, as when it was under French dominion, was hailed as the greatest possible boon. That act continued in force for seventeen years, and although during that time the British minority monopolised all the principal posts in the country, as well as its commerce, the mass of the people remained as quiet as ever. However much they disliked the dominant race, we hear nothing at this period of grievance-petitions. The Canadians still remained thoroughly French. Nothing had been done to educate the peasantry, or fit them for a greater degree of constitutional liberty, and the English language had made no progress whatever amongst them. They were as fond of pleasure, as unreflecting, as indolent, as superstitious, as ignorant, as at any previous period. When the British inhabitants agitated the question of reform in the government, and the establishment of a legislature in accordance with the constitutional institutions of the mother country, the French-Canadian population, as a rule, deprecated any change of this sort. But obedience was still a part of their national characteristics, and they submitted ; satisfied, however, that neither their language, their usages, nor their religion, would be affected by the alteration.

Never before was the elective franchise intrusted to any people less fitted to use it. Nine-tenths of the male inhabitants could neither read nor write, were wholly incapable of political discrimination, and thus completely at the mercy of any designing demagogue, who had sufficient talents to excite their passions or arouse their prejudices. They knew nothing of that sober steady love of constitutional liberty that animates every true Briton, and upheld the spirits of the American people during their long and desperate struggle for independence. They neither understood the privileges

with which they were invested by the constitutional act of 1791, nor desired to understand them ; and followed their leaders, under the new system, with the same blind and clannish devotion that they had exhibited towards their superiors in the days of Frontenac and Montcalm.

Never was a greater mistake made, than in supposing that the constitution of 1791 would remove all tendency to revolution in Lower Canada. It brought the two races more closely together on legislative matters alone, and more widely separated them on all others. It revived, in the quarrels which it produced, the national animosities and antagonism, which, unhappily for mankind, had so long existed between the French and British nations. Then, the France of their fathers was still the cherished country of the French-Canadians' memories. Thither their young men, who sought distinction, made summer pilgrimages, and there they drew inspiration or instruction from the pages of its literature. The dull, inert mass of the *habitants* took their mental impress from their priests, or their leaders ; but all the native intellect of Lower Canada was exclusively French in its character.

Had the introduction of the English language into the courts of law, and a good system of common school education, prepared the people for a constitutional form of government, the British ministry would have been fully justified in its adoption. But no common education, as in Ireland and Scotland, removed or softened the differences of origin and language. These differences sundered the two Canadian races from the cradle to the grave. Their language was not more different than their literature. While one sought wisdom or amusement in the pages of a Bacon, a Newton, or a Scott, the other studied the productions of the French school, so generally unfavourable to British ideas and interests. Thus, the distinction between the two races continued to be almost as strongly drawn, as though the channel of the sea that washes the shores of Dover and Calais had still rolled between them.

When the reformers of Lower Canada agitated the question of a constitutional government, they had no idea whatever of the division of the Province, and expected that the increase of a British population in the Eastern Townships and at the west would give them a fair amount of influence in the Legislature. The impolitic desire of the Home Government to preserve the French element distinct from the British, as a safeguard against future revolution, completely destroyed this prospect, and precipitated the very consequences it sought to avoid, aside from preventing the gradual amalgamation of the two races. For a brief space, however, the British inhabitants were lulled into security by the moderation of the French-Canadians. The latter knew very little of the power with which they had been so suddenly invested, and it required a more intimate acquaintance with its tendency to enable them to exercise it with effect. That knowledge they dexterously managed to acquire through the medium of the British themselves, a larger

proportion of whom were returned to the first House of Assembly than at any subsequent period. But no sooner had the French-Canadian leaders become fully aware of the nature of the power with which they had been invested, than they gradually excluded persons of British origin from the House, until only some three or four remained. The French, instead of the English, now became altogether the dominant language, and assumed the aggressive in the most decided manner. If a person of British origin aspired to political influence, he had to cast aside every predilection of birth and education, connect himself wholly with the French-Canadians, and also learn their language.* Very few would submit to these conditions, and as time progressed nearly all those persons of British origin who had originally acted with the anti-Executive party attached themselves to the Government.

Prior to the formation of the Papineau party, no systematic attempt had been made to excite the prejudices of the masses against the natives of British origin. The latter were too few in the rural parishes to awaken the jealousy of the peasantry, whose leaders in the towns were effectually held in check by the arbitrary administration of Sir James H. Craig. Prevost's policy was decidedly French-Canadian in its character. He soothed the wounded vanity of the popular leaders, and flattered their national prejudices; and thus, while he saved the country from the Americans, excited hopes of a future nationality. Nor is there any ground whatever for the supposition that the conduct of the French-Canadians during the war with the United States arose from a feeling of loyalty to Great Britain. No such feeling had ever any very general existence amongst them, nor has it now. They had not forgotten Arnold's and Montgomery's invasion of Canada, nor the manner in which the Americans then plundered them, and had no desire to submit a second time to their dominion. They disliked the Americans infinitely more than they did the British, and the clergy then, even more than they are now, the great lever of popular opinion, were in favour of monarchy, and detested republicanism.

Shortly after the three years' war, Lower Canada presented a very extraordinary and unusual political spectacle. On one hand was a conquered people, gradually regaining their original nationality, with the constitutional means placed in their hands by the nation which had subdued them: on the other, the latter vainly striving to preserve its ascendancy by what must unquestionably be regarded as unconstitutional methods. The experiment of giving an English constitution to a French population, to prevent it from being Anglicised, was a novel feature in imperial legislation,

* The Nelsons, and most of the other persons of British origin who joined the Papineau party in the rebellion, spoke French fluently, and from long residence among the *habitants* had no doubt acquired much of their feelings and prejudices.

and failed completely in all its leading objects. The lapse of thirty years from the passage of the Constitutional Act of 1791 fully established this fact, and the Colonial Office, which very soon realised the mistake which had been made, vainly strove to preserve British ascendancy, by making the Executive and Legislative Councils almost wholly English, and by excluding the French majority from all posts of real influence. The proceeding was perfectly natural. No one could possibly be so unreasonable as to suppose that the British nation would surrender the vantage-ground it had acquired, at the cost of so much blood and treasure, in the valley of the St. Lawrence, and consent that a French colony should monopolise this great outlet of north-western commerce, to the prejudice of the inhabitants of their own origin in Upper Canada, as well as to the injury of the whole empire. Nevertheless this was precisely what was desired by the Papineau party.

The very necessities of their condition placed the British minority in a false and anomalous position. In seeking a constitutional mode of government, they had literally "plucked a rod to whip themselves," and were now smarting under its application. They had placed a power in the hands of the majority, at first unwilling to receive it, which they had no constitutional means of resisting, and in resorting to unconstitutional means they only added to the existing evils of their position, and put the French-Canadian party completely on the vantage-ground. Had the latter been more rational in their views, pursued a more moderate course, and abstained from rebellion, their ascendancy must have steadily increased. For them their votes would have been always a much more potent weapon of aggression than the sword.

The lapse of time has supplied unmistakable evidence, how unfitted British statesmen were to legislate for a French-Canadian people whom they did not understand. In the first place, a grave error had been committed in not making wise provision for the gradual and more general use of the English language. Nothing could be more impolitic than the crude and bungling manner in which the attempt to do this was at first made, and which produced a re-action so fatal to the object sought to be achieved. Failing in this respect, a second mistake was made in altering the administration of Lower Canada from a Governor and Council, which the people understood and were well-satisfied with, to a popular Legislature. In making that change a third and still greater mistake was made in separating the Province into two parts, and thus effectually preventing, for all time, the fusing of the British and French-Canadians into one people. The fourth error consisted in the unconstitutional, and, in many instances, arbitrary conduct of the Executive, and the endeavour to make the Upper House of the Legislature represent the British population and its interests, and act as a bridle to the Lower House, which soon became almost exclusively French-Canadian. The antagonism of the two races might, therefore, be said to begin in the very Legislature itself, the

last place it should have made its appearance. The Assembly regarded the Upper House as the embodiment of British intolerance, pride, exclusiveness ; as the standing evidence of their national subjugation. The Upper House looked upon the Assembly as the representatives of a conquered people, unfitted by their traditions, their want of experience and of education, for the proper exercise of self-government, who were always ready for revolution, and most desirous to free themselves from a dominion they detested in their hearts. In a limited sense both parties were correct in their opinions. They were, indeed, most unequally yoked together ; and no system of government, which could be possibly devised by the highest human intellect, would be equally acceptable to the two races. One British Government after another had been sorely puzzled as to how the Canadian difficulty could be surmounted.—George III., through his pliant premier Lord North, tried his hand at law-making for Canada and failed. Pitt did the same and failed in turn. Lord John Russell's legislation shared the same fate. And it now remains for the progress of time to establish whether existing political conditions are destined to greater permanency than those which preceded them, and which had to be abandoned, one after another, in order to meet the rise of fresh difficulties. In the space of a little over one hundred and forty years the Province of Quebec has been under six different forms of government ; and has even had more changes in that way than France itself. The difficult task of preserving British ascendancy forced the necessity upon the Colonial Office of excluding the French-Canadians of talent almost wholly from office, and thus made the very men whose support was the most desirable, the bitterest enemies of the Executive. The mass of the people had literally no mind whatever of their own. They knew little of even ordinary politics, absolutely nothing of the science of constitutional government, and were completely at the beck of the designing and better-educated professional men of their several neighbourhoods, who were again swayed in turn by the crafty though visionary leaders of the extreme Papineau school, and who, under the special plea of being the advocates of liberal principles, sought their own aggrandisement and the furtherance of their personal views and interests. But although the French-Canadians were apparently the liberal party of Lower Canada, owing to the manner in which they advocated reforms in questions of a purely British character, while at the same time they clung tenaciously to almost every abuse of French origin, the citizens of the other race were the real reformers. The very constitution itself, the first great measure of reform was the result of their solicitations, and the fact of the Province having been divided was not owing to them, as the able protest, at the bar of the House of Commons, of Lymburner clearly shows, but to the blind infatuation of the Imperial Government. They were foremost in all great public measures of utility, in the building of steam-boats, in commerce, in agricultural improvement, in liberal

educational measures, in the social elevation of the industrial classes, and thus kept full pace with the progressive spirit of the age. The great majority of the French-Canadian population, on the other hand, clung to ancient prejudices, to ancient customs, to ancient laws, with the unreasoning tenacity of an uneducated and non-progressive people. They remained an old and stationary society, in the midst of a new and progressive world, the French of the Old *Régime*, and very different from the enlightened people of France at the present day.

Whatever mistakes, in seeking to govern too arbitrarily, may have been committed by Craig during his administration, he clearly realised the difficulties surrounding the novel situation which had been created by giving a British constitution to a French Colony. He more than once bitterly complained to the Home Government that, so far as different circumstances permitted, the Assembly was seeking to restore French-Canadian supremacy; and that all his efforts to promote the English settlement of the Eastern Townships were being thwarted, not only by politicians but even by the clergy, who had always been so indulgently treated. The cities and towns of the Province abounded with young men, descendants, in many cases, of the old military gentry, who being no longer able to obtain commissions in a corps of Colony troops, or the command of profitable frontier posts, as in the days of the Old *Régime*, and despising the ordinary avenues of trade, were now prepared to adopt any course that would give them an easy and genteel way of living. Some of these entered the professions of law and medicine, neither very profitable in a comparatively poor country; but all alike thirsted for public employment of some kind, and saw the only realisation of their aspirations in the supremacy of their race. In the meantime they regarded the great lever of their fortunes as resting on the complete control of the House of Assembly; and, hence, they continually sought for seats there with the most persistent, and, at times, even passionate earnestness. Craig complained that this chamber, in his day, was largely made up of advocates and notaries; and that out of the remaining members two could not write their names, while five others made their signatures in a wretched and almost illegible scrawl. All the endeavours made, during the long period of over thirty years of absolute Crown rule, to fit the people for self-government, proved to be of little account. In place of loyally accepting the new order of things they secretly cherished the hope of ultimate deliverance from English dominion; and during the earlier part of the century the burden of one of their popular refrains was that they would soon be free, and that Napoleon was the man to help them to become so. In the House of Assembly the covert aspirations for race supremacy cropped out, in numerous ways, from time to time. In order to check the settlement of the Eastern Townships, by British immigration, it was persistently refused to make grants for roads therein, for the administration of

justice, for registry offices ; or even to permit of their Parliamentary representation. In 1823 the Legislative Council sent down a bill to the Lower House giving these Townships six members ; but, in the narrowest and most illiberal spirit, Papineau declared that the interests and feelings of the inhabitants did not correspond with those of the French-Canadian majority, and that, therefore, they should not be represented in the Assembly. The proposal of a union with Upper Canada was promptly voted down, on the ground that it would endanger the peculiar laws and institutions of the Lower Province ; and for the same reason the grant, asked for by the government, to build a canal to overcome the rapids between Lakes St. Louis and St. Francis, was for a long period persistently refused. While Papineau and his followers were declaiming against the tyranny of being taxed without representation, they deliberately disfranchised, for years, eighty thousand English speaking settlers in the Eastern Township region, lying between Salmon River and Lake Memphremagog ; and who, until 1830, had no voice whatever in making the laws by which they were governed, or in expending the taxes which they paid. And when parliamentary representation was at last reluctantly conceded them it was so hedged about by restrictions, and adverse conditions, as to be of little comparative value. Old counties with English names were spitefully swept away, and new ones with French names substituted. Old Huntingdon was blotted out, and Beauharnois, Laprairie, and L'Acadie, took its place. It was the same also elsewhere. In some cases when English-speaking electors could not be otherwise obstructed in the exercise of their franchise polling places were established at distances ranging from thirty to fifty miles from their settlements. In many cases the inhabitants of these settlements were of the extreme Scotch Radical type, especially on the English, the Chateauguay and Trout Rivers, and had Mackenzie been a resident of Montreal, and not of Toronto, he would have shouldered a musket to put down rebellion instead of leading one.*

In these facts lie the solution of the enigmatical and somewhat paradoxical political and social condition of Lower Canada before the rebellion, while they prove, at the same time, how little real similarity there was between French-Canadian agitation in one province and British in the other. In Upper Canada five-sixths of the Reform Party desired to acquire administrative influence, with the view of placing the constitution on a more liberal but, at the same time, a more secure and permanent basis, and not to overturn it altogether. With the exception of occasional individual feelings of jealousy, or some other personal motive, they desired to see their new townships settled by immigration, local improvements of every kind pushed forward, international policy with the United States, their next door neighbours, placed on a more liberal

* Sellar's History of Huntingdon, &c., p. p. 501-2.

basis, and to keep fully up, otherwise, with the progress of the age. The French-Canadians, on the other hand, sought to acquire legislative and administrative power in order to enable them more effectually to preserve their nationality, their language, their laws, their ancient customs. They would fain shut out altogether British enterprise and competition, and retain the Province, which they regarded as their peculiar birthright, completely in their own hands. They made immigration from the British Islands a standing grievance, maintained that they alone had the right to the soil, continued their wretched mode of agriculture, save in the limited area where the example and success of good Scotch farming had led them to make some improvements, disliked all nations but France, and, as a safeguard against the innovations and language of neighbouring Anglo-Saxon people, would, were it possible, surround themselves with a Chinese wall of exclusiveness. They detested the Americans even more than they did the British ; and courted the former merely to escape from the dominion of the latter, and not from any feeling of genuine fraternity. They formed, in every sense, a Tory community of the oldest and straitest school ; and if any class of persons in Lower Canada merited the name of democrat, they were the more recent settlers of British origin.* Had they succeeded in carrying out their views, and

* “Nor did I find the spirit which animated each party at all more coincident with the representations current in this country, than their objects appeared, when tried by English, or, rather, European ideas of reforming legislation. An utterly uneducated and singularly inert population, implicitly obeying leaders who ruled them by the influence of a blind confidence and narrow national prejudices, accorded very little with the resemblance which had been discovered to that high-spirited democracy which effected the American revolution. Still less could I discover in the English population those slavish tools of a narrow official clique, or a few purse-proud merchants, which their opponents had described them as being. I have found the main body of the English population, consisting of hardy farmers and humble mechanics, composing a very independent, not very manageable, and, sometimes, a rather turbulent democracy. Though constantly professing a somewhat extravagant loyalty and high prerogative doctrines, I found them very determined in maintaining, in their own persons, a great respect for popular rights, and singularly ready to enforce their wishes by the strongest means of constitutional pressure on the Government. Between them and the Canadians I found the strongest hostility ; and that hostility was, as might be expected, most strongly developed among the humblest and rudest of the body. Between them and the small knot of officials, whose influence has been represented as formidable, I found no sympathy whatever ; and it must be said, in justice to the body of officials, who have been so much assailed as the enemies of the Canadian people, that, however little I can excuse the injurious influence of that system of administration which they were called upon to carry into execution, the members of the oldest and most powerful official families were, of all the English in the country, those in whom I generally found most sympathy with, and kindly feeling towards, the French population. I could not therefore believe that the animosity was only that subsisting between an official oligarchy and a people ; and again, I was brought to a conviction that the contest which had been represented as a contest of classes, was, in fact, a contest of races.”
Lord Durham's Report, p. 10.

again isolating themselves, as in the days of the Old *Régime*, a political and social system would have been called into existence, which must have embodied ten-fold more abuses than any that could possibly arise under British dominion. Yet nothing can be more mistaken, or absurd, than this lurking and persistent desire for a separate French-Canadian nationality. Such a state of things as regards the northern part of this continent is wholly outside the sphere of practical politics. Even were the desire successfully accomplished, no exclusively French nation would long be permitted to exist by the Anglo-Saxon peoples surrounding it on all sides. Should the day ever come that the fostering hand of British rule will be lifted from the French-Canadians, their nationality, or their peculiar institutions, will find but scant consideration in other directions. That rule has made them what they are to-day, the freest people of all the Latin races. And despite this fact, and despite all the past efforts of the Mother Country to train them in the paths of safe constitutional liberty, they have constantly persisted in a hostile policy that constituted the most formidable of all her colonial difficulties. The rebellion was simply a new epoch in the onward progress of these difficulties. After the lapse of nearly three decades a fresh change became an absolute necessity, and another epoch arose, in Canadian political life, in the founding of the Dominion. The question naturally arises will it be more durable than those forms of government which have preceded it, and which have all proved political failures? It has not most certainly solved the difficult problem of amalgamating the Anglo-Saxon and Latin races of Canada. They are as widely separated and distinct as at any former period; and the ancient struggle for supremacy continues unabated, although under new forms. For many generations all that the greatest minds of England could do to solve this problem has been done, and yet its Gordian-Knot still remains untied. If we are to gauge the future by the past we are not very far from the rise of another new epoch in Canadian History, in order to meet the appearance of new difficulties.

As regards their relations with the British Government, the position of the Roman Catholic clerical orders had undergone no material change from the Conquest to the Rebellion. They had accurately gauged the situation from the first; and with their usual astuteness had fully realised that all rational hopes of a reunion with France were at an end forever. But, still true to their traditions, they remained favourable to a monarchy; and a king, even though he were a Protestant Guelph, was infinitely preferable, in their estimation, to any form of republican government. To a man, almost, they remained faithful to British connection during the War of Independence, and gradually but surely won over their then lukewarm flocks to their own way of thinking. And as the last century drew towards a close, and the British began to fight for legitimacy and the restoration of the Bourbons, a consummation so ardently desired by the clergy of Lower Canada, their sympathies

became still stronger in favour of their English King. During the war of 1812 to 1814 they continued steadfast in their loyalty to the Crown; and from Bishop Plessis down to the humblest cure, did everything in their power to aid the government, and hold the people true to their allegiance, and to the defence of their country. No change of moment had taken place in their sentiments up to 1837; but they were then, as they had always been, fully in accord with their own people in the desire to acquire, peaceably it is true, so far as their own order was concerned, a larger measure of political and moral influence, and to raise themselves from a secondary position in the Province to a foremost one. They also clung to the idea, and cling to it still, that sooner or later under some fortunate chain of circumstances a New France would arise in the Valley of the St. Lawrence, in which their language, their literature, their religion, their race, should be forever preserved. They had changed their allegiance, for the time being, from necessity, and as a matter of religious and moral duty, and not from any choice; but they had not changed otherwise; and they and their flocks still remained the same French people as they were before the Conquest. The two national streams, it is true, flowed at last side by side, but however tranquil, at times, their currents might be in appearance, they never intermingled.— At the first a French and an English town arose in Quebec, and remained there from that day to this; and the lives of the two races continued apart. While true to their sovereign the clerical orders fostered, and still foster, this state of things, and when any advantage to themselves was likely to come through lay agitation in Parliament, or out of it, they held their peace. But never until agitation was merging towards insurrection did they lift a finger to stay its progress. There was a double advantage then to be gained. They showed their great authority with the people, and brought the Government under obligations to them for its exercise. During the summer of 1837, despite the Governor-General's proclamation, issued June the 15th, prohibiting unlawful assemblies of the people, revolutionary meetings were frequently held on Sundays after mass at the doors of the parish churches.— At these meetings, especially in the District of Montreal, violent speeches were made, and flags with treasonable mottoes and emblems were exhibited, yet no active measures were taken by the clergy to prevent them, the idea being, no doubt, that no actual insurrection against the Government would take place. After the 24th of October, the date on which Bishop Lartigue, of Montreal, issued his pastoral strongly denouncing rebellion, and directing his clergy to use their efforts to preserve the public peace, a change at once took place, alike favourable to order, and fatal to Papineau and the revolutionary party. For the time being there was a wide breach between the clergy and the bulk of the people; but it only lasted for a brief period, and clerical influence was soon again in the ascendant.

THE LOWER CANADIAN REBELLION OF 1837-8.

In driving his simple and impulsive countrymen into a physical contest with Great Britain, and a brave and hardy Anglo-Canadian population, it is evident that Papineau, the great master-spirit of the crisis, had never carefully gauged the probable results. He was a brilliant orator, but no statesman ; a clever partisan leader, but a miserable general officer ; a braggart in the forum, a coward in the field. He excited a storm which he neither knew how to allay nor direct ! Nor had Papineau the excuse of youth to plead in extenuation of his folly. In 1837 he was forty-eight years of age, a period of life when the intellect stands at its meridian. In height he was of the middle size ; a man of good presence ; with features of a Hebrew cast ; while his heavy dark eyebrows shaded, in a higher arch than usual, a keen lustrous eye of quick and penetrating glance. He appeared to be formed by nature for the eloquent agitator, but not for the wise or prudent legislator ; to act upon the passions and prejudices of his ignorant or unreflecting countrymen, not to make them happier, wiser, or better. Familiar with French literature, and all the old lore of *La Nouvelle France*, he appealed to the feelings and prejudices of his countrymen with irresistible effect, and completely carried them captive by the force of his oratorical and conversational powers. But while Papineau thoroughly understood the people of his own Province, he knew very little of the people of Upper Canada ; and appeared to be wholly ignorant of the feeling of loyalty to the Queen and constitution which then ran, like a deep under-current, beneath their political squabbles. In organising insurrection he only saw that the military force in both provinces was so weak as to invite rebellion. In Upper Canada, some thirteen hundred regular troops, including two companies of artillery, were scattered here and there from Kingston to Penetanguishene ; in Lower Canada, seventeen hundred soldiers garrisoned its principal posts, at Quebec, Montreal and elsewhere ; and confronted some four hundred thousand of wholly or partially disaffected people. The British population of the Province numbered 175,000 souls ; that of Upper Canada stood at 400,000.* With the exception of Quebec, and the unfinished citadel at Kingston, all the fortifications of the two provinces had become the cankered remains of a long period of military inaction. Twenty-three years of profound peace had made sad havoc with gun-carriages, harness, limbers, wheels, and all manner of warlike munitions. The powder in the musty magazines was damp ; muskets, swords and bayonets, had long rusted in inglorious ease ; and bedding and blankets had disappeared before successive generations of moths. Not a royal ship,

* The census had been very carelessly taken, and it was estimated by good authorities that this was about the true number of inhabitants in Upper Canada in 1837.

nor boat, nor sail, nor oar, was at Kingston, where Yeo had fitted out his formidable squadrons, and the Government dockyard there had been converted into a pasture. For years the sole work of the engineer department had merely extended to the repairing of old barracks, which time had badly touched with the finger of decay.* The appointment, however, of Sir John Colborne to the military command of the two Canadas made up for many deficiencies. This appointment was received by him when, after surrendering the administration of Upper Canada, he had arrived at New York on his way to England. In July he proceeded from Quebec to Sorel, so that he might be nearer the centre of sedition along the Richelieu, should necessity for military interference arise during the autumn or winter. With the slender force at his disposal his arrangements to suppress insurrection were alike skilful and effective.

As the summer wore away, the dark shadows of approaching civil war were falling more and more plainly on the Province.—Towards its close, a strong spirit of lawless violence began to manifest itself in various parts of the Montreal District. The lives of the British inhabitants were frequently threatened, and their properties injured; and in many cases they became so seriously alarmed for their personal safety that whole families fled to Montreal. The Government offered a reward for the discovery of the perpetrators of these crimes, but without effect. Seditious meetings became more numerous; and magistrates and militia officers were frequently present, and actively assisted in the proceedings; while the better disposed officials were forced, by hostile mobs, to surrender their commissions. In the Quebec district disaffection also began to make its appearance, but only to a limited extent when compared with the upper part of the Province. Gosford plainly saw the gathering storm, and desirous to avoid the grave responsibilities it must entail, and sensible also that the military power was now alone competent to deal with the situation, requested his recall. "It is evident," said he, in his despatch of the 2nd of September to the Colonial Secretary, "that the Papineau faction are not to be satisfied with any concession that does not place them in a more favourable position to carry into effect their ulterior objects, namely, the separation of this country from England, and the establishment of a republican form of government. The Executive requires more power; and, under my present impression, I am disposed to think that you will be under the necessity of suspending the constitution. It is with deep feelings of regret I state this, but duty compels me to communicate it to you." But while requesting his recall, Gosford now commenced to take energetic measures for the preservation of the public peace.—Loyal people had been driven from their farms, or compelled to subscribe to treasonable acts, and this condition of things he determined should be no longer permitted. Accordingly two regiments

* Bonnycastle's Canada, &c., vol. I. p. 216,

within its bosom." On the 28th of October a large and highly seditious meeting took place at St. Charles, on the Richelieu river, at which delegates from the six confederated frontier counties were present. The treasonable resolutions adopted on this occasion were ostentatiously paraded in the columns of the *Vindicator*, which told how they were agreed to amid the roar of cannon and the firing of musketry, and how admirably the *habitant* militia performed their military evolutions. Still, the firm attitude now assumed by the Roman Catholic clergy throughout the Province, retained the great mass of the *habitants* in a condition of sullen neutrality, and reduced Papineau's real supporters to a comparatively small minority, who became more and more restive as they felt clerical influence setting more decidedly against them. Priests were often insulted even in their churches, and on one occasion in the presence of Papineau himself. Religion and law were now on the side of the Government; infidelity and insurrection on the side of the Patriots. The rebellion might be said to be half suppressed ere it had commenced; and it only remained for the authorities to extinguish the smouldering flame, which had exhausted much of its strength before it finally made its appearance.

On the 6th of November, a riot in Montreal led to the first serious conflict between the two races. Two days before a rumour was circulated that the Sons of Liberty were to meet in large numbers at the Place d'Armes, and there raise the cap and plant the tree of liberty. This rumour led to a proclamation, by the magistrates of the city, forbidding all unlawful assemblages. This was followed by a placard posted on the walls calling on loyalists to meet at the Place d'Armes, at noon, "to put down rebellion in the bud."—These proceedings added, in no small degree, to the prevailing excitement, and during the forenoon drew crowds to the principal streets. The Sons of Liberty did not, however, make their appearance; but about two p. m. it was discovered that they had assembled, to the extent of three or four hundred, in a large tavern yard facing Great St. James Street. A group of loyalists, which soon increased to about fifty men, gathered outside. Some hooting was indulged in, when presently the Sons of Liberty, headed by an American named Thomas Storrow Brown, suddenly rushed out, and a fight at once commenced. Stones were thrown, a few pistol shots fired, and the loyalists compelled to retreat. But they were speedily reinforced, and the Sons of Liberty had to fly for their lives, hotly pursued. In a house where they had been in the habit of holding their meetings the loyalists captured several stand of arms and their banner, which were delivered up to the authorities. Early in the evening the Riot Act was read, and the military ordered out to preserve the peace. This, however, did not deter the Loyalists from marching up Bonsecours Street shortly after nightfall. They were with great difficulty restrained from attacking Papineau's house, but the *Vindicator* printing office was completely wrecked, and the type, plant, and paper thrown into the

street. During the night the city was patrolled by the military and several magistrates, and no further disturbance took place.*

On the 12th a proclamation was made, by the authorities of Montreal, prohibiting all unlawful meetings ; and, at the same time, the Government issued a new commission of the peace for the district, weeding the magistracy of some sixty persons supposed to be disaffected. Bodies of armed *habitants* now began to assemble at points along the Richelieu river, particularly at St. John's and Chambly ; and Sir John Colborne, seeing that the crisis was near at hand, moved to Montreal, where he had gradually been concentrating the troops withdrawn from Upper Canada, and all that could be spared from Quebec. At the same time, volunteer companies of infantry, artillery and cavalry, were formed at Montreal, and rapidly filled up by the loyal citizens ; while addresses of sympathy and numerous offers of assistance were made by the militia of the sister Province. In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick the same excellent spirit prevailed.

On the 16th warrants, on charges of high treason, were issued for the apprehension of Papineau, Thomas Storrow Brown, O'Callaghan, the editor of the defunct *Vindicator*, Ovide Perrault, and others. The four first, however, learned in time of this proceeding, evaded the officer charged with their arrest, and fled to the Richelieu District, where the insurgents were now fully prepared to rise at the bidding of their leaders. On the same date a troop of eighteen volunteer cavalry, under command of Lieutenant Ermatinger, was despatched to St. John's, twenty-seven miles south-east of Montreal, to aid a constable to capture the postmaster there, and a doctor charged with high treason. The arrests were quietly effected, and about three o'clock next morning Ermatinger started on the return journey. A short distance from Longueuil he was confronted by a body of some three hundred insurgents, armed with shot-guns, muskets and other weapons, and securely posted behind a high fence. They at once opened fire on the volunteers, who being armed with only sword and pistol could do little to protect themselves. In turning to retreat the waggon in which were the constable and prisoners upset, and they had to be left behind by the volunteers, who finally made their way across the fields into Longueuil. Ermatinger and three others were severely wounded, and several horses more or less injured. The *habitants* were commanded, on this occasion, by a lawyer named Viger and Doctor Kimber of Chambly.

This success greatly elated the insurgents, and the flight of Papineau and several of their other chiefs from Montreal becoming known, they collected in considerable numbers at the village of Debartzch, in the parish of St. Charles, where T. S. Brown commanded ; and at St. Denis, on the Richelieu, where Dr. Wolfred

* *Montreal Gazette*, Nov. 7th, 1837. See also *Herald* and *Minerve* of same date,

Nelson, who had thrown aside the scalpel and taken to the sword, directed their movements. Descended from a respectable English family by his father's side, while his mother was the daughter of a U. E. Loyalist, Nelson was born at Montreal in 1792. At the early age of fourteen he was apprenticed to a surgeon of the military medical staff, and in 1811 became a duly licensed practitioner. He shortly after settled at St. Denis, on the Richelieu River, became thoroughly identified with the French population, and as a medical man in large practice, and the proprietor of an extensive brewery and distillery, acquired great influence with the simple *habitants*. Having represented the district in Parliament, he was brought into immediate contact with Papineau, completely imbibed his republican principles, and now used his authority and influence to carry them into treasonable practice.

The disputes touching the Maine boundary line, and the number of persons thrown out of their ordinary mode of living in the United States, by the late commercial disasters there, led the rebel leaders to be very sanguine of succour from that direction. Both St. Charles and St. Denis were favourably situated for keeping their communication open with the frontier, and Colborne, being aware of this advantage, determined to check the movement ere it became more formidable, despite the wretched state of the roads and the bad weather. Colonel Gore was accordingly detached from Montreal with two hundred infantry, a party of volunteer cavalry, and three guns to attack St. Denis; while Lieutenant-Colonel Wetherall, recently stationed at Chambly, was directed to move down the Richelieu against St. Charles. The positions to be attacked were about seven miles apart.

On the afternoon of the 22nd a steamboat conveyed Gore's detachment to Sorel. At this point it was reinforced by a company of infantry stationed there, and at ten o'clock at night, amid stormy showers of sleet and rain, which froze as they fell, proceeded along a wretched clay by-road to St. Denis, distant sixteen miles. This route was taken in order to avoid the intermediate village of St. Ours, where a body of insurgents were strongly posted, and several bridges along the principal road, which were supposed to have been broken down. During all that night did the troops march through mud and half-frozen slush, at the rate of a mile and a half an hour, and next morning, at half-past nine o'clock, found themselves in the neighbourhood of St. Denis.

Meanwhile, Nelson had been apprised of the simultaneous movement against his post and St. Charles, and threw out scouting parties before day, on the morning of the 23rd, to watch the approach of the troops, and break down the wooden bridges to retard their advance. About two o'clock on the preceding night, Lieutenant Weir, charged with despatches for Wetherall, had been captured by the insurgent guards, and taken to Nelson's house.—He was dressed in coloured clothes, stated his name and rank with considerable reluctance, and after declining to partake either of

refreshment or retire to rest, was given in charge by the Doctor to "*three trust-worthy habitants*" to be retained as a prisoner.*

Shortly before day the alarm spread far and near, and bodies of insurgent peasantry pushed rapidly in from the surrounding country to support their comrades already in the village, where a force of three or four hundred men† was soon collected, and posted with great judgment in buildings flanking and covering one another. In reconnoitring the advancing troops, breaking down bridges, and taking up defensive positions, Nelson showed considerable military skill, and was evidently better adapted by nature for a partisan leader, than for a physician or a distiller. The courage of the Doctor appeared in strange contrast with the cowardice of Papineau, who since his flight from Montreal had lurked at St. Denis. Here he remained as Nelson's guest till the appearance of the troops, when, instead of heading his misguided followers like a brave man, and showing them that he could fight as well as talk, he abandoned them in the moment of danger, and fled to Yamaska on the St. Hyacinthe river, whence he subsequently made his way with no small difficulty, in company with O'Callaghan, into the United States. No excuses—no sophistry can palliate this act. No consideration should have made him desert his friends at such a time. Had he gallantly stood his ground, and borne himself like a man, the circumstance would have atoned, in the opinion of posterity, for much of his folly; whereas, the fact of his cowardly flight must stamp him with enduring ignominy.

A strong loop-holed or many-windowed dwelling-house, or building of any kind surrounded by others affording positions for a flanking or cross-fire, is always an admirable defensive position, when an assailing force lacks heavy artillery. Colonel Gore found this to be the case to his cost in the attack on St. Denis. The single field gun he had been able to bring on, owing to the bad state of the roads, made little impression on the buildings of the village, and although he attempted, again and again, from ten o'clock in the forenoon, till four in the afternoon, to turn the insurgents' position, he was completely foiled, and thought it prudent to retreat as the peasantry were now rapidly collecting, and he had already sustained a loss of six killed, and one officer, (Captain Markham,) and sixteen men wounded. Five of the latter were left behind, and treated with the utmost humanity by Nelson. After endeavouring for several hours to drag it through the horrible roads, the gun, a brass one, was spiked and abandoned.

The loss of the insurgents was much greater than that of the troops, being thirteen killed and several wounded.‡ Still, the vic-

* Wolfred Nelson's Narrative.

† It does not appear that at any period of the attack there was a larger number than five hundred *habitants* in the village.

‡ Christie, vol. iv. p. 461. Ovide Perrault, a member of the Assembly was among the killed.

tory was decidedly on their side, and they had effectually prevented the sheriff from executing the warrants for the apprehension of Nelson and others. But they stained their triumph by the cowardly and cruel murder of the unfortunate Weir. When the firing commenced his guard pinioned his arms with a rope, and put him into a cart, with the view of taking him to the rebel head-quarters at St. Charles. Possibly disliking his uncomfortable position, or fancying he might be able to make his escape, he jumped from the cart ere it had quit the village, and, as it is said in defence of the barbarous act of his murder, struck at his guards, though how, unless with his feet, it is difficult to imagine, as his arms were still bound. In the scuffle he was mercilessly shot, sabred, hacked and stabbed, as though he had been a mad dog, and not a pinioned and defenceless human being; and when the wretched man, maimed and bleeding from numerous wounds, sought shelter beneath the cart, he was dragged forth and foully murdered in the presence of a crowd of spectators. No more savage act marks the whole annals of Canada. And yet one of the barbarous villains who perpetrated it was subsequently acquitted, at Montreal, in the face of the clearest evidence against him, by a perjured jury of his countrymen.

Their victory at St. Denis raised the courage of the insurgents, and their scouting parties swept the country in every direction.—The steamer *Varennes*, laden with supplies for Gore's harassed force, was fired at from St. Ours, and compelled to put back; and the communication with Montreal rendered extremely difficult and irregular. But the insurgents had achieved their last success in this ill-advised and wretchedly organised rebellion. Wetherall, pursuant to his instructions, moved down the Richelieu from Chambly, with some three hundred infantry, a small body of cavalry, and two guns, to assail the intrenched position of the enemy at St. Charles. At St. Hilaire he learned of the repulse of Gore before St. Denis, and halted to await the arrival of some other troops, whom he now directed to join him, and fresh instructions from Montreal. But receiving no new orders from headquarters, and the additional troops having arrived, he pushed forward, on the 26th, to attack the insurgents. Desirous to avoid the shedding of blood, he sent them word that if they dispersed peaceably they should not be injured. Their general, Brown, sent a message in return to the effect, that if Wetherall's troops laid down their arms they should be permitted to pass unmolested.*—Brown's conduct immediately afterwards did not correspond with this piece of braggadocio. He fled ere the action had well begun, leaving his followers, who might number one thousand,† to take care of themselves.

* Narrative of Thomas Storow Brown.

† Brown appears to say in his statement that the number was much smaller. But as he endeavours to conceal his own cowardice, it is difficult to believe him. The number seems to have been as above.

On reaching to within two hundred and fifty yards of the rebel position Wetherall found it to be a stockaded work strongly occupied, and from which a heavy fire was opened upon his force by two guns and musketry. A few rounds from his guns breached the poorly constructed intrenchment, when his troops swept rapidly through, and scattered the wretchedly-armed insurgents with the bayonet. Fifty-six of their dead were counted on the ground, and several others died miserably in the burned houses. Their wounded and prisoners were few in comparison. The troops gave little quarter, and bitterly revenged the murdered Weir: their loss was three killed and eighteen wounded.

On the following day Wetherall dispersed a body of armed *habitants* at Point Olivier, and captured two small guns. On the 2nd of December Gore paid another visit to St. Denis with a stronger force than before. He found it abandoned, Nelson had fled, and his buildings, as well as the others from which the troops had been fired at, were given to the flames, and sacked by the enraged soldiers and volunteers. The abandoned gun was now recovered, as well as the body of the unfortunate Weir, which had been thrown into the river, and kept down by large stones.

On the 5th of December the Governor-General issued a proclamation, declaring martial law in force in the district of Montreal. Large rewards had been already offered for the capture of Papineau, and divers others charged with the crime of high treason. \$2,000 were now offered for the apprehension of the murderers of Weir, and \$1,200 for the capture of the persons who had barbarously killed Joseph Chartrand, a volunteer private of the parish of St. John.

The prompt measures taken by Colborne crushed out rebellion in the counties along the Richelieu before it could receive aid from the United States. Meanwhile, a body of sympathisers from Swanton in Vermont, composed principally of refugee Canadians, had taken post at St. Armands, under the command of Bouchette and Gagnon. Lieutenant-Colonel Hughes, of the 24th, was directed to dislodge these with six hundred troops; but before he could march from St. John's the loyal volunteers of the frontier townships had already defeated and dispersed them, and captured a few prisoners, among whom was Bouchette. The disaffected counties were now swept in every direction by the military and volunteers, and the gaol of Montreal was soon crowded with insurgent prisoners. Among these was Wolfred Nelson, who, after traversing by-roads and woods for ten days, swimming rivers and sleeping in the snow, was captured in the Eastern Townships, the militia corps of which, having obtained arms from the Government, were now thoroughly on the alert.

In Quebec the British inhabitants had come forward unanimously to offer their services to the Government, and were promptly formed into volunteer companies. A portion of these companies were embodied in a battalion one thousand strong, which, with the

other volunteers, were soon able to perform the garrison duties of the city, and allow the troops to be withdrawn to Montreal.—Aided by this reinforcement, and the insurgent gatherings on the Richelieu having been effectually suppressed, General Colborne now resolved to make a movement against St. Eustache, lying twenty miles to the north-west of Montreal, where a considerable body of the disaffected had established themselves under the leadership of Amury Girod, appointed by Papineau to command north of the St. Lawrence. In this direction a large number of the loyal inhabitants had been plundered by the insurgents, still ignorant of the disasters on the Richelieu, threatened in many cases with massacre, and compelled to take refuge in Montreal.

Every preparation having been completed, Colborne, on the 13th of December, marched out of Montreal, amid the cheers of its loyal citizens, at the head of two thousand men, including a body of cavalry and artillery. The ensuing night was passed at St. Martin's, and next morning the troops crossed the Ottawa on the ice to St. Eustache. The principal position of the rebels, who numbered about one thousand, was at the village church, now surrounded by a strong barricade, which was soon breached, however, by the fire of the artillery, when it was promptly carried by storm, and its defenders slain, captured, or driven out. The parsonage and manor houses, also occupied by the enemy, shared the same fate, and all these were soon wrapt in flames. A fresh wind blew at the time, and sixty adjoining buildings were speedily enveloped in one general conflagration. Some of the insurgents had taken refuge in the steeple of the church, and perished miserably in the flames, to the horror and distress of the spectators, who were unable to rescue them. Their entire loss was upwards of one hundred killed, nearly the same number wounded, and one hundred and eighteen prisoners.—Their leader, Girod, like Brown at St. Charles, deserted them soon after the firing commenced, under the pretence of bringing up reinforcements; but finding it impossible to escape, so narrowly was he pursued, he shot himself in the head, four days afterwards, a short distance below Montreal. The loss of the British at St. Eustache was one killed and seven wounded. Among the latter was Major Gagy. The insurgents' poor ammunition accounted for this small number of casualties.

On the 15th Colborne moved forward to St. Benoit, which had been the hot-bed of sedition in that quarter; and where the Patriots were said to be strongly fortified. While on the march thither he was met by a flag of truce tendering submission, the insurgents offering to lay down their arms, and surrender unconditionally. This, however, did not delay his progress. White flags were displayed from most of the houses along the line of march, in token of the peaceable disposition of the residents, to whom, in consequence, no injury was done. On his arrival at St. Benoit Colborne found nearly three hundred men drawn up in

line, and exhibiting white flags, who declared that they surrendered at discretion, and implored forgiveness for having taken up arms against their sovereign. With the exception of their leaders, who were retained as prisoners, they were all humanely dismissed to their homes. Shortly after Colborne marched into St. Benoit, Major Townsend, who had been ordered to move down upon its rear, from Carillon, with a part of the 24th regiment and a strong body of St. Andrew's Volunteers, also entered the village, and remained there until next day. Before this force set out on its return march to Carillon, the enraged Volunteers, many of whose homes had been plundered and even burnt in some cases by the insurgents, proceeded to take revenge for the injuries they had sustained.—Despite all that the commanding officer could do, to protect the unfortunate inhabitants, almost every house in the village was set fire to, including even the church. Two houses of leading rebels on the return line of march were also burned down.*

The prisons at Montreal were now filled with captured Patriots, who awaited their ultimate fate with no small anxiety. But although martial law was now in force, the great humanity of the Government prevented its use, as an instrument of punishment; and not a single insurgent prisoner was tried under its provisions. At the same time, it would be worse than useless to bring any of them to trial before the civil tribunals. Numbers of the least guilty of the prisoners were discharged, as the winter wore on, and went home, thankful, in most cases, to an indulgent Government which had so easily permitted them to escape the penalty of their treasonable conduct. In several instances, however, the magnanimity of the authorities was regarded as arising from timidity and fear of ulterior consequences, and was grossly abused, as will appear hereafter.

As the year drew towards a close the firm attitude assumed by the Government, in addition to the success which now so invariably attended military operations, made a most salutary impression on the *habitants*; and in several localities public meetings were held at which loyal resolutions were passed. In the neighbouring State of Vermont, Governor Jenison issued, on the 13th of December, a proclamation enjoining strict neutrality on the population, now a good deal excited, and greatly disposed to aid the refugee insurgents, who had crossed the border and still cherished hostile designs against the Province. A similar proclamation was issued on the 19th of the same month by William L. Marcy, governor of the State of New York. These proclamations had little effect, however, in restraining the turbulent and ungovernable men, who had now collected on the frontier, and who were ready for any aggression which promised plunder or unpunishable robbery.

Such was the condition of affairs as regarded Lower Canada when the new year made its appearance. On the 13th of January news arrived in Quebec that the Home Govern- 1838.

* Townsend's despatch to Gore, Carillon, December 18th, 1837.

ment, while fully approving of the course pursued by Gosford, had, pursuant to his own request, relieved him of the government,* and appointed Colborne as his temporary successor. On the 26th of February he left for Boston, *en route* to England, and previous to his departure was presented with several complimentary addresses. His mission of conciliation had been fully carried out, in accordance with his instructions, but it failed to accomplish the desired results from causes entirely beyond his control. Instead of a peaceable civil government he left behind him the reign of martial law; and one of his last acts was to approve of a general order directing the inhabitants of the counties of Lapraire, Chambly and L'Acadie, to deliver up their arms to the nearest justices of the peace or militia officers, within one month; while, at the same time, hostile bands were collecting at various points along the entire Canadian frontier.

Two days after Lord Gosford's departure a body of over six hundred insurgents, who had fled from the Province in December, recrossed the frontier from Lake Champlain, under the command of Doctors Robert Nelson and Cote, with fifteen hundred stand of arms and three field pieces stolen from United States' arsenals by their American sympathisers, to organise a fresh outbreak. But finding the Missisquoi militia assembling on their flank, and some troops advancing against their front, their hearts' failed them and they retreated into the United States. There they were speedily met by General Wool, who had pursued them from Plattsburg, (the American Government having been at last shamed into active interference) and compelled to surrender their arms and munitions of war. Nelson and Cote were arrested, and delivered over to the State authorities, but were soon again at liberty. During this brief inroad Nelson issued a declaration of independence, to which he appended his name as "president of the provisional government of Lower Canada." In this document, it was stated, among several other things, that all persons should enjoy equal rights; that the union between Church and State was dissolved, the feudal tenure of land abolished, and the people discharged from all seigniorial rights and payment of dues. Nelson was a Presbyterian, and his proclamation, while acceptable enough to the *habitants*, the majority of whom had just as little desire to pay tithes as seigniorial dues, alarmed the clerical order, and made it more earnest than before in its support of the Government.

Meanwhile, a bill had been introduced in the House of Commons, by Lord John Russell, suspending the constitution of Lower Canada, and making provision for its temporary government, by the creation of a Special Council of twenty-two members, whose decrees, or ordinances, were to have the same effect and force as the acts of a legislature. Roebuck, still agent for Lower Canada, made a strong argument against the bill, but the rebellion had

* *Vide* Glenelg's despatch to Gosford December 23rd, and to Colborne December 6th, 1837.

discredited him with the House, and however anxious the Conservative Party, now warily led by Peel, might be to embarrass the Whig Cabinet of Lord Melbourne, it declined to interfere.—The measure consequently carried by a large majority, there being only eight dissentients, and was duly sent to the upper chamber. There it met with more serious criticism, especially from Brougham, who, while a Whig himself, had not forgiven the administration for having declined to reappoint him as Lord Chancellor, and now acted the part of a political free-lance in the House of Lords. He made an extreme speech against the bill, and even declared that the French-Canadians had a right to revolt. His speech led to a reply from the Earl of Durham, who had already received the appointment of Governor-General, and of “Her Majesty’s High Commissioner for the adjustment of certain important affairs affecting the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada.” He declared that he did not go to Canada for the special purpose of suspending the constitution, but to endeavour to provide for the extraordinary state of circumstances produced by the rebellious part of the Canadian community. “I go,” he said, “not for the purpose of exercising that species of discreditable power, as Lord Brougham calls it, which is invested in me, but to restore the supremacy of the law, and I trust to be the humble instrument of conferring upon the British North American Provinces such a free and liberal constitution, as shall place them on the same scale of independence as the rest of the possessions of Great Britain.”* When Durham sat down applause greeted him from both sides of the House, and the bill was finally passed by a large majority. On the 10th of February it was signed by the Queen, and became law. On the 29th of March it was published in the *Quebec Gazette* “by authority,” and on the 5th of April the same journal contained Sir John Colborne’s proclamation summoning the “Special Council,” which had to be appointed by the Governor-General under the Act.—With his usual prudence he nominated eleven members of British origin, and eleven French-Canadians; all men of mark and good repute in the Province. This Council met for business on the 18th of April; and, five days afterwards, agreed to a bill declaring that their ordinances should take effect from the date of enactment.—Another measure was also passed, which suspended the *habeas corpus act* until the 24th of the ensuing August, so as to give time, it was said, to Durham to adopt, in accordance with his instructions, such measures as he should deem fit in relation to the persons concerned in the recent rebellion.†

Matters having now assumed a more peaceable aspect, Colborne, on the 12th of April, issued a general order permitting a number of volunteer corps, twenty-four companies in all, to return to their homes. Two whole regiments of Glengarry men, who had been quartered in the County of Laprairie, also marched home during

* Hansard Reports, vol. xi, col. 243. † Christie, vol. v. p. 53.

the same month. "His Excellency," said this general order, "cannot allow this opportunity to pass, without sincerely thanking the officers and men of these corps, for their zealous and valuable services during the time that they have been embodied." On the 27th a proclamation was issued declaring martial law, as established on the 5th of the preceding December, to be no longer in force. Despite the large number of minor delinquents which had been discharged during the winter the gaol at Montreal was still crowded with rebel prisoners, not one of whom had yet been brought to trial, owing to instructions from the Home Government, which had advised Colborne that it was opposed to the infliction of capital punishment. No court martial was therefore organised for the trial of any of the insurgents, and Colborne declined to have them tried by the ordinary tribunals, as they would be almost certain to be acquitted, and the law thus brought into contempt.

Early in May the harbour of Quebec was gayer than usual, owing to the arrival of several men-of-war, frigates and troop ships, which brought out a large reinforcement of troops from England, among which were two regiments of cavalry. Successful rebellion had now become a more difficult matter than ever.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DURHAM.

The new Governor-General came of an ancient lineage, the Lambton's of Durham, one of the very oldest English families. John George Lambton was born in 1792, educated at Eton and Cambridge, and shortly after attaining his majority was elected to Parliament for his native county. He was twice married; first in 1813 to a Miss Cholmondeley, who departed this life some two years afterwards, leaving a son and a daughter behind her, both of whom, like their mother, died young. In December, 1816, he married his second wife, a daughter of Earl Grey, and was created a peer in 1828. On his father-in-law becoming premier, in 1830, he was appointed Lord Privy Seal, and thus became a cabinet minister. He had his full share of carrying through the House the great Parliamentary reform measure of 1832, although indifferent health, and the loss of his children, prevented him from taking a very active part in its debates: and was thoroughly identified with the more advanced Whig school of political thought of that period. His general abilities were far above the average; and his speeches, at once fervid and eloquent, now and then stirred the sluggish atmosphere of the upper chamber to its depths. Rich in mental endowments, rich also in this world's goods; proud of his ancient ancestry; standing well with himself; high of temper, sensitive and irascible, and exceedingly wilful in his ways, he was not, at times, a very pleasant colleague to get along with. Poor health and domestic affliction added to his natural irritability of temper; and it is said that on more than one occasion he made himself so un-

pleasant at the council board as to seriously disturb and embarrass his father-in-law. So he retired from the Grey administration in 1833, a year before it fell to pieces on the Irish coercion bill, and was solaced with an earldom and a special mission to the Russian Court. In 1835 he returned again to St. Petersburg as the British Ambassador, and continued in that position until the summer of 1837. In January, 1838, he was appointed Governor-General of Canada, and, under a special Imperial statute, vested with unusual powers. Great things were expected from him by the Melbourne Cabinet, and also by the people of England, whose attention, owing to the rebellion, had been strongly drawn to this country.

Although an extreme Whig, and almost a Radical in principle, Durham was fond of power for its own sake, a proud man after his fashion, and much given to display. He had represented his sovereign at the court of the Czar with no small pomp and circumstance, and in coming to Canada determined to eclipse all the vice-regal splendour of his predecessors, and so largely impress his personality on its people. The Hastings man-of-war, appointed to convey him to his government, was one of the finest vessels of its class, was royally fitted up for the voyage; and its spacious state-rooms and cabins were surrendered for the use of his family and his numerous suite. He sailed from England on the 24th of April, and on the 27th of May the Hastings cast anchor in the harbour of Quebec. Bound to disembark in state, he remained on board until the 29th, when all preparations having been fully made for his reception, he landed at the Queen's wharf amid the thunder of artillery from the frowning rock above, to be received by Sir John Colborne and the whole military staff, now very numerous, in full uniform; by the judges, the heads of Government departments, and a vast concourse of the people who cheered him long and vigorously as he ascended grandly to the ancient Castle of St. Louis. Since the advent, over a hundred and seventy years before, of the Marquis de Tracy, and Courcelles and Talon, who came fresh from all the splendour of the court of Louis *le Grande*, nothing so imposing had been witnessed at Quebec. At the Castle the Executive Council and principal officers of the civil government were in attendance, and Durham was at once sworn in, and shortly afterwards issued a proclamation announcing his assumption of office, and briefly stating the policy he proposed to pursue. "The honest and conscientious advocate of reform, and of the amelioration of defective institutions, will receive from me," he said, "without distinction of party, races, or politics, that assistance and encouragement which their patriotism has a right to command; but the disturbers of the public peace will find in me an uncompromising opponent. People of British America, I beg you to consider me as a friend and an arbitrator, ready at all times to listen to your wishes, complaints, and grievances, and fully determined to act with the strictest impar-

tiality. If you, on your side, will abjure all party and sectarian animosities, and unite with me in the blessed work of peace and harmony, I feel assured that I can lay the foundation of such a system of government as will protect the rights and interests of all classes, allay all dissensions, and permanently establish, under Divine Providence, the wealth, greatness, and prosperity, of which such inexhaustible elements are to be found in these fertile countries."

Among the numerous train, which accompanied Durham to this country, was Charles Buller, a man of good reputation, a brilliant and able writer, and a fine speaker, whose political philosophy had been formed in the school of Thomas Carlyle. He entered Parliament in 1830 for the borough of West Lane, and voted for the Reform Bill, although it disfranchised his own constituency. But at the ensuing general election he found a new constituency, in Cornwall, for which he sat until his death in 1848. In selecting him for his chief secretary Durham made an excellent choice, as the famous report, which Buller so largely prepared, bears the most ample testimony. Durham was not so fortunate, however, as regarded his two assistant secretaries, Edward Gibbon Wakefield and Thomas E. M. Turton, who, although men of ability, were of tarnished reputation and loose principle. Turton's morals were formed in the lax Georgian school of his day, and eventually culminated in a successful divorce suit on the part of his wife; while Wakefield had been rendered notorious by the abduction of a ward in chancery, for which he had been convicted, and suffered imprisonment for two years. Turton was a barrister of some repute, and came out as the special law adviser of Durham. A good many of the legal blunders committed by his lordship, while in Canada, are laid at Turton's door, and it would appear justly so. He afterwards became registrar of the supreme court at Calcutta, a very lucrative post; succeeded his father in the family baronetcy in 1844; and died in 1854, while on his way to England from the Mauritius.—Wakefield remained in Canada after the departure of his patron, and got a position on the Beauharnois Canal, but there is no record of what became of him afterwards. Durham was severely censured, in Parliament, for the employment of these two men in connection with an office conferred by his sovereign.* The Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg, counselled him against the proceeding, but they had managed to ingratiate themselves into his good opinion, and in his usual wilful way he persisted in retaining them. In addition to his personal suite several adventurers also followed Durham to Canada, hoping to get some kind of profitable employment by his favour, and thus bettering their fortunes; and in some cases were successful.

But the unwise choice of his assistant secretaries was not the only mistake made by Durham. He had evidently formed a very

* See Lord Winchelsea's speech in the House of Lords, July 1st, 1838.

low estimate of the public men of Canada, of every shade of politics, and resolved to carry out this idea with a high hand. On the 31st of May the Executive Council was summarily dismissed, and a new one, consisting of Buller, Turton, Colonel Cooper, military secretary, Daly, provincial secretary, and Routh, commissary general, appointed in its stead. The Special Council, so wisely and carefully selected by Colborne, was, on the 1st of June, also sent about its business, and a new one created sometime afterwards. It was composed of seven members, six naval and military officers and Buller, not one of whom had any personal interest in the Province, were all strangers thereto,* and knew little or nothing about its affairs. This was an extreme proceeding, but Durham had evidently resolved to be the pacificator and regenerator of Canada after his own methods, so that the credit of the success, which he felt assured of accomplishing, should attach solely to himself; and with that object in view, and despite his poor health, he toiled with all his might during nearly the whole of the five months of his stay in this country.

Having completed all his preliminary arrangements, the more important part of Durham's plan presently began to unfold itself. As already stated, no person as yet had been tried for high treason, and a large number of prisoners still remained in Montreal gaol to be disposed of. The public mind continued in an excited state, and as an impartial jury could not be looked for it was useless to bring the insurgents to trial before the ordinary tribunals, and as Durham's mission was one of peace and conciliation he was unwilling to resort to court martial. In this dilemma he had recourse to an expedient, which being at variance with all established usage, and the very genius of British law, created a large amount of hostile criticism, especially in England. It was determined to release all the minor offenders, and to induce eight of the principal ones to plead guilty of the charge of high treason; and waiving all right of trial to place themselves unconditionally at the disposal of the Governor-General. This was accomplished after a good deal of intrigue, in which Wakefield played a leading part; and Bouchette, Wolfred Nelson, Viger, and five others, signed a document placing themselves unreservedly in Durham's hands. On the 28th of June, the coronation day of the Queen, the new Special Council was hurriedly convened in order to give its sanction to a proclamation, or rather ordinance, banishing these eight insurgents to Bermuda during her Majesty's pleasure, and pronouncing a sentence of death against them in case of their unauthorised return to the Province; as well as against Papineau, Cote, Gagnon, Robert Nelson, George E. Cartier, O'Callaghan, and eleven other fugitives from justice. The murderers of Lieutenant Weir and Joseph Chartrand were specially exempted, in this ordinance, from amnesty. Pursuant to its conditions the eight persons, who had

* Christie, vol. v. pp. 151 and 161.

confessed their guilt, were placed, on the 8th of July, on board a steamer, and at once conveyed to Bermuda. All the other political prisoners were discharged from further detention, on giving security to keep the peace. These were undoubtedly high-handed, and exceedingly autocratic proceedings; and, although they leaned to the side of mercy, established an arbitrary and dangerous precedent. In Canada, however, the general feeling was that the act of exiling the principal offenders, and releasing the others, was one of clemency, and necessitated by the condition of the country. The trial of the murderers of Chartrand at the autumn assizes, and their acquittal in the face of clear evidence against them, as well as the acquittal of one of the murderers of Weir at the ensuing assizes, clearly proved the difficulties which Durham had to contend against; and palliated, to some extent, the extreme and unusual course he had pursued.

Fancying that he had safely cut the Gordian-Knot which had confronted and perplexed him, Durham now resolved on taking a brief holiday, and in company with his countess paid a visit to Upper Canada. At every place where he touched, in going and returning, he was received with the greatest enthusiasm; and the most flattering addresses. He spent several days at the Clifton House, Niagara Falls, and all the principal persons of the neighbourhood, Canadians and Americans, waited on him to pay their respects.—Military reviews, levees, entertainments, and splendid balls, followed one another in quick succession, and all went merry as a marriage bell. On the 28th of July Durham and his suite again found themselves at Quebec. Shortly after their return, the Lieutenant-Governors of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island arrived in state at the capital, on board a war vessel, to hold a conference on the federal union of all the British North American Provinces, and to assist in which deputations from the Executive Governments of all the maritime colonies also presently made their appearance. Bad news, however, brought all these important proceedings to a sudden and inglorious termination.

Meanwhile, a serious storm had arisen in the British Parliament, where Durham's political foes, and false friends as well, to whom his airs of superiority had given no small offence, were glad to have an opportunity to do him mischief. On the 6th of July, Lord Winchelsea made pointed enquiries, in the House of Lords, as to the character of Turton and Wakefield, and condemned their employment by Durham as an insult to the sovereign. Three days afterwards Lord Brougham alluded, in a sneering manner, to the same subject, which compelled Lord Melbourne to explain, that the Government had not as yet had time to enquire into the matter, and, in the meantime, declined to state what course it designed to pursue. But all this was only the merest skirmishing, compared with the assault which took place, when a copy of the ordinance exiling the eight insurgent leaders to Bermuda was received. Brougham saw at once that he had Durham at his

mercy, and through him could now seriously embarrass the Cabinet, and thus punish it for having passed him over in the matter of the Lord Chancellorship. But he proceeded warily, and for the present contented himself by bringing the illegal action of Durham to the notice of the House, and afterwards introducing a bill to indemnify all those concerned in putting the "ordinance" into force. The ministry at first opposed the measure, and endeavoured to defend Durham, but had at length to give way and permit it, with some modifications, to become law. In the debate which took place Brougham found the wished-for opportunity of hostile criticism and censure, sharply reviewed the high-handed course pursued by Durham, and pointed out its illegality in forcible terms. And the Duke of Wellington declared that he had been unwittingly entrapped into supporting the bill suspending the constitution of Lower Canada; but, at the same time, threw all the responsibility for the unlawful acts done thereunder on the ministry. When Brougham's bill went down to the Commons it led to a long and animated debate. Lord John Russell at last gave way, and said that on reflection he had come to the conclusion that the safest course would be to pass the measure. But, at the same time, he strongly condemned the treatment Durham had received, in view of the fact that his policy had led to tranquillity and good order.—And then, vigorously striking back at Brougham, he declared, "that no refinement of sophistry, no bitterness of sarcasm, accompanied by professions of friendship, attempting to disguise, but unsuccessfully, could justify the petty and personal feeling at the bottom of all these attacks."

Official news of the disallowance of his policy by Parliament reached Durham, while engaged in discussing, with the representatives of the seaboard provinces, the question of the confederation of British North America. His proud and sensitive nature was stung to the quick; and all the fame he had anticipated from the pacification of Canada was turned in a moment into the bitter gall of disappointment. "Vanity of vanity," said the preacher, "all is vanity and vexation of spirit;" and how painfully the discounted Governor General and Queen's High Commissioner now realised the startling truth of this aphorism can be better imagined than described. His sun had suddenly set in darkness; and he made no secret of how keenly he felt his altered position, and declared that he would throw up his post as speedily as possible. In Canada the British feeling, which had so generally endorsed his policy, at once surrounded him with its sympathy; and in Quebec and Montreal Brougham, Glenelg and Melbourne, regarded as either procuring or consenting to his fall, were burned in effigy. On the other hand the French-Canadians publicly repudiated this outrage, and passed resolutions thanking Brougham and others for standing by them.

Having received the official despatches disallowing his transportation ordinance, Durham issued, on the 8th of October, a procla-

mation containing the "Act of Indemnity" passed by the Imperial Parliament. He also published, at the same time, a second proclamation expressive of his own views, defending his line of policy, and declaring his determination to abandon the government: a wilful and unwise proceeding. His enemies charged him with having thus appealed from the advisers of his sovereign to the judgment of a still rebellious colony. The London *Times* sarcastically referred to him as the "Lord High Seditious," and some of his brother peers denounced him as "a more dangerous rebel than Papineau." But all British Canada, nevertheless, was profoundly moved by his sudden fall; and addresses of sympathy poured in upon him from every direction. One of his last public acts was to promote James Stewart to the Chief Justiceship of Lower Canada, in succession to his ancient antagonist, Sewell, who had filled the position for so many years, and who now retired upon a pension.—Without waiting to be formally recalled Durham sailed for England on the 3rd of November, amid every demonstration of respect and regard that the British citizens of Quebec could possibly accord him; and leaving Sir John Colborne in charge of the administration. Princely in his style of living, exceedingly hospitable, indefatigable in business, and although at times haughty and supercilious in manner, usually unaffected, frank and affable, his departure was a matter of the deepest regret to the loyal people of the two Canadas. One of his last munificent acts was to direct that the salary and emoluments, accruing to him as Governor-General, should be expended in repairing the government houses at Montreal and Quebec. He did not long survive his bitter Canadian experience, and the inglorious termination of his brief reign, and died on the 28th of July, 1840. In due time his famous Report, the most masterly state paper that has ever been laid before the British Parliament, made its appearance, and largely vindicated his colonial policy. To the people of Canada it constitutes the most valuable legacy, from a historical, social and political point of view, he could possibly leave them. With the exception of two paragraphs, on Church and Crown lands, written by Wakefield and Hanson, the entire Report was prepared by Buller, but on lines laid down for his guidance by Durham, who also aided in the work of correction and revision. Considering its great length, and that it was framed by men who had little previous knowledge of this country, it has remarkably few errors. The affairs of the North American Colonies, and especially of the two Canadas, are treated with consummate ability. The narrow and personal policy of the Family Compact, the abuses in the Crown Lands Department, the evils of the Clergy Reserves, the disastrous effects of Sir Francis Head's policy, the long struggle for race supremacy, and many other questions of public importance, are reviewed in the most masterful and statesmanlike manner. It speedily led to the union of the two Canadian provinces, and the establishment of "Responsible Government," the great political desiderata of that

period, and so necessary then to meet existing difficulties. But these measures failed to remove the causes which had produced these difficulties. The antagonism of race still continued, and continues, to produce fresh difficulties—fresh problems for the political philosopher. The progress of time has proved that Durham's policy embodied no radical cure for the disease which has so long scourged this country, and which is sure to produce fresh complications every few years. But the Report found large favour with the English people. The Melbourne Cabinet cordially endorsed it; and a bill was founded on its more important recommendations, introduced by Russell into the Commons, during the session of 1839, and submitted to a committee of the House to report thereon. It eventually became law. Under its provisions a new historical epoch arose in Canada, and a new state of political existence sprang into being, to endure for a cycle of twenty-eight years. It had then fulfilled its mission, worn itself out by its own friction, and had to be thrust aside to make way for the new constitutional experiment that had become necessary in order to meet the difficulties of a fresh race crisis.

THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR JOHN COLBORNE.

Four causes may be said to have led to the failure of the Lower Canadian rebellion of 1837: the cowardice of its leaders, the absence of the anticipated aid from the United States, the prompt action of Colborne, and the decision, at the last moment, of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to oppose active insurrection. Owing to the humane policy of the Home Government, and the mistakes made by Durham, the insurgent rank and file went alike unpunished; and Wolfred Nelson and the other *détenus* at Bermuda found themselves again at liberty to go where they pleased. At the September assizes of Montreal an earnest effort was made by the Crown to bring to justice the murderers of Joseph Chartrand, of St. John's, one of the very few French-Canadians who had joined the volunteers to put down insurrection. But although the evidence against the accused was as clear as possible, they were acquitted by a perjured jury of their countrymen. This disgraceful circumstance was regarded as a party triumph, and the jury and the discharged prisoners fraternised after the trial, and even dined together.* Martial law was the only code that could now reach the guilty; but, as already seen, Durham had declined to avail himself of its provisions. Mercy to the vanquished, however, was not, by any means, mercy to the distracted Province, for had a stern example been made of a few ringleaders of the rebellion of 1837, there would have been no rising in 1838, and much bloodshed and much misery also would have been avoided. The great

* Christie, vol. v. p. 199.

clemency of the Government was regarded by the *habitants* as merely a proof of its weakness ; and the insurgent leaders who had been humanely set at liberty, swaggered about the frontier parishes, and boasted that the official *bureaucrats* did not dare to punish them. Several of these people, who had been members of the recent Assembly or office-holders, had taken the oath of allegiance to the Queen, but had, nevertheless, plotted against her without compunction, and so added the sin of perjury to the crime of rebellion.*

As the spring of 1838 passed away the various volunteer corps were disbanded, as it was considered that their services were no longer required. The surface of society now assumed a more tranquil aspect, the political agitation, that had so long filled the Province with clamour, had wholly ceased, and the *habitants* had everywhere resumed their ordinary occupations. But beneath this apparent, yet deceptive, calm, the machinations for a new rebellion were secretly yet vigorously set in motion in every direction. The leaders of the late outbreak were now harboured in the United States, and there leisurely and securely plotted a fresh rising.—Ascribing their recent want of success to the incompleteness of their organisation, and the premature disclosure of their plans, they devised a secret society, called the Chasseurs, with four degrees in its ritual, to each of which admission was only obtained under the obligations of an impressive oath. Its signs and passwords were of a simple but effective character, and such as would be easily remembered and understood by the *habitants*. During the summer its emissaries traversed the Province in every direction, forming lodges, and initiating members ; and carried on their operations so quietly and secretly that the authorities had no idea of what was being done. Even the priests were a good deal at fault, this time, and were very generally kept in ignorance of the projected rising. Women joined the Chasseur lodges, as well as men, and were frequently more active in promoting their treasonable purposes. So well did both sexes keep their counsel, that the English-speaking farmers and shopkeepers, scattered here and there throughout the rural districts, were completely thrown off their guard ; and continued to believe that the catastrophe of the preceding year had effectually cured their French-Canadian neighbours of all rebellious proclivities. The same state of things prevailed in the larger centres of population ; and in Montreal, where the Chasseur lodges had a membership estimated at three thousand, their very existence remained a profound secret.† American sympathisers, along the entire Canadian frontier, adopted an aggressive policy of a similar character, and now commenced to form themselves into secret societies called Hunters' lodges, affiliated with the Chasseurs, and also with the extreme Reformers, of the Mackenzie

* Sellar's History of Huntingdon, &c., p. 505. † Colborne to Marquis of Normandy, May 6th, 1839.

school, in Upper Canada. Subscriptions were solicited to aid the new rising, military companies formed, and arms, frequently stolen from the State arsenals, collected. All through the Montreal District the *habitants* secretly polished up their old flint-lock muskets, shot guns and pistols ; and kept the village blacksmith busy, at nights, in forging pike-heads and making daggers. To provide themselves with artillery hardwood logs were bored out, and strengthened with iron hoops. It was decided by Robert Nelson and the other Patriot leaders, that the new insurrection should first make headway in the group of frontier counties lying west of the Richelieu, and that the American contingent was to march to its support by way of Lake Champlain, and cross the frontier from the State of New York at some place near Rouse's Point. But secretly as the rising had been planned, and carefully as all knowledge of it had been kept by even the women from the parish priests, watchful now for their tithes, as well as their flocks, the project at length came to their ears, although in an indistinct sort of fashion. Bishop Lartigue was duly apprised of approaching danger, and Colborne was warned, but too late to take the necessary steps for its prevention. Meanwhile every preparation for the rising, down to the smallest detail, had been well-arranged for each locality. The British inhabitants were to be first disarmed, and made prisoners if necessary, the barracks at Laprairie, seven miles from Montreal, were to be occupied, and the Caughnawawa Indians surprised, and their muskets and ammunition, given them by the Government the year before, seized. The chief local agent, as regards these plots, was a *habitant* named Desmarais, who had effected an excellent organisation for their accomplishment. Robert Nelson, in his quality of president of the proposed republic, took supreme direction of all hostile preparations, and now maintained an active correspondence with William Lyon Mackenzie, who promised effective co-operation at the west.

On the night of Saturday, the 3rd of November, the time appointed for the rising, the new insurrection broke out as suddenly, and as unexpectedly, as a storm from a clear sky, so far as the general public were concerned. The steamer from Lachine was late that evening, and did not put into Beauharnois until after night had fallen. She had a full load, and among her passengers were several Old Country farmers on their way home from Montreal. Immediately after landing these men were all made prisoners by the insurgents, who were now in full possession of the village, and a number of other farmers who resided in its neighbourhood shared the same fate. The house of Edward Ellice, the seignior of Beauharnois, was presently surrounded, the inniats captured, and sixteen stand of arms and a quantity of ammunition taken possession of. A scouting party of the insurgents, engaged in disarming the loyal inhabitants, shot a sturdy Yorkshireman, named Walker, dead in his own doorway, and severely wounded his comrade, David Vitty, who had fired upon them in self-defence.

They were in the act of maltreating the women of the family, when a troop of hussars suddenly making its appearance they fled in the darkness. Their next exploit was to capture the *Henry Brougham* steamboat. She put into Beauharnois, as usual, on her way to Lachine, was immediately seized by the insurgents, and her passengers, seventeen in number, mostly all from Upper Canada, made prisoners and confined under guard, with a number of others, at the priest's house on the border of the village. These operations were all directed by Desmarais, who soon found himself at the head of five hundred men, mostly armed with muskets, shot-guns and pikes. His next proceeding was to direct the march of one hundred and fifty picked men, to capture the arms of the Indians at Caughnawaga. This detachment moved out at daylight next morning (Sunday) under the command of Cardinal and Duquette. It was accompanied by Desmarais, who rode behind to see in person that matters went right, and that no desertions took place. On nearing Caughnawaga the main body of the insurgents concealed themselves in the adjoining bush, while Cardinal and Duquette walked quietly into the village, to ascertain how the attack could be best made. But the insurgents had already been seen by the sharp eyes of a young squaw, while looking for her cow, and fleet of foot she sped swiftly homewards, and told how a large body of armed men were lurking in the neighbourhood. A scout was at once sent out, and soon returned with full confirmation of the girl's statement. Messengers, with true Indian caution, now passed swiftly yet silently from house to house, and the men of the village were soon assembled at the May pole, armed with muskets, tomahawks, and pitchforks. Cardinal and Duquette were at once made prisoners, and three other insurgents, who afterwards came to reconnoitre and ascertain the cause of delay, shared the same fate. Messengers were then sent to invite the main body of insurgents to enter the village. Fancying a friendly reception awaited them they moved forward. Presently the Indians sounded their war-whoop, suddenly surrounded the insurgents, and disarmed them in a few moments. Seventy-five *habitants* were made prisoners, the remainder, among whom was Desmarais, fled into the bush, and made their escape. As soon as canoes could be got ready, the prisoners were compelled, by their Indian captors, to row themselves to Montreal, where they were at once placed in gaol. The sight of this band of captive rebels, as they passed through the streets, in a sad procession, had a most salutary and deterrent effect upon the numerous Chasseur lodges of the city, now ready to break out into active insurrection at the first favourable moment. This effect was deepened, in no small degree, when it became known that several of the prisoners had very soon turned informers.

The rising was general throughout all the large district lying west of the Richelieu River, and south of the St. Lawrence. At the north side of the latter river the Chasseurs were all prepared

to give active help, the moment a favourable opportunity presented itself to strike with effect. The hated British settlers were to be certainly driven out of the country this time, and independently of the acquisition of their deserted homesteads, the deluded *habitants* saw visions of future prosperity in the promises of their leaders, that seigniorial dues and rights, and tithes as well, would be forever abolished. From all parts of the district, both north and south of the St. Lawrence, the loyal inhabitants, driven from their homes by the insurgents, fled to Montreal. The lenity of the Government, after the former rising, seems only to have rendered the *habitants* more exasperated and more unfeeling. In order to interrupt communication with the frontier, part of the railway between Laprairie and St. John's was torn up. The mails between Montreal and Quebec were also intercepted; while, at the same time, large bodies of *habitants* assembled at different points along the Richelieu, where they expected to find depots of arms and ammunition awaiting them. But in this respect they were disappointed, their leaders had failed to redeem their promises, and numbers returned to their homes much dissatisfied. Many, however, pushed on to the village of Napierville, twenty-seven miles south-east of Montreal, and seventeen miles within the frontier, to join Robert Nelson, whose headquarters were there. South of Napierville, and extending to the boundary line, lay the English-speaking settlements of Lacolle and Odelltown.

Colborne confronted the new danger with his usual promptness and vigour. On the 3rd of November he reappointed the Special Council, which had existed before Durham's arrival, and summoned it to meet six days afterwards for the despatch of business, and to take steps for the preservation of the public tranquillity. On the 4th he proclaimed martial law in the District of Montreal. At the same time the volunteer militia who had served during the preceding winter, flew to arms with the greatest alacrity. The Special Council promptly suspended the *habeas corpus act*, so as to permit of the summary arrest of numerous suspected persons, and the gaol at Montreal was soon again filled to overflowing. Colborne's plan was to assail the insurgents simultaneously, both in front and flank. Colonel Carmicheal, commanding a detachment of regulars at Cornwall, was instructed to organise a force sufficient to attack Beauharnois from above. Captain Campbell with a force from Lachine was to cross to Caughnawaga, take the Indians there with him, break up the rebel camp at Châteauguay, and effect a junction with Carmicheal at Beauharnois. Campbell preserved the utmost secrecy as to his movements, crossed the river on the night of the 10th, and advanced against Châteauguay to find that the insurgents had left that place on the morning before for Napierville, taking Ellice and eleven other prisoners with them. But while on the march a squadron of hussars suddenly made its appearance, and the insurgents at once bolted like deer into the woods, where they could not be followed. Their prisoners, freed at last, hired a

conveyance, and finally reached Montreal in a sorry plight.

Colonel Carmicheal had no difficulty in getting all the men he required for his expedition. On the report of the new rebellion reaching Glengarry, the county rose *en masse*, its loyal Highlanders burning with eagerness to get an opportunity to crush it. They literally flocked in crowds to the Colonel's headquarters, beseeching him to give them the privilege of striking a blow for their Queen and their country. As fast as he could enroll and arm them he sent them by steamer to the Coteau Landing, from whence he designed to move against Beauharnois. By the 9th his arrangements were all completed, and at daylight next morning his advance crossed Lake St. Frances in a steamer and two barges, and was landed at Knight's Point. But it was noon before his whole force was over, and the forward march then commenced over rough mud roads, now frozen as hard as stone, and most difficult to traverse. At six o'clock the column was within two miles of Beauharnois, and here Carmicheal learned that the insurgents had abandoned their intrenchments, and also a strong position in a mill close by, and had concentrated on the hill above the village around the church and the cure's house, where they still held a number of prisoners. The open country lay behind them, to cut them off from which he now detached a body of cavalry by a circuitous route, while he moved his infantry against their front. But the insurgents did not await the attack, and being presently alarmed by the sound of a bugle, fired one hurried volley at the advancing column, which killed a private of the 71st Highlanders and wounded three volunteers, and then turned and fled for their lives. So rapidly did they scatter in the darkness that the return fire did them little or no harm. The prisoners in the cure's house were now released, and presently incendiary fires were started in several directions, which did a great deal of harm, not only to the properties of the disloyal but to those of the loyal inhabitants as well.—At Chateauguay, also, the Indians with Campbell's column, true to their ancient instincts, set fire to several houses and barns, and looted without compunction all they could lay hands on. Some of the Glengarry men evinced a strong predilection for the abandoned French-Canadian ponies, and on their return home took a number with them. The *Lord Brougham* was soon refitted, and when prepared to sail for Lachine eighty-two prisoners were put on board, as well as a captured rebel flag and some other trophies.

The rising along the Chateauguay Valley was as great a surprise to its British residents as it was elsewhere, and they had not the most remote suspicion of what was about to take place. For a time the insurgents had it all their own way, and easily made prisoners of a number of farmers and seized their guns. But they shunned the neighbourhoods more thickly settled by Old Country people, who promptly flew to arms, and at once garrisoned the block-house, and a few other strategic points, around which they could readily rally. The news of the rising reached the village of

Huntington shortly after its inhabitants had assembled in their churches for the forenoon services, and the men at once hurried away to arm themselves. The Presbyterian church was made the headquarters of the volunteers, and there a blacksmith was soon busy repairing old muskets, while another workman of the same craft toiled hard at shoeing horses for scouts and messengers. Early on Monday morning one hundred and fifty brave men fell into line, and went forward to meet the enemy, who were reported to have assembled in force a few miles away. After losing one man in a skirmish, they were reinforced by a body of Glengarry men and St. Regis Indians, and the insurgents now became apprehensive of a serious attack, and fled during the night towards Napierville.— They eventually scattered altogether, leaving their settlements to be harried by the Indians, and by some unprincipled white men who hung upon the skirts of the volunteers, and were ready for plunder at any opportunity.

Thirty-six miles from Montreal, in the frontier county of Huntington, on the line of the Grand Trunk Railway, lies the thriving village of Hemmingford, in the township of the same name, which had been largely settled by Old Country people, Protestants and Roman Catholics. Major Scriver, one of its principal inhabitants, while on his way to Troy, on the Lake Champlain steamer, learned by chance that a second Canadian rebellion was about to break out, and at once retraced his way homewards, in order to prepare the militia battalion he commanded for active service. On Sunday morning news reached him of the rising in St. Remi and the parishes east of it, and he promptly enrolled three companies of volunteers. But there were not sufficient muskets to arm them all, and a good many men had to content themselves with fowling pieces. The local insurgent leaders had used every means to induce the Irish Roman Catholics to join them, but without success. The latter knew well, that if their English-speaking Protestant neighbours were driven out of the country their own turn would surely come afterwards; so they promptly joined the volunteers. Scriver felt satisfied that there was little to be apprehended from the French-Canadian parishes, and that the real danger would come from the United States in the direction of Lake Champlain. He was speedily convinced of the correctness of this opinion. During the forenoon of the 6th a despatch reached him from Colonel Odell, stating that he had positive information the Patriots were gathering at Rouse's Point for a movement into Canada, in order to open communication with Nelson at Napierville, and asking him to come to his assistance at once with all the men he could muster. The little hamlet of Hemmingford was now in a state of the greatest excitement. Every house was crowded with armed volunteers, mostly all from the North of Ireland. Sturdy backwoodsmen, and horny-handed sons of toil were they; strong to work and able to march, and among whom there was not the most remote idea of flinching from danger of any kind. To provide for a night attack on the enemy,

Scriver made each man tie a strip of white cotton cloth around his left arm, so that friends and foes could be distinguished apart.—Two o'clock approached, and presently a mounted messenger emerged from the darkness with a despatch for Scriver. It came from Odell, stating that the Patriots were crossing the border from Rouse's Point, and asking for immediate help or he must be overpowered. Scriver wrote back that he would be with him by ten o'clock at latest. The order to march was soon after given, and the men toiled forward, in the darkness, along the wretched country road. As daylight broke upon them they had accomplished eight miles of their journey; and presently the Odelltown road was gained, when one of the fairest scenes the eye can rest on, lit up by the bright Canadian sunshine of that frosty morning, burst upon the view of the wearied but excited men. In the foreground lay a large and fertile plain, studded with the homes of an industrious and free people; in the distant perspective the Green Mountains of Vermont towered upwards in solemn grandeur; while, in another direction, Lake Champlain spread out its waters now placidly slumbering in the early sunbeams. Odelltown was then, as now, a fine rural district, thickly settled by prosperous farmers, and could not boast of even a hamlet, although it had a little way apart its Methodist Church, its store, its blacksmith's shop, and its tavern. In 1784 Joshua Odell, a sturdy U. E. Loyalist, took up his allotment of land there, a short distance within the frontier; and as his family of sons and daughters was a large one, and settled all around him, or down the concession line, the neighbourhood, for a strip of several miles in extent, presently became known as Odelltown. In this settlement, in front of its stone store building, Scriver's command of 220 men found Odell's militia corps, not quite two hundred strong, hastily summoned together, drawn up in line. With the exception of March's Lacolle volunteers, who had white blanket suits, none of these men had any uniform. About a mile away, near the Richelieu River, and about two hundred yards inside the boundary line, stood a large log dwelling house and barn. Here the insurgents, some four hundred strong, and chiefly composed of French-Canadian refugees, had taken up their position, under the command of a French officer, named Tourvey, and of Doctor Cote. They had one gun, with which they now commenced to fire round shot at the volunteers, but the distance was too great to do any harm. Odell, although the superior officer, waived his right to the chief command in favour of Scriver, who had more military experience. His plans were quickly formed. March was directed to move along a route covered by some bush and a deep ditch, and cut off the insurgents from the frontier; while another company of the Lacolle men was to intercept their retreat towards the Richelieu River. One hundred men of Odell's battalion formed the reserve; Scriver was to attack the enemy in front with the Hemmingford volunteers. The advance was made in the most gallant manner, with Scriver, who

was well mounted, in the front, sword in hand, leading on his men. A couple of volleys were fired ; and then with a ringing cheer the Hemmingford men made a bayonet charge with a rush, before which the insurgents fled at the top of their speed towards Rouse's Point, and ere March's company had advanced sufficiently far to intercept them. Five hundred stand of arms, a quantity of pistols and bowie knives, the gun already alluded to, and thirty saddled horses and other material of war, were captured by the victors.—The bodies of eleven dead insurgents were found on the ground, and eight were made prisoners, but their wounded had been carried away. On the side of the Hemmingford men two brothers, of the name of McIntyre, North of Ireland Presbyterians, had been killed. One of them had recently been married, and twelve hours before, when parting from his young wife, said "I go to fight for my Bible and my Country, and I hope I will do my duty."—Another volunteer, who had been badly wounded, died during the next night. A few others were wounded more or less seriously, all of whom recovered. In the afternoon after the battle Scriver, after detailing thirty men to reinforce Odell, marched with the remainder of his force towards Mooers, being apprehensive that a fresh body of Patriots might cross the frontier in that direction.—But learning that all was quiet there, his wearied men were permitted to visit their homes, with the understanding that they should reassemble next day.

Meanwhile, on the afternoon of the 3rd, the insurgents had suddenly asserted themselves at Napierville ; appearing in bands on the streets of that town armed with muskets, pikes and other weapons, and made prisoners of some fifty of the loyal inhabitants. At four o'clock Gagnon and Cote marched in with a strong body of *habitants*, and assumed command. Encouraged by their constantly increasing numbers, and confident of ultimate success, the expected arrival of Robert Nelson was now eagerly awaited by the insurgents. On the evening of the 3rd, in company with two officers from France, Tourvey and Hindenlang, whom he had won over, Nelson had embarked at St. Albans in a scow, laden with two hundred and fifty muskets, and a quantity of ammunition and other supplies, and shortly before daylight, next morning, landed at an unfrequented wharf near the mouth of the Richelieu. Saddle horses and carts were soon procured from the *habitants* of the neighbourhood, and about noon Nelson entered Napierville in a triumphal procession. The pikes and scythes fastened to poles were now exchanged for fine new American muskets and bayonets, and the two French officers promptly set to work to organise the *habitants* into companies, and teach them some drill. The insurgent commissariat was supplied by the plunder of the British residents of the town and its neighbourhood, whose grain, provisions, and cattle were confiscated without ceremony. The shopkeepers were also plundered without compunction, and had to look silently and helplessly on while their goods of every kind were being carried away.

Before evening Nelson had issued an elaborate proclamation, in the style of the year before, which caused a run on the banks in Montreal, and led to a temporary suspension of specie payments until the following month of June.* On the town flag-pole floated the white ensign of the new republic, emblazoned with two blue stars; and as Nelson exultingly pointed to it he told his admiring followers of the large supplies of men and war material which were on their way from the United States. Elated by the news of all these grand doings, the *habitants* of the surrounding country flocked in droves to Napierville to support the rising. Before day, on Tuesday morning, (the 6th) Cote, Tourvey and Gagnon left for Rouse's Point to hasten on the reinforcement of men and supplies, to meet their defeat, as already described, at the hands of the brave Hemmingford men. The tidings of this defeat fell like a thunderbolt at Napierville; and the *habitants*, true to their volatile nature, sank from the exulting confidence of the preceding day into despair; and during the following night large numbers deserted in the darkness, and silently slunk to their homes. Nelson's position was now becoming exceedingly critical. In his rear, and directly cutting his line of communication with the United States, were the victorious volunteers of Hemmingford and Lacolle; while Colborne, who had crossed from Montreal to Laprairie on the 6th, was steadily advancing against his front with a force fully five thousand strong, composed of five regiments of the line, nearly two regiments of cavalry, a body of four hundred Indians, and five hundred Montreal volunteers. Nelson accordingly relinquished his original intention of capturing St. John's, and making it his headquarters, and now determined to fall back upon Odelltown, crush the militia force there, restore his interrupted communications with Rouse's Point, his chief base of supplies, and facilitate his own escape in case of fresh disaster. Heavy rain on the 8th prevented him from commencing this movement, but early on the following day the order to march was given, and fully twelve hundred insurgents, two-thirds of whom were armed with good muskets, and the rest with pikes and other weapons, took the road to Odelltown under his own immediate command, with Hindenlang acting as his brigadier-general.

Colonel Odell, a good-natured and easy going man, had not the most remote idea that the insurgents would again invade his settlement after the severe lesson they had already received, and had accordingly permitted the majority of his men to visit their families, with the understanding that they were to promptly muster on the 9th after dinner, when Scriver was expected with the Hemmingford volunteers; and a joint effort was to be made to capture the village of Lacolle, three miles distant, still held by the insurgents. At nine that morning Colonel Taylor, of the regular army, who had been sent the preceding winter to organise the frontier

* Christie, vol. v, p. 238.

militia, had arrived at Fisher's tavern, in order to take command of the projected attack on Lacolle, and had brought a plentiful supply of ammunition with him. He found everything, on his arrival, perfectly quiet, and no suspicion existing of danger being near at hand. Presently a man galloped up in hot haste with a message from Captain Weldon, of the Odelltown battalion, who held the advanced post about half a mile from Lacolle, stating that the rebels were advancing in great force, and that he was falling back before them. Taylor at once ordered out his horse, galloped up the road to reconnoitre, and found, at the church, a cluster of volunteers watching with intense interest the head of the insurgent column as it appeared above the rise in the Lacolle road, a short distance to the north of them. All told Taylor had only some two hundred men to support him, and of these there were not over sixty close at hand, and available for immediate defence. These were mainly Hemmingford Volunteers. But Taylor, nevertheless determined to stand his ground and fight it out. His dispositions for defence had to be instantly made. A messenger was sent to Odell, directing him to collect his men as speedily as possible and advance to his support. Taylor, with a part of the force at hand, then garrisoned the church, a solid stone building, 40x50 feet, with the gable, in which was the main entrance, facing the road, and highly placed windows above the line of fire at either side. Three small windows lit the little gallery above the entrance, and at the opposite end, where the old-fashioned pulpit stood, were two windows more of the same kind. From the church there extended to the graveyard, distant some five hundred feet, an old fence and a deep ditch, along which were presently posted March's small company, who held their ground stoutly all through the battle that ensued, and prevented a flanking movement in that direction. Across the road from the church, in an angle formed by the side line, and a little to the north-east, stood two substantial log barns, surrounded by a stone fence, which Taylor either neglected to occupy, in the hurry of the moment, or had not sufficient men to spare. The gun captured the day before was wheeled into the middle of the road, and pointed at the advancing column. It was worked by an old artilleryman, a settler in the neighbourhood, and a drill Sergeant of the Royals, who fought it in the most gallant manner, without, however, doing much harm to the insurgents. To avoid its fire the latter deployed, in good form, to the right and left, as though they designed to surround the church, the key of the defence, and isolate its little garrison from its supports. This movement was at once checked by March's company, while Odell, who fortunately came up at this juncture, promptly formed a defensive line from the tavern to the church, kept up a steady fire, and thus effectually covered the other flank. The enemy next endeavoured to obtain possession of the graveyard, but March's men met this movement with such a steady fire, from behind tombstones and other cover, that it was also abandoned, and a front attack on the church now

became the only available one. Hindenlang, who led the insurgents bravely, now occupied the two log barns, and lined the adjoining stone fences with a strong force, and presently a storm of bullets poured through the windows of the church at every side, except that on the south. The odds were terrible, but the gallant band within the church never quailed for a moment, and kept their assailants at bay by a steady fire. After each man had loaded his musket he approached a window, took aim and fired, and retired to make way for a comrade. Several were shot while delivering their fire, and many hair-breadth escapes took place.—Lieutenant Sims, a capital marksman, stationed himself near a gallery window, and fired as quick as five men could load for him. An Englishman named Negrass, of the regular army, and adjutant of Odell's battalion, took possession of the pulpit, and fired through the rear window as fast as muskets could be handed to him.—Taylor's voice was constantly heard directing proceedings, and warning the men not to waste their ammunition, but to fire carefully. Father Rooney, educated for the Roman Catholic priesthood, and a convert to Methodism, a pious and zealous man, was among those shut up in the church. When told the enemy was coming he had dropped on his knees in prayer ; but as soon as the fighting grew hot he was assiduous in attending the wounded, and in exhorting the men to fight valiantly for their country, and also for their Queen. But there was small need for such exhortation. The stubborn courage of the British race was now thoroughly aroused, the stern resolve was to fight it out to the bitter end ; and wife, and children, and home were forgotten for the time. By-and-by the wavering conduct of the insurgents, who began to act like beaten men, gave the besieged fresh courage.—They could hear Hindenlang and other rebel officers urging their men to make a rush at the church, and so get below the line of fire, and noticed that there was no responsive advance. The insurgents had the loyalists completely at their mercy ; a rush of less than a hundred yards would have brought them to the church door, to batter in which would have only been the work of a moment for resolute men. But that rush was never made, and the little garrison still continued to hold the enemy at bay. And now the great danger, that Taylor had tried to guard against, came at last. The ammunition of his men began to run out. But at this critical moment a violent snow storm suddenly came on, and under its friendly Providential cover four volunteers, called for by Taylor, obtained an abundant supply of ammunition from the tavern, the road to which was still held by Odell's little battalion. The messengers ran fast and returned safe ; and the gallant band within the church thanked God and took fresh courage. But under cover of the storm the enemy had crept up to within thirty yards of the beleaguered building, and now from behind every tree, and bush, and fence, bullets came like hail through its shattered windows ; and its defenders could hear the shouts of their foes as they called

on them to surrender and they would receive quarter. But there was no surrender there ! In several of the square, old-fashioned, pews lay dead men ; while the severely wounded, writhing in pain, asked for water to assuage their burning thirst, but there was no water to give them. Those still able to fight were blackened and grim with gunpowder smoke, and in some cases with trickling blood from their wounds, but they fought and prayed, and fought and fought, all the same. The attack from the log barns had now become exceedingly hot and galling, and presently two brave Hemmingford men, James Rodgers and John Croystal, volunteered to set fire to them. For a couple of minutes Taylor directed a concentrated discharge of musketry against the barns, so that not an insurgent dare lift his head above cover. One man carried a smoking port-fire, the other a burning log from the church stove. There was a lightning rush across the intervening road ; the hay and straw in one barn were set on fire in a twinkling ; then a rush back again to the church ; all accomplished without a wound. A shout of exultation arose at the successful achievement of this gallant act. Presently both barns were in flames, and there was a lull in the battle as the insurgents rushed from the burning buildings in search of new cover.

But not in the church alone did the farmers of Hemmingford and Odelltown bear themselves bravely during this contest, fought out at the odds of six to one against them. On the flanking line along the road, in the graveyard and the ditch that connected it with the church, every man played his part valiantly, and there was no flinching. For over two hours had the battle been waged, and the insurgents were no nearer the capture of the church than when they commenced the attack. Meanwhile Sriver was advancing from Hemmingford to join in the capture of Lacolle at two p. m., and had halted his men for refreshments about a mile distant, but remained in utter ignorance of the fierce fight going on a little way off, as the wind blew in the wrong direction. It, however, bore the sounds of battle over the Richelieu to Caldwell Manor, where they were heard by Captain Vaughan, who at once drew his company together, and crossing the river hastened to support Odell, whom he knew must have been attacked. As he moved along the side road leading towards the church, his advance guard was presently seen by the insurgents as it emerged from a little wood.* Thoroughly beaten as they were now, the sight of even this small reinforcement utterly disheartened them. They were seized with sudden and uncontrollable panic, and flinging away their arms fled, like a flock of frightened sheep, from the fatal field. Taylor promptly ordered his men to pursue, but to little purpose. Nothing but cavalry could overtake the runaways, fleeing wildly for their lives, and but few prisoners were made.—

* *Vide* Hindenlang's narrative before his execution in Christie, vol. v, p. 251.

All Nelson's force disappeared in a few minutes, leaving the fields and roads behind them strewn with muskets, pikes, and other weapons, and their dead and badly wounded, which they had not time to remove towards the close of the battle, lying here and there. They never halted in their flight; and the main body of the fugitives swept past Lacolle, and straggled late in the day into Napierville, covered with mud, exhausted from fatigue, and half-starved. Their leaders saw that all their hopes were utterly blasted, and after a hurried conference came to the conclusion to fly, and make their way to the United States as best they could leaving their deluded followers to shift for themselves. Under cover of the night, and by keeping to the woods, they managed to evade the insurgents' pickets and made towards the frontier. But the Lacolle militia were now thoroughly on the alert, and captured several of the fugitives, among whom was Hindenlang, next morning. During the advance against Odelltown Nelson had been suspected by the insurgents of an intention to desert them, was seized and bound with the purpose of delivering him up to the Government, and only released after many protestation on his part, and at the earnest solicitations of two of his captains. When he saw the battle was going against the insurgents, he seized the first opportunity to escape on foot across the boundary line, and then procuring a horse rode full speed to Plattsburg, giving out that he was going to procure medical succour for the wounded. Although fighting under cover the militia in the Odelltown engagement lost a captain and four men killed, and a lieutenant and nine men wounded, some dangerously, but all of whom afterwards recovered. The rebel loss has never been correctly ascertained, as their dead and wounded were carried away during the earlier part of the battle, but it amounted to at least fifty killed and a number wounded. The Patriot army now belonged to the past, and had wholly melted out of sight. The half-disciplined dauntless defenders of that little Methodist church, standing by the country way-side, had given rebellion its final death-blow. When Colborne entered Napierville, on the morning of the 10th, he found no enemy to encounter, and the few insurgent bands that still held together, in its neighbourhood, fled as rapidly as possible with the British cavalry in hot pursuit. Finding that no further difficulty was to be apprehended Colborne retraced his way to Montreal, where he arrived on the 14th. With very little help from the regular troops, the second rebellion of Lower Canada had been completely suppressed by the volunteer militia of the Eastern Townships and of Glengarry. Their great services were duly acknowledged by Colborne in a general order of the 17th. After the dispersion of the Napierville Patriots the only insurgent body remaining in the field, was a gathering of some two hundred, led by Malhoit, who were intrenching themselves at Montarville Mountain, but who fled on the approach of two companies of the 64th Regiment, leaving three small guns, and a considerable quan-

tity of arms and ammunition, behind them. But the rebellion, short as it had been, led to a large harvest of misery. The unfortunate *habitants*, who did as they thought right in their own eyes for a brief period, and harried the loyalists in every direction, got bitterly harried in turn. The volunteer cavalry, who swept the country on the flanks of Colborne's army, made little account of the deserted homes of insurgent *habitants*, and set fire to them without hesitation. It was a cruel civil war of races while it lasted, and the destruction of property was very great.*

The recent rising had shown the Government, that a grave mistake had been made in permitting the leaders of the first rebellion to go unpunished; and the idea now very generally prevailed among the Patriots and their friends that it would be again repeated. Trial in the ordinary courts would be of no avail, as no French-Canadian jury would convict the insurgents; and many persons supposed that even if convictions were obtained the authorities would not dare to make any examples. It was now considered necessary to remove this error, and to show that previous lenity arose from a feeling of mercy, and not from timidity or apprehension of ulterior consequences. The loyal people of the Province were greatly exasperated, having had twice, in the course of a single year, to take up arms in defence of their properties and their lives. Colborne now determined on taking the full responsibility of vindicating the law, without any reference to the Home Government, and making an example of the more guilty of the insurgents. A general court martial, composed of Major-General Clitherow, as president, and thirteen other officers, was accordingly directed, by a military order, to assemble for their trial, and commenced its sittings on the 20th of November. Cardinal, the notary, and Duquette, his clerk, who led the expedition against the Caughnawaga Indians, were sentenced to death, and executed on the 23rd of December. Both had been deeply implicated in the first rebellion, abused the lenity shown them afterwards, and now paid the full penalty of their treason. Decoigne, Robert, two brothers named Sanguinet, and Hamelin, were executed on the 18th of January; on the 15th of February Lorimier, Hindenlang, Narbonne, Nicholas and Daunais, also suffered the extreme penalty of the law. The two last named had been principals in the murder of Chartrand, and now met their just fate. Seventy-six others were also sentenced to death for high treason, but their punishment was afterwards mercifully commuted to transportation; a fate that was also shared by forty-seven of the less criminal.

Colborne had effectually put down the insurgent Patriots who had openly assumed arms, but he had speedily to contend against treason in another and unlooked for direction. The 1838. French-Canadian judges were tainted, in no small degree,

* Sellar's History of Huntington, &c., pp. 549 to 556. Christie, vol. v, p. 245. Colonel Taylor's report, Nov. 9th, 1838. Hindenlang's narrative.—Colborne to Lord Glenelg, Nov. 11th, 1838.

with the same factious race-spirit, so widely diffused among their countrymen at this unhappy period, and some of them presently showed a disposition to embarrass the Government. These judges held that the ordinance, recently passed by the Special Council, suspending the *habeas corpus* act was illegal, inasmuch as the Imperial statute creating it did not invest it with the necessary authority. That statute, however, did most certainly invest the Special Council with all the functions of a legislature; and as the latter body would have the power to suspend the *habeas corpus* the Special Council must also possess the same power. Two Quebec judges, Panet and Bedard, now issued a writ of *habeas corpus*, directing that a suspected person, named Teed, be brought before them. The gaoler made a return thereto, stating that the prisoner was not in his custody, having been removed to the citadel, with a number of others, for safer keeping. The judges declared that this return was not sufficient, and issued an order of commitment against the gaoler. They likewise granted a writ of attachment against Colonel Bowles, of the Coldstream Guards, commandant of the citadel, on the ground that he had purposely removed Teed, which could not be served, however, as he kept within the fortress. But the matter was not permitted to rest at this point, the judges being determined to force a conflict of jurisdiction between the Government and themselves. Panet now issued a fresh writ of *habeas corpus*, directed to the police magistrate, Young, who had committed Teed in the first place, ordering him to produce the prisoner in court; and his conduct not being deemed satisfactory his imprisonment was also ordered, but he managed to elude arrest.—The judicial infection soon spread. Vallieres, the resident judge at Three Rivers, following the pernicious, indecent, and, at this juncture, very harmful example of his Quebec confreres, issued a writ of *habeas corpus* directed to the local gaoler, directing him to bring before him a prisoner confined on the charge of treason, and whom he at once liberated on bail. Had the conduct of these judges been perfectly legal, it would still have been, as matters stood, most ill-advised. But higher law authorities subsequently declared that their action was not legal; and Lord John Russell stated, without contradiction, in the House of Commons, that the Special Council had not exceeded its authority in suspending the *habeas corpus*. Colborne, however, proved himself equal to the occasion; and put down the insurrection on the bench, as it was popularly termed, in as summary a fashion as he had put down insurrection in the field, by promptly suspending the judges from their functions, to their no small surprise and disgust. Bedard went to England to lay his suspension grievance before the Imperial Government, and a voluminous correspondence ensued. But the judges got little satisfaction, and remained suspended for two years afterwards, until at length Lord Sydenham, whose mission was one of peace and conciliation, restored them to office and paid them their salaries. There was no more judicial insurrection.

The suppression of the rebellion had driven a number of fugitives over the border, especially near Lake Champlain, who, destitute as they were of the means of subsistence, now became a serious burden on the inhabitants. During the winter these refugees, well armed with musket and bayonet, frequently made nocturnal excursions into Canada, and in true brigand fashion robbed and otherwise ill-treated the loyal border population, who had incurred their resentment. They frequently committed the most brutal and even murderous assaults, and set fire to dwellings and barns. The United States authorities, however, now took prompt measures to prevent a repetition of these disgraceful inroads from their territory, seized the arms of these bandits wherever they could be found, and matters became more peaceful along the frontier. On the 17th of January Colborne received his commission 1839. as Governor-General, and shortly afterwards the force under his command was added to by over a thousand troops of the line, who had marched from New Brunswick to Quebec. The general court martial continued its sittings during the greater part of the winter, and 151 persons in all, including 83 from Upper Canada, were transported for longer or shorter terms to the penal colony of New South Wales. The whole of these, however, were released some five years afterwards, and mercifully permitted to return to their homes, as well as the exiled Patriots generally.

On the 4th of April the several militia corps were all disbanded, there not being any further need for their services; and on the 13th of the same month the Special Council was also adjourned, after having passed sixty-seven ordinances. At the September assizes for Montreal, the trial of Francis Jalbert, for the murder of Lieutenant Weir, took place before a mixed jury of nine French Canadians and three jurors of British origin. The trial lasted for several days, and the evidence was clearly against the prisoner.— But, nevertheless, the jury failed to agree; and as the Crown saw it would be useless to place the prisoner a second time on his trial he was discharged. The case had been closely watched by the public with the deepest interest, and the result, in the face of the most positive criminating testimony, created the greatest excitement and anger. Had not the military been called out, and the most effectual precautions adopted otherwise to preserve the peace, a very dangerous riot must have taken place. As it was the French-Canadian part of the jury were assaulted in the court room after the judges had retired, and were with difficulty saved from injury.*— At the same assizes true bills for high treason were found against Papineau, Robert Nelson, O'Callaghan, T. S. Brown, and several others.

In the month of September news reached Canada, that Colborne, pursuant to his own request, had been recalled, and his successor appointed in Poulett Thompson, president of the London Board of

* Christie, vol. v. p. 291.

Trade. The new Governor-General arrived in Quebec on the 17th of October, and two days afterwards took the oath of office, and assumed control of the administration. On the 23rd Colborne sailed for home, having first received the most flattering addresses from all parts of the two Provinces. On his arrival in England he was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Seaton, and also created a Knight of the Bath. But these were not the only rewards he received for his eminent services to his country. By a special act of Parliament an annuity of £2,000 sterling was conferred upon him and his two immediate successors. In 1854 he became a general in the army, and in 1860 a field marshal.—Although not adapted, owing to his military training and ideas, for a popular civil administrator, he was a wise, a resolute, and a gallant soldier, and eminently fitted to meet the grave crisis which arose in the Canadian rebellion. He was in every sense a noble proconsul of the Empire, and such as England appears to hold always in reserve to confront, as they arise, grave difficulties or great perils.

CHAPTER IV.

UPPER CANADA FROM 1836 TO 1838.

THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR FRANCIS BOND HEAD.

GENERAL officers in the persons of Sir Peregrine Maitland and Sir John Colborne had not, by any means, made very popular Upper Canadian governors. Their stern military habits, their stiff and unbending manners, their natural desire to rule the people a good deal as they ruled their own commands, made them, in no small degree, unfitted to win favour with a community verging towards pure democracy. Colborne had shown himself most unwilling to conciliate the Reform Party, or to make those concessions to its demands which the Melbourne Cabinet now deemed advisable. But the great difficulty was to find a suitable successor, at once able and willing to carry out successfully, in Upper Canada, the same line of policy to be pursued in the other Province by Lord Gosford. It has been stated, and apparently with truth, that at a meeting of the Cabinet it was suggested, that the position should be offered to Edmund W. Head, who afterwards became our Governor-General, a fine scholar and an able writer. His clever articles in some of the *Quarterlies*, had already so favourably impressed the Marquis of Lansdowne, a lover of literature for its own sake and the generous friend of men of letters, that he procured for him the post of assistant poor-law commissioner, at a salary of one thousand pounds sterling per annum. It would appear that the Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg, caught at this suggestion; but being personally unacquainted with either Head or Edmund, he confounded Edmund with his cousin Francis, also recently appointed a poor law commissioner, at a salary, however, of only five hundred pounds per annum. Yet of the two the latter was much the better known, a circumstance that would at once account for the mistake of the Colonial Secretary.

Born in 1793, Francis Head had entered the military academy at Woolwich while still a boy, and at the early age of nineteen obtained a commission in the corps of Royal Engineers. He

served with Wellington in Spain, was present at Quatre Bras and Waterloo ; and on the restoration of peace was employed to make a survey of an island in the Mediterranean, to be afterwards shipwrecked while on his way homewards. His subsequent life had also its adventurous side. He twice visited South America as the agent of a mining company, the last time in 1825. He gave great satisfaction to this company ; and while in its service rode six thousand miles on horseback in a wonderfully short space of time. The narrative of this journey, which he styled his "Rough Notes of a Ride over the Pampas," attracted a good deal of attention in England ; and several other productions of his pen were also extensively read there, owing to their amusing although superficial character ; but all alike were almost wholly unknown in Canada. His rank of major at last came to him in the ordinary routine of promotion ; but having taken some dislike to the military life he retired in 1828 on half-pay. A visit some time afterwards to a German watering-place, for the benefit of his health, led to the production of another of his entertaining books, "The Bubbles of the Nassau Brunnen." But his literary work, such as it was, presented no qualification whatever for his elevation to the head of an important administration ; while his training otherwise wholly unfitted him for the grave duties of governing a province. Fond of adventure, for its own sake—of producing dramatic effects and startling situations, naturally rash, impetuous, inconsiderate, he was the last person that should have been chosen to administer the public affairs of Upper Canada in the grave crisis that had now arisen in its fortunes. The only reasonable solution of the enigma is to be found in the plausible supposition, that it was a case of mistaken identity, and arose from an error on the part of Lord Glenelg.*

In November, 1835, Sir Francis Bond Head, now destined to be suddenly elevated from the humble position of an assistant poor-law commissioner, to the governorship of an important province of the Empire, and to achieve a large measure of public notoriety, was suddenly awakened one night in a little village inn, on the confines of Romney Marsh, by a King's messenger. To his great surprise he was presented with a despatch offering him the government of Upper Canada, on the strength no doubt of his presumed liberal Whig principles, and of the supposition, also, of his being the most pliant individual within reach at the time, who would readily carry out the views of the Colonial Secretary. If any one could possibly conciliate the Bidwells, the Mackenzies, and the Rolphs of Upper Canada, a poor half-pay major, a dashing adventurer, a superficial author, and an outside hanger-on of the ministry, who would surely be plastic as clay in its hands, must be the man. It was most certainly an equally

* Autobiography of Sir Francis Hincks, pp. 14, 15. Dent's Upper Canadian Rebellion, p. 287.

strange and imprudent appointment, and had its fitting counterpart in the comic mistake, made by the Colonial Secretary, in taking an inconsistent Tory for a consistent Liberal Whig.

The new Lieutenant-Governor knew as much about the inhabitants of Canada, their past condition and present wants, as the bulk of the English people at that period, and that was almost nothing whatever. But, then, from the time he had consented to accept the government of Upper Canada, (for at first he shrank from the proffered honour,) he had studied Mackenzie's Grievance Book with great attention, and had the benefit besides of Glenelg's information and instructions. Thus posted up in Canadian literature, politics and history, the clever half-pay major, with a sharp eye no doubt to another book, and a light purse, set out, *via* Liverpool and New York, to supersede Sir John Colborne in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Upper Canada. He arrived in his Province the 21st of January, 1836, having crossed the river at Niagara. Posting to Toronto, he found the Legislature, which had been convened by his predecessor on the 14th of the month, in full session, and was thus brought into immediate contact with political parties he knew very little about. His appointment had been highly acceptable to the Reform Party. Its press was loud in his praise, and fully disposed to give him a good reception, pursuant to the suggestion of Joseph Hume in a letter to Mackenzie. He was accordingly elevated by the public voice to the position of a distinguished politician; who must, as a mere matter of course, renovate and remodel the whole social and political system of the Province.

Sir Francis's own narrative of his gubernatorial fitness, supplies a curious and not very flattering commentary on the sagacity of Mackenzie and his friends. "As I was no more connected with human politics," said he, speaking of his first entrance into Toronto, "than the horses that were drawing me—as I never had joined any political party, had never attended a political discussion, had never even voted at an election, nor taken any part in one—it was with no little surprise I observed the walls placarded with large letters which designated me as Sir Francis Head, a tried Reformer." On the other hand, the Conservative Party, which at this period was tolerably well organised, regarded his advent with considerable apprehension, and all looked forward to coming events with the deepest interest.

The political struggle in Lower Canada, and the extreme position assumed by the majority of its Assembly, had undoubtedly tainted the ultra section of the Reform Part of the Upper Province with a desire for republican independence. Head consequently soon found that he was completely astray in supposing he had all the grievances of Upper Canada in the "Seventh Report," and that Glenelg's remedies were the genuine nostrums for the occasion. Bidwell's language to him during a private interview, shortly after his arrival, completely undeceived him on this head. He stated, "that there were many grievances not detailed in that book, which the

people had long endured with patience ; *that there was no desire to rebel*, but a morbid feeling of dissatisfaction was daily increasing. The fact that Sir Francis Head was the bearer of new instructions, had alone induced him and his friends to alter their determination never to meet in the Assembly again." Mackenzie was equally indisposed to abide by his own report,* and it was plainly evident that his and Bidwell's immediate party, like the Papineau party in Lower Canada, had already entertained the idea of total independence of Great Britain.

Head was a tolerably shrewd judge of human nature, and thus let completely behind the scenes by Bidwell and Mackenzie, he had little difficulty in discovering they had an ulterior object in view. It was unfortunate for the credit of the Reform Party, and for his own reputation, that he was thus immediately brought into contact with the leaders of its extreme section. With respect to Canadian questions his mind was little better than a mere blank. Naturally superficial, imprudent and impulsive, he was consequently, to a great extent, completely at the mercy of his first impressions, which he frequently carried out with that dogged persistence so peculiar to a part of his countrymen. Circumstances at the time unfortunately tended to elevate men like Morrison and Mackenzie into the position of popular leaders, and to throw such rational and constitutional lovers of liberty as Robert Baldwin, and others of the same moderate school, into the shade. Head, therefore, committed a grave error in supposing that the bulk of the Reform Party was tainted with the same spirit of disloyalty to the Crown which he had so quickly detected in its ostensible leaders. The conclusion which he thus arrived at, so rapidly and inconsiderately, materially contributed to shape his future policy. His first concessions to the Reform Party may, therefore, be safely regarded as being made more with the view to cloak and justify his subsequent course, by a seeming desire for moderation, than with a sincere purpose to conciliate the dissatisfied, or ameliorate the evils complained of.

One of Head's first public acts was equally singular with his appointment to the Lieutenant-Governorship, and resulted from his total want of knowledge of his routine duties, and the unfavourable impressions which had been made upon his mind by his previous interviews with Bidwell and Mackenzie. Instead of making known the authority with which he had been invested in the usual manner, by a message to the Legislature, he went down to the Council Chamber, summoned the Assembly before him, and made the House a second opening speech during the same session. The speech, itself, was almost equally singular with the course pursued in making it. After announcing his accession to the government of the Province, Head informed the members that he had a communication, alluding to Glenelg's instructions to himself,

* Sir Francis Head's Narrative, pp. 33-35.

to make to them. "This communication I shall submit to you in a message," said he, "which will at once inform you of the difficult and most important duties about to devolve upon me as well as on yourselves. As regards myself, I have nothing either to promise or profess; but I trust I shall not call in vain upon you to give me that loyal, constitutional, unbiassed and fearless assistance, which your King expects, and which the rising interests of your country require." The "message" came shortly after this singular speech, and embodied a still graver blunder. Instead of giving only the substance of that part of his instructions, which might be safely and prudently communicated to the Legislature, he laid before it the complete document, an injudicious and most unusual proceeding, which caused no little embarrassment to the Colonial Office; and led, also, as we have already seen, to serious complications between Lord Gosford and the Assembly of Lower Canada. This conduct had no official precedent, and was regarded with the utmost disfavour by Glenelg, who would no doubt at once have recalled Head, recent as his appointment had been, but for the difficulty, just then, of finding a competent successor.

The unusual circumstance of Head's second opening speech, and its Delphian and very dubious character, caused some merriment, and not a little doubt, among both parties. The Conservatives wavered in their preconceived notions of the Lieutenant-Governor; but they, as well as the Reformers, were a good deal puzzled by the contradictory and uncertain tone of his instructions. One thing, however, was perfectly clear; neither the principle of Responsible Government, nor of an elective Legislative Council, had been conceded. On all other points Glenelg professed the willingness of the Crown to redress the grievances complained of. The Reform majority in the Assembly was, however, highly dissatisfied with the policy of the Colonial Office, a feeling promptly evinced by its instituting an enquiry, as to whether a breach of its privileges had not been committed by the Lieutenant-Governor, in coming down to make it a speech instead of sending it a message. One precedent was found in the whole experience of the British House of Commons, and so the matter ended.

From the tone of his speech, and the general tenor of the Lieutenant-Governor's conduct, the astute members of the almost extinct Family Compact, who still continued in public life, and now aimed at the leadership of the Conservative Party, speedily saw they had gained some advantage. With its nature, however, they were as yet wholly unacquainted, not being aware how effectually Bidwell and Mackenzie had been seconding their views, by alarming Head with the possible contingency of rebellion. They industriously endeavoured, nevertheless, to improve their presumed, though indistinct, advantage with him, by presenting the action of the Assembly touching its enquiry, whether his speech was not a breach of privilege, in the most unfavourable light. That this movement met with some success was evident by their endeavouring,

shortly afterwards, to induce him to strengthen the Executive Council from their ranks, three of the old members having been dismissed.*

Although there can be little doubt that the Mackenzie party had already frightened Head from his presumed Whiggism into old-fashioned Toryism, he shrank from the indecency of at once running counter to every principle of his appointment, and allying himself with the remnant of the Family Compact. Little as he admitted he knew about politics or public life, he instinctively disliked such a course, until, at least, he could conceal its more repulsive features, by a show of seeming moderation, and an apparent desire to conciliate the majority of the Assembly. He accordingly offered the vacant places in the Executive Council to Robert Baldwin, John Rolph, and John Henry Dunn, receiver-general. Baldwin was eminently popular with Reformers of all grades—moderate, middle, and extreme—and Rolph and Dunn were also high in the confidence of their party.

These gentlemen at first refused to take office unless the old Tory councillors, viz., Peter Robinson, commissioner of crown lands, G. H. Markland, inspector-general, and Joseph Wells, bursar of King's College, who were also Legislative Councillors, should be dismissed. This, however, was no part of Head's plan, who, aside from other considerations, fancied that by pitting three Tories against three Reformers in the Executive Council, he would effectually retain all real power in his own hands. In defence of his refusal to dismiss the old councillors, he urged that he had other interests besides those of the Assembly to consider, that its members already possessed their own legitimate power, and that to impart to them, in addition, an exclusive influence in the Council, would be unconstitutional and unjust. "The step," he said, "would also have a tendency to connect him with party feeling, from which, as the representative of his Majesty, he should stand wholly aloof."—After maturely weighing their position, Baldwin and his friends decided to take office, and were duly sworn in.

But Head's policy was only a superficial one at best, and the attempt to acquire the arbitrary control of the Executive power speedily recoiled upon himself. The old members of the Council had too long ruled governors to be now ruled by a governor in turn, and the new ones had no disposition, for the sake of the mere emoluments of office, to make themselves odious with their party by ostensibly giving their countenance to unpopular measures, with which they had in reality nothing to do. Head's attempt showed a thorough ignorance of his men, was a blunder of the shallowest kind, and tended to draw him into a position which at once compromised him with the people of Upper Canada, as well as with the Home Ministry.

Fancying that the Executive Council would retain place at any

* Lord Durham's Report, p. 60.

price, Head now began to develop his policy of personal government, by appointing on his own responsibility, but at the secret instance of Chief Justice Robinson, who had already acquired great influence over him, some adherents of the Family Compact to vacant offices. He also refused the royal assent to the Felons' Counsel Bill, a necessary measure, enacted by a former Parliament, and now about to expire. His course on these matters was promptly condemned by the Assembly; while, at the same time, the members of the Executive Council finding that their functions were now restricted to land matters and other routine business, and that apparently they were to be kept in ignorance of the more important public measures, which popular opinion nevertheless attributed to their advice, remonstrated privately with Head. He at once requested them to make a formal representation of their views.* This the whole of the members did, on the 4th of March, in a firm but temperate document. His reply was well and carefully framed, and evidently the production of the chief justice. It dissented from the opinions expressed by the Executive Councillors, as to their rights and their duties; asserted that the Lieutenant-Governor was personally the sole responsible minister; and that he was only bound to consult his Council when he felt need of their advice; that their position was unconstitutional; and that if they considered their oaths required them to retire from office, he begged that they would not hesitate on his account to do so. This reply left them no choice but to resign,* which they did on the 12th of March. Four new councillors were immediately appointed, who took office on the terms offered by Head, whom, however, they soon managed to subject to their views to a considerable extent.

The arbitrary course pursued by Head was apparently as unpalatable to the Conservative minority, as to the Reform majority of the Assembly. On the 14th of March, a resolution was passed by fifty-one in a House of fifty-three members, censuring the dismissal of the council, and asserting the principle of Responsible Government in the strongest and most unequivocal terms. On this resolution, on the 24th of the same month, an address to the Lieutenant-Governor was based, regretting the dismissal of the old council, declaring a want of confidence in the recent executive appointments he had made, and asking that the new councillors be removed from office. Both parties had now arrayed themselves in plain opposition to his arbitrary policy.

The public excitement now became very great, and a recriminatory war of words took place between Head and the Assembly.—But, in this contest, the former proved an overmatch for his opponents. He bored them with long speeches in reply to addresses, appealed to the sympathy of the public by proclamation, and skilfully created a false and specious issue on the questions at stake.

* Executive Council to Sir F. Head, 4th March, 1836. Lord Durham's Report, p. 60. Sir F. Head's Narrative, pp. 50-60. Canada as it Was, &c., pp. 182-186.

Never was an imaginative author in such a congenial element before. The Lieutenant-Governor proved himself an adept at agitation, and, by means of his numerous partisans, fairly beat Mackenzie at public meetings, and the agitator defeated at his own profession, by another man fully as rash and impulsive as himself, was ultimately driven to shelter his dignity in rebellion, and thus justified the singular gyrations of his shallow antagonist. The people were really made to believe that the constitution was threatened with imminent danger, that the Crown was menaced in the person of the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada : so, forgetful of every other consideration, they determined to stand by him to the last extremity.

Head proved an excellent actor, and soon found his hands so strengthened by his growing popularity, that he felt himself in a position to regard with cool indifference an address from the members of the Assembly to the Crown, praying to be relieved of their despotic Lieutenant-Governor, whom they now impeached of sundry misdemeanours ; and, also, several statements made in the House, which stigmatised him as a tyrant, and impugned his veracity.— Having so far been successful in acquiring the sympathy and confidence of the people of Upper Canada, he laboured to produce the same results at the Colonial Office. “It is out of my power,” he writes to Glenelg, “to describe the joy and gladness expressed to me by all parties at the constitutional resistance I have made. But there is one question in everybody’s mouth, will the Lieutenant-Governor be supported by the Home Government ? On your lordship’s decision rests our possession of Canada.”

The ostensible leaders of the Reform Party, while they felt their position becoming more and more weakened, owing to the clever slashing demagoguism of Head, appeared to be quite unequal to the crisis in which they now found themselves. The more prudent, alarmed by the gathering storm, kept in the background, while the conduct of Mackenzie, Morrison, and some others of the same school, placed them daily in a worse and more embarrassing position. Had they assumed a sound constitutional stand, refrained from all overt acts which could possibly be construed into a tendency to physical violence or rebellion—in short, had they rested solely upon moral suasion, they must in the end have succeeded in defeating the Lieutenant-Governor, and driven him from the field, to “bubble” in some other part of the world. Nothing, certainly, could have been more impolitic than Bidwell’s act in laying Papi-neau’s seditious and treasonable letter to himself, as speaker, before the House of Assembly, and in the endeavour to identify the progressive British Reform Party of Upper Canada with the non-progressive French-Canadian anti-British party of the other Province. It showed clearly, as the sequel proved, how little he understood the party of which he was ostensibly the leader, and that he lacked the rare powers of mind, the tact, and physical

courage, necessary to direct successfully a great social and political movement.

The people of the Upper Province had no real sympathy with the anti-Executive party of Lower Canada, and however they might have squabbled among themselves, did not desire the interference of Papineau. Hence, the impolicy of Bidwell in making his letter public. Head instinctively seized upon the occurrence, as most favourable for his purposes, and skilfully dovetailed this letter into one of his addresses with considerable dramatic effect. "The people of Canada," said he, "detest democracy, revere their constitutional charter, and are consequently staunch in their allegiance to their King." Alluding to Papineau's threat, that the people of the United States would assist a republican movement in Canada, he added, "In the name of every regiment of militia in Upper Canada, I publicly promulgate, let them come if they dare." This was a clever climax, certainly, and so the curtain dropped on the first act of what in a great measure unquestionably may be called Sir Francis Bond Head's rebellion.

Had this dramatic outburst—this skilful acting, for such it undoubtedly was—been constitutionally met, the excited loyalty of the stalwart yeomanry of Upper Canada, so unused to such strange and stirring appeals, would have settled down into its wonted sober and steady love of liberty, and the people would have taken care equally well of themselves. Unfortunately, however, for the country, the majority of the Assembly now completely lost its temper, thus giving the Executive the vantage-ground, hurled anathemas at the head of the clever little Lieutenant Governor, and, for the first time in the history of the Province, stopped the supplies, the last resort of an indignant Commons, unless they buckle on the sword. But if it stopped the supplies of the Government, the Government at once retorted by stopping its supplies in turn. Sir Francis refused his assent to every money bill passed during the session—even to that for its own contingencies, so the members had no wages to get this time. He followed up his recent advantage by proceeding in state to the House, on the 20th of April, and proroguing Parliament in a speech which severely animadverted upon the course pursued by the Assembly, and still further reduced it in the estimation of the public.

The Lieutenant-Governor had been only a few weeks in the country, still he had created more political excitement than all his predecessors put together. For a man who admitted that he knew little of politics, still less of the science of government, and nothing whatever of Canada till he set foot on its soil, his progress in statesmanship was, nevertheless, alarmingly rapid. He never reflected that great popular like individual excitement seldom lasts long, and that the period of reaction comes, sooner or later, when the calmer judgment again acquires full scope. In short, he sowed the wind in exciting the passions of the masses, and reaped the whirlwind in the petty rebellion of which he must ever stand convicted

as the chief promoter. Had he taken time to acquire a just knowledge of the condition of the country—had he acted with calm and impartial wisdom, presuming that knowledge to have been acquired, Upper Canada would not have known the stigma of even partial rebellion. In dealing with the present he lost sight of the future ; and in endeavoring to acquire a temporary advantage, he rashly neglected a solid and secure success. The calm and temperate conduct of Gosford forms a striking contrast to the course pursued by Head. That conduct made rebellion tenfold more odious and unnatural, while the singular acting of the latter, in a very great measure, produced and justified insurrection. His essay in government was decidedly of the “galloping and bubbling” school and failed so completely that no British ministry ever afterwards gave him the opportunity to repeat it.

While almost every step taken by Head tended more and more to complicate the public questions at issue, between the Reform Party and the Colonial Office, he considered that his administration had completely succeeded—that he had knocked the hydra of Responsible Government on the head at last—chuckled over his success, and vainly fancied he was about to become the pacificator of the Province, and thus win golden opinions for himself in Downing Street. “I earnestly entreat you,” he writes to Glenelg, “to put confidence in me, for I pledge my character to the result ; I have overcome every difficulty, the game is won, the battle is gained as far as relates to this country. I would therefore request your lordship to send me no orders on the subject, but to allow me to let the thing work by itself.” This confident language could only be used by a superficial man, and was very unlike the sober and common-sense despatches of his predecessors.

The stormy termination of the recent session of the Legislature, the stoppage of the road and common-school moneys, the disaffection in Lower Canada, and his own exciting proclamations, produced such a ferment of loyalty throughout the Province, that Head considered he might safely appeal to the people to rid the Assembly of those persons whose views he considered were opposed to British connection. Numerous addresses were, at this crisis, presented to him, expressing confidence in his administration, and requesting him to dissolve the House.

It seems as if he had taken measures to secure the presentation of addresses of this character, for, sometime before, he wrote to Glenelg that he anticipated such a course would be adopted. “I fully expect,” said he, “that before a month has elapsed, the country will petition me to dissolve the present House of Assembly ; but until the feeling is quite ripe I shall not attend to it.” In pursuance of this policy the Legislature was dissolved on the 28th of May, and writs issued for a new election, in which the whole influence of the Executive was brought to bear against the Reform Party. The result was that nearly all its principal leaders, including Mackenzie, Bidwell and Perry, were beaten at the polls. It

was the first election after the County of York had been divided, and Mackenzie stood for the Second Riding.* His opponent was Edward Thompson, a man without decided opinions of any kind. As a medium course, many of the more timid Reformers, alarmed by the cry of revolution raised by the Lieutenant-Governor, voted for Thompson, and swelled his majority to one hundred, out of a total of eight hundred and seventy-eight votes polled. Mackenzie's mortification was extreme, and at the close of the poll he retired to the house of a friend, and wept like a child over his defeat, and the apparent loss of his popularity. From this time it would appear that he gave up all hopes of redress of existing evils by constitutional means, and now secretly resolved to have recourse to illegal measures to carry out his views. On the 4th of July following the election, he issued the first number of a newspaper termed *The Constitution*. It continued to be published until the November of the following year, and did much to inflame the public mind, and pave the way for rebellion. Even among the more moderate Reformers the results of the election, and the active participation of the Government against them, led to much bitterness of feeling. At a meeting of the Constitutional Reform Society, of which Dr. Baldwin was president, Head's partisan con-

* The following extract from Lord Durham's Report gives an excellent picture of the state of political feeling in Upper Canada at this period:—

The contest which appeared to be thus commenced on the question of the responsibility of the Executive Council, was really decided on very different grounds. Sir F. Head, who appears to have thought that the maintenance of the connection with Great Britain depended upon his triumph over the majority of the Assembly, embarked in the contest with a determination to use every influence in his power in order to bring it to a successful issue. He succeeded, in fact, in putting the issue in such a light before the Province, that a great portion of the people really imagined that they were called upon to decide the question of separation by their votes. The dissolution, on which he ventured, when he thought the public mind sufficiently ripe, completely answered his expectations. The British, in particular, were roused by the proclaimed danger to the connection with the mother-country; they were indignant at some portions of the conduct and speeches of certain members of the late majority which seemed to make a determined preference to American over British institutions. They were irritated by indications of hostility to British immigration which they saw, or fancied they saw, in some recent proceedings of the Assembly. Above all, not only they, but a great many others, had marked with envy the stupendous public works which were at that period producing their effect in the almost marvellous growth of the wealth and population of the neighboring state of New York; and they reproached the Assembly with what they considered an unwise economy, in preventing the undertaking or even completion of similar works, that might, as they fancied, have produced a similar development of the resources of Upper Canada. The general support of the British determined the elections in favor of the Government; and though very large and close minorities, which in many cases supported the defeated candidates, marked the force which the Reformers could bring into the field, even in spite of the disadvantages under which they labored from the momentary prejudices against them, and the unusual manner in which the Crown, by its representative, appeared to make itself a party in an electioneering contest, the result was the return of a very large majority hostile in politics to that of the late Assembly."

duct was denounced in no measured terms. He promptly retaliated by dismissing Baldwin from his post as judge of the surrogate court of the Home District. George Ridout, judge of the Niagara District, and colonel of the second regiment of East York Militia, was also dismissed for taking part in the proceedings of the same meeting; and James E. Small, commissioner of the court of requests in Toronto, and colonel of the First East York Militia, shared the same fate. The extreme course pursued by Head on this occasion soon led to serious complications between him and the Colonial Office, and he was afterwards instructed to restore Ridout to his position, and to appoint Bidwell to a superior court judgeship. In the rural districts, where the Reform Party had been steadily growing in strength for several years, much despondency prevailed at the result of the general election, and many farmers, despairing of the future, sold out for whatever they could get for their properties, and removed to the State of Michigan and elsewhere in the United States.

The Reform Party was not a little surprised at the unexpected position in which it found itself placed by the recent election, and the Executive was speedily accused of having used undue influence to procure the return of an Assembly favourable to its views. It was stated that patents for land had been issued to make voters for the occasion, and other measures taken, of an equally improper character, to secure a majority at the polls. Dr. Duncombe proceeded to England, in order to press these facts upon the notice of the Colonial Minister, but without much success. Head's representations continued to be received with considerable confidence by Glenelg; and it would appear from statements subsequently made (1839) in the House of Commons by Charles Buller, chief secretary to Lord Durham's mission, that the charges preferred against him on this point could not be, nor had never been, substantiated.

The pleasant sunshine of the Canadian summer tempted the Lieutenant-Governor to make a tour of the most interesting portions of the Province. He descended the tranquil current of the magnificent St. Lawrence, where it meanders amidst its thousand islands; sped along its rapids; shot down the timber slides of the Ottawa; bivouacked on the islands of Lake Huron; and held solemn conclave with Indian sachems at the grand council fire in the Great Manitoulin Island, and there procured the cession of a large tract of fertile land, * much of which has since been settled.

The triumph which Sir Francis Head had won at the recent election was speedily clouded by the conduct of the Colonial Office, which, even ignorant as it was of Canadian matters, began gradually to arrive at the conclusion that he had not pursued the wisest course. This was owing in some measure, if not altogether, to the representations of the Gosford commission, which recommended a responsible executive, a political doctrine distinctly repudiated by

* The Emigrant, by Sir F. B. Head, pp. 121-153.

Head, who finding himself in this contradictory position offered to resign.* His apparent success, however, puzzled Glenelg, and it was resolved to retain him in his post for the present. Still, it soon became evident that the principle of Responsible Government must ere long be conceded. The liberal party of New Brunswick was taking the same ground, to a very great extent, as the Reform Party of Upper Canada, and, in the course of the summer, instructions were sent to the Governor, Sir Archibald Campbell, to surrender the casual and territorial revenues to its Assembly, and to form a responsible executive. Proceeding on the ground that a concession to one North American province must necessarily be made to all, the Colonial Office, on the 20th September, forwarded a despatch to Head, instructing him to consider the directions to the Governor of New Brunswick as also applicable to Upper Canada.† Sir Archibald Campbell resigned sooner than carry out these measures, and Head being equally unwilling to adopt them for his guidance, and also tendering his resignation, the Colonial Office had not sufficient nerve to insist strongly on the execution of its resolves, which were permitted to remain in abeyance for a time.

The new Parliament assembled on the 8th of November. One of its first measures was to pass a Supply Bill. A number of other bills were also enacted during the session, among which was that erecting the first Court of Chancery in Upper Canada. Many of the bills passed were of a very liberal and progressive character, and highly creditable to the industry and talents of the Legislature. Still, owing to the violent agitation kept up by Mackenzie and others of the same extreme school, the Reform Party continued indignant and dissatisfied, and the majority of the Assembly soon found its popularity was steadily on the wane, and that the Conservative Party, should another election shortly occur, could scarcely hope for a majority. The rapidly declining health of the King rendered a dissolution, before the four years' term of the existing Assembly expired, a very probable contingency. Accordingly the novel expedient was resorted to, of passing an act to prevent the dissolution of Parliament in the event of his death. The only precedent of the kind on record, is that of the Parliament which brought Charles I. to the scaffold. On the 8th of December a bill was introduced in the Assembly by Hiram Norton, member for the county of Grenville, which proposed to settle the long-standing grievance of the Clergy Reserves, by applying them to the purposes of general education. But the House, in committee of the whole, after several days' discussion, altered the purport of this bill, by agreeing to a resolution that the proceeds of the sale of the Reserves should be appropriated to the religious and moral instruction of the people. Rolph moved an amendment to the effect that they should be used for the purposes of general education, and made a most eloquent

* Sir F. B. Head's Narrative, pp. 105, 106. † London Quarterly Review, April, 1839.

and able speech in its support. But it was lost, nevertheless, on a vote of thirty-five to twenty-one, and the bill passed. The Upper House, however, declined to concur in some of its provisions, and it was finally abandoned altogether. Duncombe's charges against Head, which had been laid before the House of Commons, and a copy of which had been received from the Colonial Secretary, led to another animated debate during the session, and another very able speech from Rolph, but without avail. A partisan committee made a report completely whitewashing Head, and the House concurred by a large majority. Mackenzie made a last effort to right himself by legal methods. He petitioned against the return of his opponent at the recent election, but neglected to file the requisite bail within the fourteen days prescribed by the statute. An effort was made to remedy this oversight, but to no purpose, owing to the adverse temper of the House. So Mackenzie's petition was thrown out; and he now appears to have given up all hope of redress for his grievances, and to have secretly determined, as his last resort, to betake himself to rebellion. The session terminated on the 4th of March. The Lieutenant-Governor's speech, when proroguing the House, contained little that was remarkable.

The close proximity of Canada to the United States led to very intimate commercial relations between the two countries; and, accordingly, the severe blow which the moneyed interests of the latter country sustained, in the earlier part of 1837, reacted unfavourably upon the former. While Canadians jealously contemplated the rapid progress of the United States, and drew conclusions unfavourable to a monarchical form of government, as not presenting equal facilities with a republic for the development of national prosperity, they had little idea of the unsound foundation on which a portion, at least, of their neighbours' success was then based.—They accordingly beheld with astonishment their commercial system completely prostrated, banks refusing to redeem their own notes, states repudiating their sovereign monetary engagements, hundreds of mercantile houses becoming bankrupt, and distrust, disorder, and ruin spreading in every direction, like a black cloud, over the much-vaunted prosperity of the Union. In Lower Canada the banks imitated the example of similar institutions in the United States, and suspended payment in specie. The result was that their stocks decreased in value, and public confidence in their solvency was somewhat shaken. In Upper Canada, however, a contrary course was pursued. The banks continued to redeem their notes with specie, contracted their discounts, and boldly and honestly confronted the gathering storm.

Their course, in this respect, led to much dissatisfaction on the part of the mercantile community, and the general feeling was that payment in specie should be suspended, and discounting resumed. To his credit Head was opposed to a procedure of this kind, as a rotten system of bank accommodation, which must sooner or later prove injurious to the community, and produce a reaction of the

same disastrous character as that in progress in the United States. Still, he deemed it advisable to summon Parliament to meet, to take the modification of the charters of the banks into consideration, so as to allow them to suspend specie payment. The Legislature was accordingly convened on the 19th of June, and the matter at issue placed fully and fairly before it in the opening speech of the Lieutenant-Governor, which was distinguished by much practical sense, although mixed up, it is true, with not a little of its opposite. One of the first measures of the Assembly was to elect Allan Napier MacNab as its speaker, in room of its first choice, Archibald McLean, who had accepted a judgeship and resigned his seat. It then proceeded to take the banking question into consideration, and was at first disposed to chime in with the popular humour, and, in many instances, with its own necessities. Fortunately, however, for the credit and good name of the Province, the Government policy triumphed. Specie payment was continued, the banks safely weathered the storm, redeemed their bills when presented, and thus preserved the credit of the Province untarnished.* The results of this bold and honest policy were for a short space very trying to the banks. Their notes were eagerly purchased in the United States at from two to five per cent. premium, and sent into the Province to be cashed. Still, the small agricultural community of Upper Canada, composed of some four hundred and fifty thousand souls, withstood the whole money power of the Union, continued calmly and honestly to meet the heavy drain upon its industry and its purse, and came out from the ordeal comparatively unseathed.

Meanwhile Head had got himself into fresh difficulties, and was soon at issue with Glenelg on several important points. Shortly after his dismissal Judge Ridout had appealed to the Home Government, which promptly demanded an explanation from Head, as to the extreme course he had pursued in his case, as well as his reasons for not having appointed Bidwell to the bench in pursuance of his instructions. A good deal of correspondence ensued; but the Colonial Secretary finally considering his explanations entirely insufficient, directed him to restore Ridout to his former position, and to appoint Bidwell to a superior court judgeship on the occurrence of the first vacancy. Head at once determined to rebel against this order, and bluntly informed Glenelg that he would not comply with his instructions in either case. "After very deliberate consideration," he said, "I have determined to take upon myself the responsibility of refusing to place Mr. Bidwell on the bench, or to restore Mr. George Ridout to the judgeship, from which I have dismissed him." He intimated, at the same time, that he was quite prepared for his own recall.† This reply convinced Glenelg

* During the subsequent disordered condition of the Province and commercial depression, produced by the rebellion, the banks were allowed to discontinue payments in specie, but chiefly on political grounds.

† Head to Glenelg, September 10th, 1837.

that Head was wholly unfitted for his position, and a cabinet council decided upon his dismissal. Before this determination, however, could be officially communicated, the Province was in the throes of insurrection, and the matter was permitted to remain in abeyance until the new trouble should be tided over. In addition to his difficulties with the Colonial Office, Head now found himself at issue on several questions with his own Executive Council; while the report of the Gosford Commission, recently published, had placed him, in various ways, completely at fault. So he learned that the bed he had been making for himself, by his arbitrary and unwise courses, had its unpleasant thorns as well as its pleasant roses, and he began to desire his recall. This desire gives the key to his refusal, to comply with the instructions of the Home Government in the Ridout and Bidwell matters.

As midsummer approached Mackenzie became more and more determined on resorting to treasonable proceedings, if revenge on the Government did not, in the meanwhile, come to him in some other shape. Had he been elected to the Assembly, his violent hatred of Head, whom he regarded as the chief author of all his woes, would have found vent and relief in attacks upon him there, and in publicly airing his grievances otherwise. But this safety-valve, for his angry feelings was now wholly closed against him; and his cherished popularity had become a circumstance of the past. His sensitive disposition led him to brood moodily over the apparent fact that he had been deprived of his seat by unlawful methods, and that justice had been refused him by the Assembly under the flimsy plea of a legal technicality, until at length his resentment against the Government and its supporters became so intense as to amount almost to insanity. And so he was bound to have revenge in some shape, no matter how dangerous it might be to himself or others. The articles in the *Constitution* became weekly more bitter and inflammatory, and led to cutting personal retorts from the Conservative press, which added fresh fuel to his anger. The worst and more malignant passions of his nature were now thoroughly aroused, and the whilom egotistical and vindictive agitator and grievance-monger became converted, by degrees, into a malicious, dangerous, and treasonable plotter. But he soon found that his wisdom still lay in proceeding warily; and that it was absolutely necessary to the success of his plans, to mask his thirst for revenge under the garb of constitutional methods. The great bulk of the Reform Party of Upper Canada were still sincerely attached to connection with the Mother Country, never had the most remote intention of doing anything to weaken it, and desired the redress of political grievances by constitutional measures alone. While aroused to serious anger, and prepared to advocate the removal of public abuses by even the most radical methods, their hostility was not directed against Great Britain, but against Head and his advisers of the Family Compact "rump," into whose hands he now appears to have completely surrendered himself. While they con-

sidered that the Home Government had failed, in many ways, in its duty to the Province, and especially as regarded the appointment of the Lieutenant-Governor, the more moderate Reformers felt disposed to make every reasonable allowance for the ignorance of Canadian affairs shown by a minister three thousand miles away. This was the opinion of Robert Baldwin, and of the school of Constitutional Reformers of that period, at whose head he stood, and which still remained loyal to the Crown. But there was another section of the Reform Party that went further than this, the representative leaders of which were Bidwell, Rolph and Morrison, who were quite willing to take shelter from the political evils of their condition in a republic, and would have gladly hailed a bloodless revolution. Bidwell, whose father, as well as himself, had been so harshly treated by the Family Compact, was unquestionably republican at heart, although a good citizen and a foremost man at the Canadian bar. But it cannot be, and never has been, shown that he was at any time in favour of actual rebellion, and he steadily refused to identify himself with Mackenzie after he had become cognizant of his extreme purposes. At the same time he was well aware of much of his unlawful proceedings, sympathised greatly with the Papineau party, and did not show himself at all willing to assist the Government in the presence of danger. This non-committal policy operated against him subsequently, and placed him in a questionable position, which Head afterwards mercilessly used to his disadvantage. Rolph, on the other hand, had no objection to actual rebellion at a favourable opportunity, was perfectly willing to profit by it, but prudently determined, on becoming aware of Mackenzie's ulterior object of a republic, to keep well in the background, and so run as little personal risk as possible. This policy, while it might be a comparatively safe one, was also a very cowardly and unmanly one. The effort has been made to pourtray Rolph as the hero of the Upper Canadian insurrection, but most certainly there was nothing heroic, from beginning to end, about his connection with it.* He only gave in his adhesion to rebellion at the last moment, and when it was actively under way fled the country at the first approach of real danger, and kept well aloof from all personal risk afterwards. In this respect he showed himself to be the exact counterpart of Papineau. Morrison and the other leaders of the more radical section of the Reform Party, had, at the first, no idea of actual rebellion, and were reluctantly drawn into its vortex at the eleventh hour by the machinations of Mackenzie, and when they were led to believe it would be successful. But they had no hand whatever in its primary organization. That was all Mackenzie's work, from first to last, and might indeed be said to be nearly all performed by him single-handed. He spoke much better than he wrote, and throughout those parts of the

* See Dent's *Upper Canadian Rebellion*. Dent depreciated Mackenzie to make a hero of Rolph, the most unheroic of men, and whose position in the annals of this country must always remain a very low one.

Home District which had been chiefly settled by U. E. Loyalists, and other Americans, found numbers of willing and even eager listeners at his numerous meetings. He was far, however, from being as successful in this way as Papineau in Lower Canada, owing to the different material of his hearers; and on some occasions the extreme resolutions which he sought to have adopted were negatived by large majorities. His inflammatory speeches did much mischief, disturbed the rural districts in no small degree, and greatly added to the prevailing excitement. It was in these districts that he found his strongest and most eager supporters. Among many other things he told them to prepare for a great demonstration to be held in Toronto, early in 1838, for the purpose of coereing the Government into the adoption of a Reform Policy; and that as arms might be necessary to enforce their demands they should provide themselves with them. But there was nothing said at first, at those meetings, about separation from Great Britain, or the establishment of a republic. In this insidious way the country people were gradually drawn into a treasonable position, of which at first they had not the most remote conception. Samuel Lount, of Holland Landing, thirty miles north of Toronto, also a defeated candidate at the last general election, and an ardent Reformer, made Mackenzie's quarrel his own, and did much for the organization of a secret treasonable society, which, towards the close of the summer, spread rapidly throughout North York, the County of Simcoe, the London District, and elsewhere. Its leaders, among whom were the Lloyds, the Gorhams, the Doans and the Fletchers, all people of wide connections and large influence north of Toronto, very soon, under Mackenzie's pernicious teachings, began to think of active insurrection in the event of their demands for reform continuing to be ignored by the Government. And presently arms began to be collected, pikes made in large numbers by Lount's sons and other country blacksmiths, and companies of men drilled at night. Meanwhile Mackenzie opened up a direct communication with the leaders of the Papineau party, by the aid of trusty messengers, the chief of whom was Jesse Lloyd, who passed to and fro between the two Provinces as occasion required. Some time in July, the project of armed resistance to the Government was first considered, at a secret meeting held at the hamlet of Lloydstown, some thirty miles north of Toronto. A resolution, framed by Mackenzie, whose desperate earnestness and resolute will had now become infectious, was then agreed to. It set forth that constitutional resistance to oppression having for many years been tried in vain, it now behooved every Reformer to arm himself in defence of his own rights and those of his fellow countrymen. A similar resolution was passed at secret meetings held in other localities; and the incipient leaven of rebellion began to circulate widely in the rural districts, without, however, as yet touching, to any appreciable extent, the larger towns. Towards the end of July a number of leading Radical Reformers held a secret meeting in Toronto in

order to draft a written platform, or declaration of rights, setting forth their grievances, demanding their redress, and expressing their admiration for Papineau. They finally recommended that a convention of delegates should be held at Toronto, at an early day, to consider the political situation. This document was signed by Dr. Morrison and others present at the meeting. But Rolph was not there, nor did he afterwards sign it, so cautious was he. On the 28th of the same month a large meeting assembled at Doel's Brewery, Toronto, which accepted this platform, after making a couple of unimportant alterations. It was also agreed at this meeting, that when the proposed convention assembled, it should appoint delegates to a joint congress of both provinces to deliberate on matters of mutual interest. These proceedings were based on the American example, and of themselves showed a tendency to revolution, and the unsettled state of the public mind. Neither Rolph nor Bidwell was present at the meeting, but they were, both, nevertheless, chosen as delegates to the proposed convention, as well as Dr. Morrison, James Lesslie and others. Before it closed its proceedings a permanent committee of vigilance was named, "for the effectual organization of the Reformers of Upper Canada," for which Mackenzie was appointed "agent and corresponding secretary," and thus placed in a much better position, with a solid party at his back, to push forward his treasonable projects. He now applied himself to his self-imposed task of fanning sedition, with renewed zeal and industry. The entire Province was mapped out into four districts, each of which was again sub-divided into minor divisions, and, wherever Reformers were numerous, local branch societies were formed, and affiliated with the principal association at Toronto, to which they were to report at stated periods. Mackenzie now held meetings in every part of the Province, but especially in the Home District where he was best known and had the greatest influence. Whenever he found that his audience was thoroughly with him he boldly advocated separation from the Mother Country, but without recourse to physical force. In the Home District he was frequently assisted at these meetings by Lount, Gibson, Gorham and others, who were ready and fluent speakers, and gave him important aid in drawing the people more effectually over to his views. But the great bulk of the Reform Party, and the Reform press, also, knew nothing of his sinister purposes, and making due allowance for his usual extreme language, still believed him to be only agitating for constitutional reform.

Emboldened by the great influence he had now acquired, Mackenzie at length unfolded a part of his secret plans to Lount, Lloyd, Gorham, Fletcher and Matthews, all substantial farmers of the northern part of the Home District, and his staunchest friends and supporters. It was finally agreed between them that the great constitutional Reform Association should take place, in the following spring, at Toronto. When the gathering was complete, a constitution, based upon the platform already agreed upon, was to

be wrung from Head, Runnymede fashion. But if he refused to concede it he was to be made a prisoner, as well as his chief advisers, and a provisional government formed with Rolph at its head. The bolder features of this project were to be kept secret until the time for action was near at hand. But they gradually leaked out, and a number of Radical Reformers became eventually aware of their character.

As the autumn advanced, Mackenzie and his fellow-conspirators, continued to be actively engaged in preparing their adherents for the great convention of the following spring. In order to be strong they must have arms, and know also how to use them. Old muskets, pistols and swords, were put in order, rifles and ammunition smuggled in from the United States, and pikes made in larger numbers than before. Drilling at night was extensively practised, and there was now much rifle shooting at pigeon and turkey matches. Bidwell was consulted as to the legality of such gatherings, and gave it as his opinion that mere trials of skill in rifle-shooting were within the law. Before the middle of October, these preliminary movements of insurrection had become very widely extended. In that part of the London District more immediately influenced by Dr. Duncombe, who it seems knew the full plan of the conspiracy, the preparations were quite as active as in the Home District; and even in the eastern part of the Province secret companies for night drill mysteriously sprang into existence, and arms and ammunition began to be freely smuggled across the St. Lawrence River.

The question, as to what the Government was doing at this juncture, now naturally presents itself. Did the authorities know of these illegal proceedings, and, if they knew of them, were any steps taken to prevent them, or for the due preservation of the public peace? The best answer is supplied by Head himself, in his speech opening the Legislature on the 28th of the following December. "As soon as this conspiracy became known to me," said he, "I determined that, for the public good, I would allow it to work its own cure." He then goes on to state that to make that cure more complete "he had permitted all the troops to be removed from the Province, and four thousand stand of muskets to be placed in the City Hall under a nominal guard." He then adds: "Without either soldiers or weapons to enforce *my* cause, I allowed the leader of the intended insurrection to make his intended experiment, to say what he chose and do what he chose. I allowed him to assemble his deluded adherents for the purposes of drill. I even allowed them unopposed to assemble with loaded firearms; and, in spite of the remonstrances which I received from almost every district in the Province, I allowed him to make deliberate preparations for revolt. It did not seem to me credible, that in the bosom of this peaceful country, where everyone was enjoying the protection of equal laws, and reaping the fruit of his labours almost undiminished by taxes, any number of persons could be found willing to assail the lives, plunder the property of

their unoffending fellow-subjects, and attempt the destruction of a Government from which they had received nothing but good." This is perhaps the most extraordinary statement that ever emanated from any public official in high position, and led afterwards to scathing criticisms of his conduct.* He admits a full knowledge of Mackenzie's criminal conduct, if we are to believe him, that he did not realise the grave responsibility of his position, and took no necessary steps for the proper preservation of the public peace. While a part of his opening speech must be regarded as the offspring of a morbid desire for sensational effect, there can be no doubt that he was kept fully advised of all Mackenzie's more open proceedings, and regarded them with contempt, in the belief that they would produce no practical results, and arose solely from the spleen of a disappointed agitator, who had been completely crushed at the last election. This opinion was shared in by his principal advisers, Chief Justice Robinson, Attorney-General Hagerman and Judge Jones, and by most of the Toronto public officials as well; all of whom refused, up to the last moment, to believe in the possibility of actual rebellion, as will be seen more fully hereafter. When this fact is placed against Head's sensational statement, and his *post facto* effort to appear more astute than he really was, we must come to the manifest conclusion that he was neither so foolish nor criminally imprudent as he desired to make himself appear; and that his not restraining Mackenzie in time to prevent mischief, arose from a mistaken idea of the whole situation—an idea shared in also by his advisers. Head admits that he did not know the ultimate objects of the Mackenzie conspiracy, and as he felt confident there would be no actual rebellion he began, with all the eagerness of the sensational literary artist, to study the situation with an eye solely to dramatic effect, and to be in a position to demonstrate beyond all peradventure the wonders his policy had accomplished. Mackenzie was to be left at liberty "to do what he pleased and say what he pleased" until his treason became thoroughly patent to the public, and his conviction therefore insured beyond all doubt; and Hagerman was instructed to report as soon as this state of things arose. But, despite all his statements to the contrary, the evidence in the whole case clearly points to the conclusion, that had Head fully known Mackenzie's designs, or how near actual insurrection had approached, he would have become less dramatical and more practical; and have taken steps for the

* "He not only provoked the insurrection by his violence and injustice, but he encouraged it by what all others condemn as a blind and credulous apathy, and his own excuse would place in the yet more odious light of a most mischievous connivance; and he then did whatever human imbecility could do to render it successful. Fortunately, the British Government had some more trustworthy servants to rely on in the hour of danger; but even their fortitude might have been unsuccessfully exerted had not that lucky destiny, which seems to love something like equality in contests, matched Sir Francis with an antagonist, in the person of Mackenzie, possessing less common sense and presence of mind even than himself."—*London and Westminster Review*.

due preservation of the public peace. Anything he may have subsequently said, in order to lead to an opposite conclusion, must be regarded as the result of pure after-thought, in order to conceal his own want of ordinary prudence, and his not properly realising the grave responsibilities of his position. He appears to have had little regard for sober and direct truth, and was exceedingly prone to colour or distort facts to make out a case to suit himself.

Such was the condition of affairs in Upper Canada, when early in October Sir John Colborne withdrew the troops from Toronto to Kingston, in order to be more fully prepared to make head against the insurrection in the other Province, which he now saw was close at hand. He offered to leave two companies as a guard with the Lieutenant-Governor, but the latter believing, as we have already seen, his Province to be perfectly safe from rebellion,* and that the "moral power" he possessed was quite sufficient to prevent any over-act, requested these also to be withdrawn. In pursuance of this policy, he afterwards asked Colborne to remove the 24th Regiment, which formed the garrison of Kingston, to Montreal,† which was done. In consequence of these measures nearly four thousand stand of arms and accoutrements, recently sent up from Kingston to Toronto to arm the militia, were left unprotected, and were handed over to the care of the municipal authorities, who placed them in the City Hall in charge of two constables. This step was taken wholly for effect, and can only be regarded as a clever piece of the dramatic acting so cherished by Head, but at the same time exceedingly imprudent, as it all but led to a very serious catastrophe, which must certainly have occurred had the insurgents been directed by more resolute and competent leaders. Had Head at once supplied the place of the troops withdrawn, by embodying a regiment or two of militia, for the protection of the arms and the capital of the Province, no charge could have been brought against him afterwards on the score of his very imprudent conduct. But, as matters now stood, he was wholly unprepared for the gathering storm, and remained in blind security up to the last moment.

Meanwhile, on the 9th of October, Jesse Lloyd had returned from Lower Canada, with a message from the insurgent leaders there, stating that "the French-Canadians were about to make a brave stroke for liberty, without further delay," and asking Mackenzie to co-operate with them by raising the standard of revolt in his own Province. This chimed in exactly with the designs of the latter, but not wishing to act alone, he at once summoned a secret meeting of his leading Radical friends at Doel's Brewery. There were eleven persons present, among whom was Dr. Morrison; but Rolph, who had been especially invited, did not make his appearance. Mackenzie told of the information he had received from

* Head to Colborne, Oct. 31st, 1837.

† Head's Emigrant, p. 159.

Lower Canada, and then unfolded his own plans to his astonished hearers, who were at first startled in no small degree by his treasonable purposes. But the meeting finally broke up without any definite conclusion having been come to. Mackenzie, now desperately in earnest, was determined not to be foiled in his purposes, and resolved to work on the leading Radicals through Rolph, in whom they had the greatest confidence. He accordingly called upon him next day, and spread out his plans unreservedly before him. After putting many questions to Mackenzie, and having been assured by him that several thousand resolute men could be easily drawn together at Toronto, Rolph came to the conclusion that the project of coercing the Government was a perfectly feasible one. His cautious prudence at length gave way before Mackenzie's sanguine eagerness and hope, and he clutched at the glittering bait of the presidency of the new government, now so skilfully dangled before his eyes by his tempter. He was effectually caught at last, and now agreed to permit the use of his name in connection with revolutionary projects; Morrison, his fast friend, speedily did the same; and several other leading Toronto Radicals presently imitated their example. Mackenzie, the great originator and organizer of all the insurrectionary movements up to this time, was now completely master of the situation, and in a favourable position at last to avenge himself on his adversary. It was arranged by Rolph and Morrison that he should at once return to the northern townships of the Home District, and submit the question of an immediate rising to the various political societies there, and if these societies were anxious and ready to put down the existing Government by force of arms, they were to be allowed to have their way. Mackenzie, accordingly, left Toronto for the north on the 6th of November, and shortly afterwards held a secret meeting in the Township of Gwillimbury, at which Lount and several others of the leading conspirators, from the rural districts, were present, when it was agreed that their adherents should be drawn together early in December, and an advance made against Toronto on the 7th of that month. But he held no other meetings, and did not think it necessary to hold them, feeling himself sufficiently strong to break faith in this respect with Rolph and Morrison, who were now so completely in his power. Having completed his arrangements for the rising Mackenzie returned to Toronto on the 18th, and reported to Rolph and Morrison. They were disturbed in no small degree by his decisive action, but finding that they had now gone too far to recede with safety, did their part to arrange for successful insurrection. It was agreed that Colonel Van Egmond, an old soldier, who had fought under Napoleon, and afterwards held a commission in the British army, should be their commander-in-chief. Van Egmond was a wealthy resident of the Huron Tract, of which he was the pioneer settler, and owned a large amount of land there. He was an ardent Radical, a great friend of Mackenzie, had adopted his extreme views, and now, unfortunately for him-

self, consented to accept the dangerous position tendered him.* It was finally decided upon that the organized bands throughout the north should be secretly drawn together on Thursday, the 7th of December, and marched upon Toronto by the main road leading into the interior, and known as Yonge Street. Montgomery's tavern, a large three story wooden building, with extensive stables and sheds, about four miles from the City, was fixed upon as the point of rendezvous; the time of arrival there to be between six and ten o'clock at night. From thence an hour's march would bring the insurgent force, expected to be at least four thousand strong, into Toronto, where the arms, still in the City Hall, and slenderly guarded, were to be first seized, the fort and garrison then taken possession of, and Head and his councillors made prisoners and placed in safe custody. In the event of success a popular convention was to be summoned, and the constitution, already drafted, submitted thereto for adoption. In carrying out these plans Rolph was to be the sole executive authority, while Mackenzie was to arrange all the details, and aid as best he could in their active development.

Meanwhile vague rumours of approaching insurrection, which began to float mysteriously around, caused a great deal of alarm at Toronto; and Head was urged to nip it in the bud by the prompt arrest of Mackenzie, regarded on all sides as the prime mover of disaffection. He had not as yet, however, committed any open act of treason, and it was not therefore deemed prudent to make him a prisoner. Of his secret acts of treason, now so numerous, the Government knew nothing whatever. Head still doggedly persisted in his opinion that no insurrection could possibly break out; and took, therefore, no measures for its suppression, nor even to acquire any correct information of the treasonable measures in progress. His conduct in this respect lacked even ordinary common sense, showed that he had no proper idea of his official responsibilities, and that, in fact, he was wholly unfitted for the important post he filled. Had he bestirred himself he could not have failed to get positive proof of Mackenzie's treasonable conduct, and had the latter been promptly arrested at this juncture, no insurrection would have taken place, and much trouble, expense and bloodshed, would have been avoided. At length finding himself embarrassed by the representations made to him by many persons, as to the approach of danger, and by the general feeling of alarm which now

* Dent, whose history of the rebellion is largely followed in these details, constantly seeks to lessen the responsibility of Rolph and Morrison. Although both only gave in their adhesion to Mackenzie's extreme views at the eleventh hour, they did what they could, in their own timid way, for their success afterwards. Mackenzie's account of the rebellion is highly coloured and distorted in his own favour, and often wholly untrue. Head's narrative is also often most unreliable. Dent tells the truth about both, but is guilty of partiality in making himself the apologist and eulogist of the leaders of the rebellion generally, Mackenzie alone excepted. His extreme politics blinded his sense of fairness in this direction.

rapidly began to spread, Head issued orders to a few colonels of militia to hold themselves in readiness for any emergency that might arise. But he still remained in utter ignorance of the approaching insurrection already organized, and of the danger which threatened himself. The calling out of the militia quickened Mackenzie's movements. Boldly throwing off his mask, he published in the *Constitution*, a list of nineteen successful "strikes for freedom," as he termed them, on record in the history of the world, and called upon Canadians "to imitate these glorious examples." Hagerman now informed Head that Mackenzie was at length fully within reach of the law, and a warrant was at once issued for his arrest on a charge of high treason. But he fled in the afternoon of the 24th of November, before he could be apprehended, and proceeded north to complete the arrangements for insurrection.* He stopped that night at Hogg's Hollow, about six miles from Toronto, at the house of a farmer, where, with the aid of a small printing press he had brought with him, he printed a handbill in which "the brave Canadians were told to get their rifles ready, make short work of it, and strike for independence. He told James Hogg of the projected rising, and the information was promptly carried to Head; but he and his councillors fancied that the news was merely a fresh ebullition of the agitator's malignity, and a hoax, and so no harm resulted to the insurgents therefrom. Silas Fletcher now acted as a medium of communication between Mackenzie and Rolph, and kept the latter well advised as to the proceedings of the insurgents north of Toronto. He also informed Rolph that Van Egmond had consented to assume the chief command, and would be at Montgomery's at the appointed time to head the attack on Toronto.

Meanwhile, despite repeated warnings of approaching insurrection, the Government continued in blind security. Hogg's precise information as to a rising was held to be of no account. Egerton Ryerson and John Lever, two loyal Methodist ministers, fresh from a pastoral tour in the interior, told Hagerman of the seditious gatherings there; but he was equally incredulous with his chief, and declared his belief that there were not fifty men in the Province who would agree to make a descent upon Toronto. Colonel Fitzgibbon, of the Lieutenant-Governor's staff, took, however, a different view of affairs from the other officials, and was strongly in favour of taking due precautionary measures against possible insurrection. The last troops withdrawn from Upper Canada, consisting of thirty men, passed through Toronto from Penetanguishene, on their way to Montreal, about the middle of November, and Fitzgibbon forcibly urged Head to retain this small force as a nucleus around which the militia could rally in case of an emergency. "No, I will not retain a man," replied Head. "The doing so would destroy the whole *morale* of my policy! If the militia

* Head's *Emigrant*, p. 165.

cannot defend the Province the sooner it is lost the better." Then, sir, entreated Fitzgibbon, let us be armed and ready to defend ourselves. "No," coldly responded Head, "I do not apprehend a rebellion in Upper Canada." On the 2nd of December a farmer, from the Township of Markham, informed Fitzgibbon that large quantities of pikes had been collected in his neighbourhood, and that he had otherwise observed all the signs of rapidly ripening revolt. Head was duly apprised of this fact, but did nothing, and Judge Jones pettishly declared that the over-zeal of the Colonel was giving him a great deal of trouble. Fitzgibbon now requested permission to place a guard from his own volunteer company, which he still continued to drill, over the arms in the City Hall, and two sentries at government house, but Head refused his consent.

Towards the end of November news reached Toronto of the repulse of Colonel Gore, by Wolfred Nelson, and Fitzgibbon now proceeded, on his own responsibility, to make the best preparations he could for the defence of Toronto, in the event of the attack which he felt certain would sooner or later be made, to which Head, with a good deal of reluctance, finally consented. But Fitzgibbon got little thanks for his zeal; and Chief Justice Robinson and other officials were of the opinion that he was causing needless alarm in the public mind, and ought to be restrained from doing so. Several copies of Mackenzie's handbills had been laid hold of in the country, and forwarded to Head; and as the last days of November passed away he received such numerous warnings of approaching insurrection, that he deemed it advisable to summon his Executive Council to meet on the 1st of December, to devise what was best to be done. It was attended by William Allan, R. B. Sullivan, Chief Justice Robinson, Judge Jones, Hagerman, Draper and Allan MacNab; but a part of whom only were members of the council. With the exception of Allan, all these men scouted the idea of insurrection; and Head declared that his opinion was still unchanged. But owing to the representations of Allan, and the statements of several persons, among whom was the Mayor of the city, who were examined by the council, it was finally determined to take prompt steps for the arrest of Mackenzie, organise two regiments of militia, garrison the fort, and make Fitzgibbon adjutant-general. No active steps, however, were taken by Head to carry out these plans, and Fitzgibbon was not even made acquainted with his appointment until three days afterwards. It soon became known to a good many persons in the city, that the Executive Council was in session, and that some of the judges and other chief officers of the Province had been summoned to attend it. Several persons, who had been examined before it, spoke openly of what they had seen and heard, and of the Mackenzie handbill as well. This news soon reached Rolph, had a special meaning for him, and he at once came to the conclusion that the proceedings of the council meeting were connected with the approaching insurrection on the 7th. But it occurred to him that if the blow could be

struck before that day, the Government would still be taken unprepared, and the chances of success greatly improved. Not knowing where Mackenzie was, he despatched a messenger to Lount, to let him know how matters stood, and advising an immediate movement against Toronto. Lount saw the wisdom of this council, and after consulting with Anderson, one of his captains, determined to act upon it forthwith. About a hundred men were at once drawn together, and orders despatched to the other insurgent companies in the neighbourhood to follow as speedily as possible. The forward movement commenced early on the morning of the 4th, and about nine o'clock at night the first insurgent detachment, not quite one hundred strong, reached Montgomery's tavern footsore and weary, to find that no proper provision had been made for their reception, and they had accordingly to appease their hunger as best they could. On the preceding night Mackenzie found himself at Gibson's house, some eight miles from Toronto, and there learned, to his no small disnay, that Rolph had altered the day of attack, under the idea that the Government had learned all about it, and was making preparations to repel it, which, it is almost needless to say, was not the case. He also learned that Lount, Matthews and Anderson, were about to advance to the place of rendezvous at Montgomery's. Mackenzie at once despatched a messenger to Lount to countermand this movement, but without effect, and another messenger to Rolph requesting an immediate interview. This interview took place next day at the house of Harvey Price, outside the city limits. Rolph was greatly dejected at the recent news of Colborne's decided successes in Lower Canada, and urged Mackenzie to abandon the attack on Toronto, and send the men home. But this he absolutely refused to do; he had put his hand to the plough, and he was not going to turn backward. Finding him in this obstinate mood, Rolph advised an immediate advance against Toronto; but this was demurred to by Mackenzie, who, however, finally agreed to abide by Lount's decision as to future proceedings. After spending the evening at Gibson's, Mackenzie rode down to Montgomery's, assumed the chief command in the absence of Van Egmond, and at once placed three lines of guards across the road, at different points, to cut off all communication with Toronto. A council of war was shortly afterwards held, at which Mackenzie recommended an immediate advance; but this was over-ruled by the other leaders, who urged that their men must first have a night's rest, and be provided with proper food; and that, in any event, they must await the arrival of the reinforcements now on their way from the north. It was agreed, however, that Lount and Anderson would lead the attack on the city at daylight next morning, which would be Tuesday the 5th. And thus the golden opportunity of a complete surprise was utterly lost! Mackenzie and four others, among whom was Captain Anderson and Joseph Shepherd, now rode towards the city to reconnoitre, and presently encountered two of its citizens, Alderman John Powell

and Archibald McDonald, who were acting, on their own account, as a sort of mounted patrol. Mackenzie informed them of the rising, that they must consider themselves prisoners, and go to Montgomery's where they would be well treated. He then directed Anderson and Shepherd to take them in charge, and rode onward towards the city. The prisoners, however, had not proceeded very far when Powell suddenly drew a pistol and shot Anderson dead, and, wheeling his horse around, retreated at full gallop, followed by McDonald, who was soon again recaptured. When passing Mackenzie the latter called on Powell to stop, and then fired at him, the bullet whistling harmlessly by him. Powell's blood was now aroused, and, wheeling his horse around, he rode up to Mackenzie, placed his pistol close to his face, and pulled the trigger. But a flash in the pan saved the life of the insurgent chief. Powell then galloped towards the city, and presently abandoning his horse, proceeded on foot to Government House, and Head, who had gone to bed suffering from a sick headache, was at once made acquainted with the danger which now threatened the city and himself. It is almost needless to say that he was astonished beyond measure, and could hardly believe the evidence of his own senses, or that the insurrection which he had considered an utter impossibility was so close at hand. As soon as he had dressed himself he proceeded to the City Hall, in company with Fitzgibbon, while his family were aroused from their beds, and presently betook themselves, for greater safety, to a friendly steamer lying in the harbour, the season being unusually mild and navigation still open. Alarm spread on every side, bells soon began to ring, the small militia guard of the city hastily assembled to protect its ten thousand inhabitants, and volunteers, among whom were the five superior court judges, armed themselves with the muskets at the City Hall, which were now hastily unpacked and distributed. By-and-by pickets were posted, other measures of defence taken, and wearied watchers lay down to sleep with their loaded arms beside them ready for immediate use. It was noticed, however, that although the streets were full of excited people, only a comparatively small number of men enrolled themselves for the defence of the city. They did not number three hundred altogether, out of a total adult male population of some twenty-five hundred. Had the insurgents at once advanced, their adherents in the city would undoubtedly have been much more numerous. Head's immediate environments were badly honey-combed with disaffection.

Already, Anderson was not the only victim in this unhappy rising. At an early period the old Indian track leading northward to Lake Simcoe had been widened into a road, and the fine rolling country on either side taken up for settlement. Retired army and naval officers made their homes there, and in the cultivation of the fertile glebe essayed to forget the stirring scenes of their earlier life. Among these was Lieutenant-Colonel Moodie, a native of Fifeshire in Scotland, who had campaigned in the Peninsula during

its hardest fighting, was present at the battle of Queenston Heights, and rose to the command of the 104th regiment of the line. This gallant gentleman saw Lount's force pass by his dwelling at four o'clock in the afternoon, at once instinctively divined the cause of the insurgent gathering, and determined, at all hazards, to warn the authorities at Toronto of their danger. A messenger was first despatched with a letter, but learning that he had been taken prisoner, the Colonel, accompanied by Captain Stewart of the Royal Navy, proceeded to Toronto on horseback, and on the way thither was joined by three other friends. At Montgomery's tavern he was stopped by a strong guard of insurgents drawn up across the road, rashly fired his pistol when they opposed his further progress, was mortally wounded by a gunshot, and died within two hours.—An Irishman of the name of Ryan fired the fatal shot, and the wretched man, after the dispersion of the rebel force, took refuge in the dense forest on the shores of Lake Huron, from whence, after sustaining the greatest hardships, he escaped to the United States in the ensuing spring. One of the unfortunate Moodie's companions rode boldly through the rebel lines, and safely reached the city about the same time as Powell.

Failing to obtain any information as to the correct state of matters in the city, Mackenzie had returned to the insurgent headquarters. Anderson's death threw a gloom over Lount and his men, increased by the intense fatigue they had undergone, the want of food, and the pealing of the city alarm bells, which told them that the inhabitants were now fully apprised of their danger. But as the night passed away reinforcements came up, and Mackenzie again proposed an advance on Toronto, to be a second time overruled. As Tuesday progressed, the insurgent gathering swelled to eight hundred men, armed with rifles, fowling-pieces and pikes, and had they now boldly advanced they would have been aided by the disaffected citizens, and the weak force of three or four hundred men, which the authorities had hastily gathered together for its defence, must have certainly been overpowered. About noon, after much discussion had taken place, the insurgent leaders determined to advance against the city. Their men were divided into two bodies, one of which, under the command of Lount, was to move southward by way of Yonge Street, while the other, led by Mackenzie, was to march down College Avenue. Both were to unite again at Osgoode Hall, for their final advance into the city at two p. m. At Gallows Hill a temporary halt was made, to permit of the necessary final arrangements. Meanwhile Head, now thoroughly alarmed at the prospect of an immediate attack, by what he supposed to be an overwhelming force, and to repel which no proper arrangements had been made, caught at the idea, suggested to him, of gaining time by sending a flag of truce to the insurgents, and making them a proposal to lay down their arms. The chief difficulty was to find suitable persons—Reformers, and not disliked by the enemy, to go with it. Robert Baldwin con-

sented to be one of the number, as did also Rolph, but Bidwell refused. When the flag of truce came up Lount advanced a short distance to the front, and acted as spokesman for the insurgents. Rolph stated that the Lieutenant-Governor was desirous to "prevent the effusion of blood," and that an amnesty would be granted for all offences committed up to that time, provided the insurgents would at once disperse, and return to their homes. But Lount, after consulting with Mackenzie, declared that no reliance could be placed on the bare word of Head, and that it was not worth while to consider his proposition unless it were reduced to writing. He would agree, however, not to advance farther than the toll gate, a mile nearer the city, until the return of the flag of truce, and to commit no act of hostility in the interval. Lount faithfully kept to this agreement, not so with Mackenzie. The residence of Dr. Horne, assistant cashier of the Bank of Upper Canada, an ancient political foe, was close at hand, and proceeding there with some of his men, Mackenzie, with his own hands, deliberately set the building on fire. It was wholly destroyed, as well as most of the furniture, to the intense disgust of the majority of the insurgents, who strongly denounced this wanton and malicious act.

Meanwhile, the flag of truce had returned to the city, and Rolph and Baldwin reported to Sheriff Jarvis, who was acting in the matter for Head. But the latter had learned, during the preceding hour, that bodies of loyal volunteers were already on the march towards Toronto, and that the insurgents were not by any means the formidable body they were at first represented to be, and were mainly composed of a few hundred undisciplined farmers. His courage had accordingly risen, and he now not only refused to reduce his offer to writing, but also declined to hold any further communication with their leaders. Rolph and Baldwin accordingly proceeded a second time up Yonge Street, and communicated this decision to Lount and Mackenzie. Rolph afterwards rode a little way aside with both leaders, and counselled them to advance at once against the city, which would surely fall into their hands. They endeavoured to do this, but from one cause or another their men declined to move forward, until, at least, the expected reinforcements should come up to their assistance. But learning from a messenger sent by Rolph, to ascertain the cause of the delay, that the city was still unprotected, they consented to advance at six o'clock. The insurgents, about eight hundred strong, marched slowly and steadily forward in the darkness, in column of threes, with Lount, who had now assumed the chief command, at their head. In front were nearly two hundred men armed with rifles; behind these marched a still larger number of pikemen; while the remainder had muskets, shotguns or bludgeons. All had distinguishing white badges on their coats. At a point, which is now the corner of Yonge and Maitland Streets, about a mile north of King Street, and some eight hundred yards outside the then city limits, stood a dwelling surrounded by

a garden having a substantial board fence. Here Sheriff Jarvis stationed a picket of sixteen volunteers, while the remaining eleven men of his command were concealed among the trees of a small wood, at the opposite side of the road. As the head of the insurgent column approached, Jarvis gave the order to fire, and after delivering one badly aimed volley, the volunteers were seized with a sudden panic, and fled quickly towards the city. Had the insurgents promptly followed Toronto must have been captured, for several strong bodies of their friends were now gathered there, ready to help them as soon as they made their appearance. But it seems that they also became greatly alarmed at the sudden and unlooked-for attack made upon them; and after a few scattering shots in return, retreated as rapidly as possible, leaving one of their number, who had been shot dead, and two badly wounded, who afterwards died, behind them. Lount and his officers endeavoured to rally their men, but to no purpose. They had been taught to look for a bloodless success, absolutely refused to renew the advance, and a large number at once deserted and returned to their homes. During the night a few fresh bodies of insurgents arrived at Montgomery's, still their headquarters, but on the following day Mackenzie's force, all told, had dwindled down to five hundred men. Despairing of success Rolph had fled during the preceding night, and managed to get safely across the Niagara River into the United States, whither he was speedily followed by a number of others, who had effectually compromised themselves. Rolph, before he fled, sent a messenger to Mackenzie to acquaint him that Head had received help, and advising the immediate dispersion of the insurgents. But their leaders, aware that they were now all known to the Government, and could not make their position any worse, were opposed to this course, and determined to stand their ground and fight it out. On Thursday, the 7th, Van Egmond would arrive to direct their military operations; and on that day, also, they expected that reinforcements would certainly arrive. They accordingly despatched messengers to open communication with Dr. Duncombe, who had also raised the standard of revolt in the London District.

Meanwhile, intelligence that the rebels had advanced against Toronto had spread far and wide. At two o'clock on Tuesday afternoon Colonel MacNab heard the news at Hamilton, and immediately mounting his horse, rode down to the wharf, seized a steamboat lying there, put a guard on board of her, and sent messengers in various directions to summon volunteers to the rescue. In three hours more that steamer was under weigh, with a well-armed company of sixty men on board, whose arrival at Toronto, as the night wore on, flashed the first ray of hope amid the prevailing gloom. "I was sitting by tallow candle light in the large hall," afterwards wrote Head, when we suddenly heard in the direction of the lake a distant cheer. * * * I certainly have never felt in my life more deeply affected than I was when, seeing my ardent

hopes suddenly realised, I offered my hand to Sir Allan MacNab. His burden of dire apprehension, at the difficult situation in which his imprudent folly had placed himself, as well as others, now became suddenly less oppressive.* The tide at last had commenced to turn in his favour, and his courage rose with its flow. Next day the loyal militia crowded into Toronto from all directions, and were organised and armed as fast as circumstances would permit.

On Wednesday forenoon Mackenzie, Lount, and a small body of their men, proceeded westward to the road leading to Dundas, for the purpose of intercepting the mail stages to and from the west, and thus prevent the transmission of Government intelligence. During the afternoon the two stages, the mail bags, the horses and their drivers, were all seized on their arrival at the Peacock Inn, and carried off to Montgomery's, as well as several passengers retained as prisoners. In his examination of the letters Mackenzie acted most dishonourably. Not content with making himself acquainted with Government despatches, he opened the private letters, and possessed himself of any money found therein. During the day he also committed several acts of open robbery. While waiting at the Peacock Inn for the arrival of the stages he took forty-two dollars, and a good saddle horse, from Thomas Cooper of Toronto. He also robbed a man named Armstrong of four dollars in money, some tea and sugar, and his horse and saddle. Armstrong became so alarmed at the rough treatment he received, that he fled across a field towards the woods, to be fired at by two of the insurgents, who fortunately missed him. But Mackenzie even did worse than all this. He seized the trunk of a poor servant girl at the inn, and carried it away with its contents, consisting of her clothing and fifteen dollars saved from her wages, despite her entreaties, her tears, and her cries which filled the air. He also plundered a poor tramp, who came along in rags, of fifty cents, all the money he possessed, and the loss of which brought tears to his eyes. A travelling woman was robbed of her valise and its contents, and some of the prisoners were despoiled of their money.† These charges are supported by the clearest documentary evidence, and place Mackenzie in a very unfavourable light. He was not usually a dishonest person, but appears at this juncture to have been so reckless and unstrung by excitement as to be scarcely an accountable being. That, however, is usually the condition of most persons when they commit great crimes. While engaged in rifling the mail bags unpleasant news reached Mackenzie. Dr. Morrison had been arrested for high treason, and Rolph had fled on horseback towards the head of Lake Ontario. The insurgent leaders now held an immediate consultation, but finally came to the conclusion to let matters drift onwards, in their existing groove, and kept the news to themselves. A little drill helped to fill out the remainder of the afternoon, which, however, passed over rather gloomily. The shadows

* Head's Emigrant, p. 174.

† Dent's Rebellion, vol. ii, pp. 107 and 109.

of ignominious failure were fast settling down on the insurgent rank and file.

Meanwhile all was activity and hope on the Government side. During the day volunteer companies poured into the city from the interior and the lake coast, and as the sun went down over twelve hundred well-armed men stood behind the authorities. Barricades of two inch plank protected the doors and windows of the principal buildings, inside which were armed men, with loaded muskets, ready to repel attack. Toronto was now safe from internal and external foes, and the ensuing night passed over without incident of importance. The following morning was occupied in making preparations for an advance against the insurgent force, still at Montgomery's. Van Egmond had arrived there at eight o'clock, and was urged by Mackenzie to make an immediate attack on the city. But this he absolutely refused to do until he was first strengthened by the arrival of fresh reinforcements. In order, however, to divide the attention of the Government forces, Peter Matthews was detached with sixty men to burn the bridge over the Don river, in order to cut off communication in that direction, and, at the same time, to intercept the eastern mail. He succeeded in capturing the mail, and afterwards set fire to the bridge, but the flames were speedily extinguished although an adjoining dwelling was consumed. After Matthews' departure, two hours passed over without any event of importance occurring in the rebel camp, where the insurgents now numbered some four hundred men, about the half of whom were armed with rifles or shotguns. During the forenoon the looked-for reinforcements did not make their appearance.

In the city Colonel Fitzgibbon arranged the details of the attacking force. Six hundred men with two field pieces, under the command of MacNab, formed the main column of attack, while at least four hundred more, divided into two bodies, were detached to the right and left, by different routes, to assail the insurgents on both flanks, and to cut off their retreat. Another force of some two hundred men, under the command of Judge Macauley, was left behind to guard the city. The day was unusually fine for the season, and a bright sun shone down from a cloudless Canadian sky, and glanced from the long line of fixed bayonets. At noon Head gave the order to advance. Led by two bands of music, the volunteers made a brave show as they marched steadily up Yonge Street, and from the windows and house tops, crowded with men, women and children, there was much cheering, much waving of handkerchiefs, and many prayers for their success. About one o'clock a scout reached the insurgent headquarters, with the news that a regular army of militia was advancing to the attack, and in a few minutes more the advanced sentries saw the long glittering column of bayonets moving over Gallows Hill. Mackenzie and Van Egmond mounted their horses, and made instant preparations for defence. A couple

of hundred men were placed in a wood in advance of Montgomery's, and standing west of the road; while another body, about one hundred strong, took post in a field in the opposite direction. Presently the two guns opened on the wood, while, at the same time, a flanking force came up, delivered its fire, and was advancing to the charge. The insurgents did not wait for further attack, and fled rapidly northwards unpursued. The guns were then moved farther up the road, and two round shots were sent through the tavern, when the insurgents inside swarmed out like bees, and made for the friendly cover of the neighbouring woods. The whole affair was the merest skirmish imaginable, and only lasted a few minutes. The insurgents scarcely made any defence, and ran away so quickly that they sustained only a trifling loss. One man was killed, and a dozen severely wounded, four of whom afterwards died, were picked up here and there in the fields. The less severely wounded made their escape with the fugitive crowd. On the side of the Loyalists not a man was killed, and only six wounded, none seriously, and all of whom soon recovered. So rapidly did the insurgents scatter that, outside of their wounded, only two prisoners were captured, poor skulking fellows, in abject fear for their lives, whose discharge was at once ordered by Head. During their stay at Montgomery's the insurgents had made prisoners of fifty men, who had all been as well treated as circumstances permitted, and were released by Gibson on the approach of the attacking force. And thus ingloriously terminated Mackenzie's attempt to capture Toronto and overturn the Government. Had the insurgents been led by men of resolution and average military skill, there can be little doubt that they would have been successful at the outset. Toronto once captured, insurrection would have raised its head in every direction over the Province, and much injury and misery must have resulted, although about the ultimate issue there could be no question. Fully three-fourths of all the people were loyal to the Crown.*

The victory, such as it was, might be said to be almost a bloodless one, at least on the side of the victors, and achieved, as we have already seen, with very little difficulty. Under these circumstances Head could well afford to be magnanimous. But the stage on which he now found himself was a new one to him, and he could not resist the temptation of treading it dramatically, and so as to produce some startling effect. "It was, however, necessary," said he, in his own account of the affair, "that we should mark and record by some stern act of vengeance the important victory that had been achieved." He accordingly, and without lawful warrant, ordered Montgomery's tavern to be burned to the ground, which was done, then and there, after it had first been thoroughly looted by some of the volunteers, whose greatest prize, however, was a large

* Mackenzie's Life and Times, vol. ii, p. 90 to 99. Bonnycastle's Canada as it Was, etc., vol. i, p. 288. Head's Emigrant, p. 181. Dent's Rebellion, vol. ii, p. 125. Upper Canada Herald, 11th December, 1838.

carpet bag containing Mackenzie's papers and correspondence, and his insurgent muster roll. This was a most disastrous capture for many unfortunate people, and enabled the Government to successfully-prosecute scores of persons hitherto wholly unsuspected.

But, not content with burning Montgomery's, for which there might be some justification, Head peremptorily ordered the destruction of Gibson's cottage, some four miles farther north. His unfortunate wife and four small children were turned helplessly into the road, that winter afternoon, to shift for themselves as best they could. Fitzgibbon had been especially ordered by Head to commit this outrage, and finding all his principal officers unwilling to take charge of the party detailed to execute it, had to do so himself.* A reward of \$4,000 had been already offered for the capture of Mackenzie, and \$2,000 each for the capture of Gibson, Lount, Lloyd and Fletcher. All these succeeded in making their escape with the exception of Lount. After suffering incredible hardships he finally managed to gain the shores of Lake Erie, and, in company with a friend and a boy, there embarked in a small boat, to cross over to the United States. But misfortune still followed him. After being buffeted by contrary winds for two days and nights, and almost starved, the fugitives were finally blown back to the Canadian shore, and there arrested. Matthews, who led the party to burn the Don Bridge, and eleven of his men, were captured in the house of a farmer. Van Egmond was also made a prisoner. Old and infirm the insidious poison of gaol life soon undermined his system, and, fortunately, he presently sickened and died, and so escaped the halter. Bidwell, who, it appears from all cotemporary evidence, was wholly guiltless of participation in the rising, was still seriously compromised in one way or another. His principal mistake lay in the facts already stated, to wit, that he had known a good deal about the doings of the insurgents, both as a lawyer and as a Reform leader, and still had given no warning to the authorities of what was going forward. He had also refused to go with the flag of truce; Mackenzie had written his name in his roll of revolt; and one of his old election flags had been used as an ensign at Montgomery's. These and other unfavourable circumstances were remembered against him when the evil day came round, and the insurgents had retreated from Toronto. So the postmaster, in his exuberant loyalty, impounded Bidwell's letters, and handed them over to Head, who tells us that he gave Bidwell the choice to return these letters unopened, on condition that he agreed to leave the country, or have them opened in his presence, and let him abide the consequences of unfavourable disclosures. He also tells us that Bidwell accepted the alternative, and gave a written promise to leave the country, which he redeemed a few days afterwards.† But Bidwell flatly denied this version of the interview. It would appear that Head skilfully worked upon his

* Fitzgibbon's Appeal, pp. 28, 29. † Head's Emigrant, p. 199.

naturally timid nature, heightened by a very poor condition of bodily health, to force him into voluntary exile, and thus justify his own course in refusing to obey Glenelg's order to make him a judge; a fact that Bidwell first learned from Head himself at New York, in March, 1838, while he was waiting there for the steamer to take him home.* At that interview Head admitted that Bidwell was blameless, as regarded the rebellion, and expressed his regret for past occurrences. Bidwell was lost to Canada for all time. He became a citizen of the United States, was admitted to the New York bar by courtesy, and until his death, some twenty-five years afterwards, his career was one of uninterrupted prosperity, and excellent reputation.

The country was now in a complete ferment. Although it was the middle of winter, ten thousand gallant militia crowded from all quarters towards Toronto, animated with the most loyal and devoted zeal. The want of transport in numerous cases, of bedding, and of even warm clothing, was unheeded by these brave men, who thus showed themselves to be animated by the same indomitable spirit which had sustained the Canadian militia during the trying campaign of the three years' war with the United States. The loyal feeling so generally manifested alike by Conservatives and moderate Reformers soon freed Head from all apprehensions with regard to the safety of Toronto, and he directed the militia of Glengarry, and of the other districts next to the Lower Province, to hold themselves in readiness to march to the aid of Sir John Colborne, should he require their services. Kingston, as well as Toronto, was speedily placed in a condition of perfect safety, by the arrival of several militia corps, which under the command of Sir Richard Bonnycastle, the principal military officer there, soon constituted a most efficient force. Never, in short, was a better spirit evinced. Under existing circumstances successful rebellion was an impossibility in Upper Canada. Even the capture of Toronto could only have made the struggle more bloody; the result, in the end, must have been the same.

In the London district Dr. Duncombe, recently returned from England, was extremely active in spreading disaffection, and got up a farcical rebellion. Sir Allan MacNab was accordingly directed to march upon this point, with five hundred militiamen and volunteers, and suppress whatever armed treason he might encounter. This duty was performed in the most gallant and effectual manner. Duncombe, like Papineau, Rolph, and others of the same stamp, fled when he found danger approaching, leaving his deluded followers to take care of themselves. The bulk of these were disarmed and pardoned, but the leaders were sent as prisoners to Hamilton. Large numbers joined the loyalists, and MacNab declared that he had soon ten times the force he required.

The city of Buffalo, standing as it does at the termination of the

* Bidwell to Egerton Ryerson, May 4th, 1838.

great canal traversing the state of New York, and at the foot of the upper lake navigation, has always been characterised by a transient population of boatmen, sailors, and persons of very questionable reputation. Mackenzie had little difficulty, accordingly, in soon enlisting there, under his standard, a body of American sympathisers and Canadian refugees. The wretched attempt against Toronto—the abortive commencement of a miserably-organised rebellion, had not yet cured him of his folly, and, in conjunction with Rolph and some others, he now concocted another invasion of Canada from the United States. Land and other inducements were promised to his followers, which a Buffalo newspaper described as a “wretched rabble, ready to cut any man’s throat for a dollar;” while Mackenzie put the climax on his folly by offering £500 for the apprehension of Head. To the command of the force thus raised, Dr. Rolph, Mackenzie, and the other persons who formed the Canadian “executive committee” at Buffalo, elevated a clever though worthless young fellow of good address, of the name of Van Rensselaer, who was exceedingly desirous to imitate General Houston in Texas.

The Niagara River, which, in a total descent of 334 feet, discharges all the surplus waters of the great upper lake system into Lake Ontario, has a length of $36\frac{1}{2}$ miles. In the 23 miles to the first rapid it falls 15 feet; in the next half mile it rushes over an inclined plane having a descent of fifty-one feet, and then having reached the great fall, it takes a perpendicular leap of 162 feet, with a mighty roar, into the seething cauldron below.* For the seven ensuing miles of its course it foams and rushes, and rushes and foams, through a deep and narrow rift between upright walls of rock, until, after descending 104 feet more, it reaches Queenston, from whence it winds its way, calmly and majestically, for six miles farther on, with an additional descent of two feet, and is then lost in the wide expanse of Lake Ontario. Situated at the foot of the upper navigable stretch of the Niagara River, and two miles above the Falls, lies Navy Island, about a mile and a half long and half a mile wide, with a channel some six hundred yards in width between it and the village of Chippewa, on the Canadian shore. The distance to Fort Schlosser, on the American side, is somewhat greater. This island was densely covered, in 1838, with heavy timber, and here Mackenzie determined to make his headquarters for the invasion of Canada. It was admirably situated for his purpose. Being without the territory of the United States, nothing need be apprehended from any interference on the part of their authorities, while it was most conveniently situated for receiving reinforcements and supplies from Buffalo. At the same time, as no force had been assembled for the protection of the Canadian frontier, little resistance to their schemes was feared from that direction.

* The Indian name for Niagara is O-Niawgarah—the thunder of water.

The position was judiciously chosen, and numbers of the frontier vagabonds speedily flocked to Van Rensselaer's standard, and were supplied by American citizens of wealth, interested in the movement, with provisions and military stores. To furnish this force, which was soon one thousand strong, * with the necessary artillery, the guns were taken out of the state arsenals in some of the frontier towns, and thirteen were speedily placed in position on different parts of the island, which was likewise further secured by entrenchments and log breast works. Very few Canadians joined Van Rensselaer, although he had been led to suppose that he would be strongly supported by them. †

No sooner did Head (who at length appeared to understand his position more correctly) become aware of these occurrences, than a body of militia was hastily collected at Chippewa, under the command of Colonel Cameron, to prevent a hostile descent in that direction. At the same time measures were promptly taken to collect reinforcements of volunteers and militia at the point of threatened attack, where MacNab, who presently arrived with his corps, assumed the chief command, and found himself at the head of two thousand five hundred men. One of his first measures was to form an entrenched camp in the vicinity of Chippewa, and to provide the necessary shelter for the militia; his next was to remonstrate with the American authorities, with respect to their permitting supplies to be furnished to the lawless force on Navy Island. He urged that if it received no succour of this kind, the affair would be closed without bloodshed; but his humane remonstrances were wholly ineffectual. Open aid continued to be furnished to the Patriots; and in broad daylight a small steamboat, the *Caroline*, was cut out of the ice at Buffalo, and proceeded down the river, to convey men and stores from the mainland to Navy Island. Seventeen American citizens openly and publicly signed a bond to indemnify her owner in case she should be captured; and the collector of the Buffalo customs, pandering to the mob, gave her the necessary clearance licence. ‡

Meanwhile, Van Rensselaer's artillery had opened upon the opposite Canadian shore, which was thickly settled; but beyond putting several shot through a house occupied by militia, and killing a horse on which a man, who fortunately escaped injury, was riding at the time, its fire was perfectly harmless. A fire was likewise opened on the boats sent from time to time by MacNab to reconnoitre the enemy's position, without, however, inflicting any loss of life.

The gathering at Navy Island produced considerable alarm at Toronto, and Head, by advice of his council, proceeded to

* United States' Marshal to President Van Buren, 28th December, 1838.

† See Van Rensselaer's narrative in *Albany Advertiser* of 30th of March, 1838.

‡ The Emigrant, p. 534,

Chippewa. Here he found the militia, the Mohawk Indians from the Grand River, and a body of coloured men come to fight for the true land of liberty, in the best possible spirits, and was earnestly pressed to allow them to clear the island at the point of the bayonet. He was unwilling to adopt this course; but gave his consent for the capture of the *Caroline*, now openly employed in the service of the Patriots. Up to this period not a shot had been fired by the Canadian militia, who had remained strictly on the defensive.* At the same time, not only had they been fired upon from Navy Island, but also from Grand Island belonging to the United States, where a body of the American militia was posted to preserve neutrality.

The arrival of the *Caroline* soon gave an air of unusual bustle to the operations of the Patriots, and as it was feared she might be used to land them on the Canadian shore, MacNab resolved upon her capture. Lieutenant Drew, of the Royal Navy, and Alexander McLeod, deputy sheriff of the Niagara District, volunteered to ascertain her movements. Regardless of the dangers of navigation, and of a score of musket shots, fired at them by the Patriots, they proceeded, in a small skiff, around the head of Navy Island, until they were able to obtain a full view of the eastern channel of the river. They noticed the *Caroline* lying at a temporary wharf, which had been built at the opposite side of the island. As they returned they were subjected to a sharp rifle fire, and their boat was splintered in a dozen places, but they fortunately escaped unhurt. During the night a volunteer expedition was organised for the purpose of cutting out the *Caroline*. It was too late, however, in starting, daylight came on as the boats approached the island, and a sharp fire of musketry compelled them to sheer off towards Fort Schlosser, a small hamlet on the American shore, containing a tavern and a few houses. From this point a gun was discharged at the Canadians, and several rifle shots as well, but owing to the long distance no harm was sustained.

On the 29th the *Caroline* resumed her trips to Navy Island, and carried guns, supplies and reinforcements, across from Fort Schlosser. Preparations were now promptly pushed forward for her capture. At nine o'clock, next night, the expedition, consisting of sixty men, armed with muskets and cutlasses, started in seven boats, with orders to Lieutenant Drew, the officer in command, to seize and destroy the *Caroline* wherever she might be found. But it was supposed, at the time, by Colonel MacNab, that she was lying at the Navy Island wharf. The expedition pulled silently up the river for about a mile; but in taking this stretch one boat grounded and stuck fast, while another could not make headway against the strong current. Drew finally proceeded without them, and crossed the river at an angle until the channel

* Sir Francis Head's Despatch to the British minister at Washington, 8th January, 1838.

between Navy and Grand Island was safely reached, and the boats glided into United States' waters, when it was soon ascertained that, contrary to expectation, the *Caroline* was lying at Fort Schlosser. Over two hours had now passed away, and it was near midnight and intensely dark. Presently Drew's boat, which led, was close to the *Caroline*. "Who goes there," demanded the sentinel on board, "answer or I fire." A friend, responded Drew. The countersign was then fruitlessly demanded, when the sentry discharged his musket at the nearest boat, and shouted "boys turn out, the enemy's coming." The next moment the *Caroline* was boarded fore and aft, and her crew of ten men, and twenty-three Patriot recruits permitted to sleep on board for lack of accommodation on shore, were driven to the dock like a flock of sheep, in the most abject terror for their lives. A few shots were fired on both sides; a few cutlass blows struck; no small uproar took place; and the *Caroline* was captured. An effort was made to get up steam by her captors, and while this was being done Lieutenant Elmsley and fifteen men landed, and took a position some thirty yards towards the tavern, in order to prevent an attack from that direction. They were repeatedly fired at, without, however, suffering any loss. Presently the *Caroline* was unloosed from the wharf, thoroughly examined to see that no one was left on board, and then set on fire. She was towed out into the current for about two hundred yards, so that the wharf might not be burned. She was then abandoned, and, now in a sheet of flame, left to drift with the current. She presently sank in shallow water, some distance above the Falls, where her engine could be seen for many years afterwards, and all was darkness again. Some of her charred timbers floated downwards with the current, passed under the bridge leading to Goat Island, and were afterwards picked up in the lower reaches of the river. The casualties of the Canadians were not serious. Lieutenant McCormack had been badly wounded by a gunshot and cutlass blows. Richard Arnold, a boat builder by trade, who had set the *Caroline* on fire, and was the last man to leave her, was also severely hurt. On the Patriot side Amos Durfee, a resident of Buffalo, was killed during the melee by a shot fired by his own friends at Elmsley's men, and a few others were wounded; but none seriously. The evidence subsequently given in this case, showed that these were the only casualties that took place. The destruction of the *Caroline* awoke a storm of indignation among the American people, who in the angry feelings of the hour, ignored the fact that their own citizens had first invaded Canadian soil, and made war on a friendly country in the absence of all due preventative measures on the part of the government of the United States. Many thousands of American citizens, who had hitherto cared very little about the Patriots or their fortunes, now became their open supporters, and declared that the violation of their soil could only be atoned for by blood. Numerous public meetings were held along the border, and frequently addressed by

Mackenzie, now delighted beyond measure at the turn matters had taken, and at the serious storm he had caused. Governor Marcy, of New York, sent a special message to the state legislature at Albany, drawing its attention to the capture of the *Caroline*, and to the massacre, as he erroneously stated, of one-third of her crew ; and President Van Buren intimated to Congress, that a demand for reparation must be made on Great Britain. Lieutenant Drew was indicted for the alleged murder of Durfee, by a grand jury of the State of New York, and Deputy Sheriff McLeod, who falsely avowed himself as one of the captors of the *Caroline*, was afterwards arrested in the United States and tried for his life at Utica, but fortunately acquitted for want of evidence against him. For some time it appeared as if the capture of the *Caroline*, and the arrest of McLeod, would lead to war between England and the United States. But calmer counsels presently prevailed, and the violation of American soil was finally condoned, in 1842, by an apology from the British Government.

On the 28th of December the Legislature was convened, in order that proper measures should be taken in the present emergency. The opening address of the Lieutenant-Governor was a long one, and of a more sober and sensible description than the speeches he had previously made on similar occasions. Alluding to the recent interference of American foreigners in Canadian politics, he declared "that it was not to be endured by the people of a free country. I entertain," he added, "no feeling of anxiety for the result. The peaceful inhabitants of Upper Canada will not be left to defend their country alone, for they belong to an empire which does not suffer its subjects to be injured with impunity ; and if a national war, which it rests with the American Government to avert, should be the unhappy consequences of an intolerant invasion of our freedom, the civilised world, while it sympathises with our just cause, will view with feelings of astonishment and abhorrence, this attempt of a body of American citizens, treacherously to attack and plunder, in a moment of profound peace, their oldest, most intimate, and their most natural ally." One of the first measures of the session was the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act.

Meanwhile, the prudent Colborne perceived that the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada had not formed a proper estimate of matters there, and that he had better attend to the preservation of that Province himself. He accordingly directed the march of troops up the St. Lawrence to occupy the more exposed frontier posts, while he still, however, relied upon the local militia as the chief force for the defence of their several districts. Fortunately the season was unusually mild. The river St. Lawrence remained open till the middle of January. The upper lakes and rivers also continued free from ice, and thus presented the necessary facilities for moving troops to every threatened point of attack, it being the plan of the American sympathisers to assail the country at different places at the same time, as had been done

in all the former invasions of Canada. A strong force of artillery was soon assembled at Chippewa, as well as a body of troops ; and General Van Rensselaer finding Navy Island becoming more difficult of occupation, when a fire of heavy guns and mortars was directed against it, evacuated it on the 14th of January, and retired with his force to the American mainland, where he was arrested, but soon afterwards released. The state authorities resumed possession of the guns and material of war stolen from their arsenals. The loss of the Canadians during its siege was only one man killed and one wounded. The loss of the Patriots has never been ascertained, but it must have been more than was generally supposed at the time, as the Canadian bombardment of the island was a severe one, and directed by an experienced artillery officer, Captain Luard. The Patriots' hospital had been established at Grand Island, in American territory, whither their wounded were all conveyed. An engineer officer visited Navy Island shortly after its evacuation, and made a report on its condition. The defences were found to be much weaker than had been supposed. The western part of the island presented a scene of wretchedness, desolation and filth, which proved what hardships the Patriots had suffered at that inclement season of the year. The hovels termed barracks had been hastily constructed, in the poorest manner, and afforded little shelter from the weather. But for the charity of their sympathisers in Buffalo, who supplied them with food, and even necessary clothing, the suffering of the Patriots, recruited mostly from the worst and poorest classes of the border population, would have been much greater even than it was. The season, although a mild one, as regarded frost and snow, was still very inclement, and characterised by frequent storms of cold rain and sleet ; the very worst kind of weather for badly housed people to face. But amid all the wretchedness and privation on Navy Island during the Patriot occupation, lasting a whole month, womanly affection cast a ray of tender light. Mrs. Mackenzie, leaving her family to the care of friends, came there to cheer and sustain her husband in his abode of wretchedness and guilt. Her dwelling was a log shanty of the rudest kind, and here in a rough booth, like that on board ship, on a bed of straw, was her sleeping place. The rain found its way through the imperfect roof, the open chinks in the log walls admitted the chilling winds of winter ; the wretchedness, the clamour, the filth, the vileness of the rabble outside inflicted even greater hardship ; and yet the love of that dauntless woman rose superior to her repulsive environments, and for her husband's sake she braved them all.*

While these occurrences were transpiring on the Niagara frontier, a Scotchman of the name of Sutherland, who had become an American citizen, proceeded from Buffalo to Cleveland, at the upper end of Lake Erie, to organise a descent upon Amherstburg.

* Canada as it Was, etc., vol. ii, p. 34.

Opposite this town is the Canadian island of Bois Blanc, in the Detroit River, which presented a favourable rendezvous for the sympathisers, and to which a body of them moved from Cleveland, on the 7th of January, under the leadership of a person of the name of Dodge. At Gibraltar village they were joined by Sutherland with several boats and scows, on board of which were three field-pieces, two hundred and fifty stand of arms, and a very large supply of provisions. A fine schooner, the *Anne*, which had been, without any attempt at concealment, loaded at Detroit with cannon and several hundred muskets, taken from the state arsenals of Michigan, brought down another detachment of Canadian refugees and American sympathisers. So great was the feeling manifested in favour of these men, that the United States' Marshal was utterly unable to prevent their proceedings, now plainly in violation of the treaty of peace and amity of his government with Great Britain.

There were no troops of any arm at Amherstburg at this period, and the militia, hastily drawn together for its defence, were indiscriminately armed with rifles, fowling-pieces, and pitchforks. After this motley force had been dismissed from parade at three o'clock, on the 8th, the alarm spread that Sutherland's band was advancing from Sugar Island, belonging to the United States, where it had temporarily taken post, with the view of immediately obtaining possession of Bois Blanc. This it was resolved to prevent, and three hundred militia, among whom were a troop of dismounted volunteer cavalry from the London district, hurried into boats and on board a schooner then lying at the town, took possession of the island, and promptly adopted measures to prevent the landing of an enemy. Sutherland's flotilla, now consisting of the *Anne*, a sloop, the *George Strong*, and several boats and scows, having some six hundred men on board, when it was discovered that preparations were made to repel a landing, sheered off after firing two guns at the militia. It was next supposed from his movements that the enemy would attempt to land on the main shore and capture Amherstburg, now defended by only a hundred men. It was accordingly determined to abandon the island, and return to defend the town. But Sutherland's courage failed him when the moment for action came, and instead of making a descent either against Bois Blanc or Amherstburg, he directed his boat flotilla to pull for one of the American Islands.* He sent a message to Theller, now commanding the *Anne*, acquainting him with this movement, and directing him to join him.

Instead of sailing round Bois Blanc, which would have involved a considerable loss of time, Theller boldly determined to run up the channel between that island and Amherstburg, there being a good breeze in his favour. He was repeatedly fired upon by the militia with rifles; but the distance was too great to do much in-

* Theller's Canada in 1837-8, vol. i, p. 130.

jury with small arms, and only one of his crew was killed and a few wounded. The Canadians had no artillery, or he would have suffered much more severely. The *Anne* replied to their fire by a few discharges of grape and round shot, without, however, doing any mischief. She also fired upon the *United*, a small steam ferry-boat, which usually ran between Detroit and Windsor. On the following morning, the *George Strong*, which continued to lie under Bois Blanc, was captured, and shortly after the *Anne* again made her appearance, and opened fire upon the heart of the town of Amherstburg, with round shot and grape; but providentially without injury to the inhabitants, although several buildings were struck.

Meanwhile, Sutherland had taken possession of Bois Blanc; so during the day the movements of the *Anne* were narrowly watched by the militia. As night approached, the wind freshened, and blew directly on the Canadian shore. Theller determined to run past the town, being now above it, and cast anchor at the foot of the island. But sharp and repeated volleys were poured into the *Anne* by the militia. Her ropes and sails were cut up by their fire, her helmsmen shot down, and she soon drifted helplessly on the lee-shore. Her crew, however, still continued to keep up a discharge of cannon and musketry; but the volunteers of the militia, after giving them another volley, plunged into the water, boarded, and carried her in the most gallant manner. Twenty-one prisoners were captured, three pieces of cannon, upwards of three hundred stand of arms, a large quantity of ammunition, with some money, stores, and provisions. The crew had three men killed and twelve wounded, some severely. The capture of the *Anne* convinced Sutherland how little impression he was likely to make on the Canadian frontier, and he accordingly retired to Sugar Island. Here he was visited by Governor Mason, of Michigan, and induced to conduct his men to the mainland, where they were dispersed, while he was arrested, but soon again set at liberty, after the farce of bringing him to trial had been gone through with.

Thus terminated the attempt of Sutherland to obtain possession of Amherstburg. The conduct of the gallant militia was beyond all praise; and the exertions of several wealthy citizens of the neighbourhood to provision and furnish them with arms and ammunition, merit the warmest gratitude of posterity. Among these citizens was a Mr. Dougall, of Windsor, who loaned \$10,000 to the commissariat; while several others came forward to endorse notes to pay the merchants of Detroit for the pork and flour to feed the militia, which this portion of Canada was then unable to furnish.

The capture of the *Anne* supplied the guns and muskets so much needed. Two of her cannon were mounted on Fort Malden, which was, however, in a wretched condition, having been permitted to go to ruin; the other was placed on board a schooner, fitted up by Captain Vidal, a retired naval officer, resident in the district. The militia crowded to protect the frontier in expectation of another

invasion, and nearly four thousand were soon posted at various points along the Detroit River. Among these were two hundred Indians from Delaware, and a body of coloured men, settled in the western part of the Province, the poor hunted fugitives from American slavery, who had at length found liberty and security under the British flag.*

Their ill success hitherto had not taught the Patriots wisdom, and although the gaols of both Provinces were crowded with prisoners, waiting their doom, others were not warned by their unhappy condition. Secret societies, termed Hunters' Lodges, were formed along the American border in order to revolutionise Canada, and maintained an active correspondence with the republicans at this side of the line. Mackenzie, who had moved eastward to Watertown, and who did not yet consider he had done sufficient mischief, and other refugees, were active in organising another combined invasion of their country—a fresh drama of blood and misery ; and so certain were some of their deluded followers of success, that farms in Canada were played for as stakes, and outline maps prepared for the townships they imagined they were about to receive.†

Early in the month of February, the Patriots determined to make four simultaneous movements against Canada—from Detroit, Sandusky, Watertown and Vermont. The last of these has already been described, in the narrative of the rebellion in Lower Canada. The expedition from Watertown, to the number of some two thousand men, rendezvoused at French Creek, on the St. Lawrence River, under the command of the same Van Rensselaer who had figured at Navy Island, and of "Bill" Johnston, a most notorious border vagabond. Finding, however, that the militia garrison of Kingston was fully prepared for their reception, the courage of these brigands failed them completely, and they speedily dispersed.

The movement from Detroit, led by a Canadian refugee of the name of McLeod, was also unsuccessful. He took possession of a small island in the Detroit River, from whence, on the 24th of February, he was dislodged by the fire of artillery, and returned to the United States, where his force was dispersed and disarmed by the authorities, now beginning to exert themselves effectually.

The Patriot force from Sandusky, under the direction of Sutherland and others, established itself on Point Pele, a Canadian island, eight miles long and four wide, situated some forty miles from Amherstburg and twenty from the mainland. Troops had meanwhile reached the Detroit frontier, and measures were promptly taken by Colonel Maitland, of the 32nd regiment, to dislodge the enemy. Finding that the ice was sufficiently strong, he crossed from the mainland to Point Pele, with a force of regulars and militia, and placed detachments at different points to cut off the Patriots' retreat. Their main body, however, after being chased

* Radcliff's Despatch, 10th January, 1838. † Canada as it Was, etc., vol. ii, p. 69.

through the woods, succeeded in fighting their way to the American mainland; but with severe loss to themselves, thirteen being killed and forty wounded. Several of them also were taken prisoners. On the side of the Canadians, two soldiers of the 32nd were killed and twenty-eight wounded. The Patriots, numbering some five hundred men, were well armed, and fought desperately for their lives, when they found their retreat cut off by a detachment of the 32nd and some militia under Captain Brown. A day or two after this affair Sutherland was accidentally met on the ice by Colonel John Prince, and brought a prisoner to the shore.*

Meanwhile, the Home Ministry had recalled Head, and appointed Sir George Arthur, recently governor of Van Dieman's Land, and an able man, as his successor. The former prorogued the Legislature on the 6th of March, in a long and inflated speech, in which he reviewed the recent occurrences, justified his course, and so dropped the curtain on his exceedingly unfortunate administration. On the 23rd the new Lieutenant-Governor, who had arrived out from England by way of New York, was sworn in at Toronto, and Head was relieved of his administrative cares for ever. He immediately prepared for his departure to England, and being informed that parties had determined to assassinate him, should he travel overland to Halifax, resolved to proceed to New York, *via* Kingston and Watertown, and embark at that city. He succeeded in safely accomplishing his journey, though not without considerable personal risk, having been recognised at Watertown, and pursued from thence towards Utica. Being a good horseman, however, he soon distanced his pursuers. Once at New York he was perfectly safe, although an object of considerable public curiosity, a very large body of its citizens assembling to see him embark. On returning to England he was very coolly received by the Government, who, however, paid him liberally for his services, but he never afterwards received any appointment, devoted himself solely to literary work, became poorer as time passed away, and gladly accepted an author's pension of a hundred pounds a year. He died in July, 1875.

THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR GEORGE ARTHUR.

The gaols of Hamilton and Toronto were now crowded with prisoners. In the former town a special commission was sitting for the trial of political offenders; in the latter a court-martial had assembled for the same purpose, but the chief offenders were mostly tried by a judge and jury. The "Constitutional Reformers" of Toronto presented a numerously signed address to Sir George Arthur, congratulating him on his accession to the Government, and asking mercy for the five hundred political prisoners held in durance. His answer embodied a sharp rebuke. He stated reform

* Maitland's Despatches, 4th and 5th March, 1838. *Kingston Chronicle*, March, 1838.

had been made the cloak of the crimes committed by these prisoners ; and that, at the present crisis, it was imprudent to adopt such an appellation. At the same time, he avowed his determination to let impartial justice take its course.

Having been completely foiled in their combined movement to revolutionise the Canadas, the Patriots, during the months of March and April, adopted no further offensive measures. Secret associations, however, continued in full operation along the American frontier. Hunters' Lodges were organised in every direction, by which covert steps were taken for another attempt against this country. Meanwhile, Colborne had made prompt preparations to meet every emergency—even a war with the United States, now a possible contingency, owing to the ill feeling excited by the destruction of the *Caroline* and the Maine boundary disputes, on the one hand, and the numerous acts of aggression against Canada committed by American citizens, on the other. Engineer officers were sent to every point where troops or fortifications were required. At Amherstburg, in the course of the ensuing summer, Fort Malden was repaired and strengthened ; extensive barracks were commenced at London ; Fort Mississauga, at Niagara, was put into a good position for defence ; the works at Kingston were strengthened ; additional barracks begun at Toronto ; and Fort Wellington, at Prescott, rendered impregnable to sudden attack. No sooner had navigation opened than a large fleet of men-of-war and transports, which had brought troops up the St. Lawrence, crowded the spacious harbour of Quebec. These troops were soon distributed along the frontier, and being supported by forty thousand of the most efficient militia probably in the world, Canada was in a better position to repel hostile invasion than at any former period.

Up to the month of May, Samuel Lount and Peter Matthews, two leaders of Mackenzie's attack upon Toronto, had alone been executed for treason. Their fate was a sad one, but their punishment was just. Both belonged to the Methodist Episcopal body, and were attended by its ministers to the scaffold. Several others had been sentenced to death at Hamilton and Toronto ; but Sir George Arthur, blending mercy with justice, transferred the greater part of them to the penitentiary at Kingston. Several political prisoners were acquitted as being innocent, or for want of proof ; and many of the lesser actors in the drama of rebellion were released on giving security for their future good conduct. Dr. Morrison was tried and acquitted, but had a narrow escape. In Lower Canada, martial law had been abolished ; and matters generally, in both Provinces, bore every appearance of returning tranquillity. But, as the month of May progressed, rumours prevailed that the Patriots were about to undertake another attempt against the Province, for which Mackenzie, Duncombe, and McLeod were actively engaged in making preparations. The more secure condition of the frontier, however, left them not the slightest chance of success, and very little apprehension of the result was entertained. While

matters were in this state, a most atrocious act was committed, in the burning of the *Sir Robert Peel*, one of the finest steamboats plying on the St. Lawrence, by the notorious Bill Johnston, at the head of a gang of some fifty men, who boarded her before day on the 29th, while taking in wood at Wells Island, at the American side of the river, and seven miles from French Creek. The passengers were compelled to rise from their beds; and, after dressing hastily, several females among them were put on shore, and left to shift for themselves on a most inclement night, while the men were confined in the cabin, through the skylights of which muskets were pointed to prevent them from interfering. At length, when the pirates had satisfied themselves that no danger was to be apprehended, a panel was broken in the cabin door, through which their prisoners were allowed to pass, one by one, and go ashore. The vessel was then rifled and set on fire, when Johnston and his gang, betaking themselves to their whale-boats, made their escape. The crew of the *Sir Robert Peel* lost all their baggage, and the passengers were able to save very little of their effects.

Governor Marcy, of New York State, on receiving intelligence at Albany of this barbarous outrage, immediately departed for the frontier, and took active measures to discover the perpetrators, some of whom were apprehended and lodged in gaol, but afterwards escaped punishment for the want of sufficient proof against them. A reward was offered for the apprehension of Johnston; but the labyrinth of the Thousand Islands afforded him and his gang a secure refuge, and enabled him to elude every step taken for his capture. On the 7th of June a descent was made by him on Amherst Island, near Kingston, and three farm-houses plundered of money and valuables. On the 10th he issued a most impudent proclamation, avowing that he had commanded the expedition which destroyed the *Sir Robert Peel*. His opportunities to do further mischief were, however, restricted by Colborne, who directed a body of sailors and marines to scour the Thousand Islands, and strengthened the various military posts along the Upper St. Lawrence with soldiers and picked militia. The American Government also sent troops to their frontier to preserve the peace, and prevent the further organisation of armed expeditions against the Canadas.

Despite all these precautionary measures, a body of sympathisers crossed over the Niagara frontier, overpowered some Lancers, and plundered a house at the Short Hills of a large sum of money and other valuable property. Thirty of these ruffians, who had concealed themselves in a swamp, were afterwards taken, as well as Morrow, their leader, who was subsequently executed for the crime. In consequence of these occurrences, Sir George Arthur issued a proclamation, forbidding all persons from travelling in the Province without proper passports. At the same time, it was also determined that persons found unlawfully armed, or aiding in or abetting acts of treason, should be deemed prisoners of war, and treated accord-

ingly. Simultaneously with the affair at the Short Hills, bodies of Patriots penetrated into the London District, where a number of state prisoners were rescued from durance, and the store of a French trader at Delaware plundered. From this point they were pursued by the Indians, who overtook and routed them, and captured several of their number. At Goderich a body of these pirates made their appearance in a sloop, and after committing some robberies in the shops there, escaped in a United States' steamer. Such were the persons sent to liberate Canada by Mackenzie and his refugee confederates.

The remainder of the summer passed quietly away, and was chiefly distinguished by Lord Durham's tour through the Province. Some attempts were made to get up hostile expeditions in the adjoining states; but these were suppressed by the American military authorities, now exerting themselves most efficiently. With respect to the numerous political prisoners, the same lenient policy was pursued as in Lower Canada; the leaders alone were to be punished, the rest were released. The Reform press again began to agitate the constitutional redress of grievances; and the old machinery of party was gradually coming into full play, in the belief that rebellious and "sympathising" troubles had terminated. Towards the end of summer, some excitement was caused by the escape of several prisoners confined at Kingston. Theller and Dodge, captured in the *Anne*, likewise effected their escape from prison at Quebec. On the 22nd of October a proclamation, offering amnesty to certain political offenders, was published by Arthur.

Meanwhile, Hunters' Lodges continued to exist along the border; and préparations were made for another Patriot invasion of the Canadas. Colborne had received minute information of these proceedings, and the necessary defensive preparations were accordingly made. In Upper Canada, Arthur called out a portion of the militia, on the 23rd of October, by proclamation. At the same time, the armed vessels now on Lakes Erie and Ontario were put into the most efficient condition for active service.

The final Patriot invasion of Canada, like all the preceding ones, was based on the principal of combined movement. In Lower Canada, Robert Nelson established himself at Napierville; while in Upper Canada, an attempt was made to obtain possession of Fort Wellington, at Prescott, and of Fort Malden, at Amherstburg.

On the 10th of November a body of armed men embarked at Oswego on board the *United States*, a large steamer plying from Ogdensburg westward. At the same time, two schooners conveyed a detachment of Patriots down the St. Lawrence, which were taken in tow by this steamer, as she descended the river. On the night of the 11th they were off Brockville, and considerable alarm was felt lest the enemy might land and attack that town. This, however, formed no part of their plan, and they proceeded to Prescott, midway between which town and Ogdensburg the schooners cast anchor. Here next morning they were attacked by a small British

armed steamer, the *Experiment*, mounting two guns, and compelled to move nearer the American shore. The *Experiment* likewise fired upon the *United States*, which came out from Ogdensburg harbour, apparently with the object of taking the schooners again in tow, and of landing the sympathisers she had on board at Prescott, and compelled her to sheer off. Having injured one of her guns, the *Experiment* was under the necessity of running into Prescott to refit, when the Patriots promptly landed a body of some two hundred and fifty men, led by Von Schultz, a Polish adventurer, a little further down the river at Windmill Point, which was beyond the range of the guns at Fort Wellington. This was an excellent defensive position. The Windmill, a circular building of great strength, was flanked by several stone dwelling houses and walls, the latter forming good breast-works ; and as the road ran close by this post it commanded both the land and water approaches. Having thus made a solid lodgment on Canadian soil, the Patriots expected to be joined by many of the inhabitants, but were completely disappointed. Scarcely any one aided them openly, while the militia of the neighbouring counties were soon swarming towards Prescott, from all directions, to drive the invaders from their country.

By the morning of the 13th, a force of over four hundred militia and eighty regulars had been drawn together, and supported by the *Victoria* and *Cobourg* armed steamers, moved forward at seven o'clock under the command of Major Young, one of the military officers sent out from England to organise the militia, to dislodge the enemy from the breast-work he had formed, by connecting the stone walls around the mill with entrenchments of earth. The Patriots fought desperately, but were gradually driven from point to point, and finally compelled to take shelter in the stone buildings within their position, where, as the attacking force had no artillery, and the guns of the steamers made no impression on the mill, they were permitted for the present to remain. Strong pickets, however, were posted so as to prevent their escape during the ensuing night. The loss of the Canadians during this action was severe. Two officers and six men were killed ; and three officers and thirty-nine men wounded. The Patriots suffered still more severely. Two of their officers and eleven men had been killed, a large number wounded, and thirty-two taken prisoners. During the battle, several boats filled with men had attempted to cross from the opposite side, but were prevented by the armed steamers. The American shore was crowded with spectators, who cheered vigorously whenever they supposed their countrymen had the advantage of the Canadians. Meanwhile, the schooners, which had sought shelter near the American shore, were taken possession of by a United States marshal, aided by some troops. The steamer *United States* was also seized, and the unhappy adventurers at Windmill Point left to their fate, although they repeatedly begged to be taken off.*

* See Von Schultz's Statement.

During the 14th the enemy was permitted to retain his position undisturbed, the *Experiment* keeping a sharp watch to prevent his escape. On the following day heavy artillery was forwarded from Kingston, as well as a body of troops, under Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas; but owing to some delays these did not reach Prescott till the afternoon of the 16th. As night approached the troops and militia moved forward to the assault, and being well supported by the fire of their guns, the Patriots were soon driven from the dwelling houses, and compelled to retreat to the mill. This effectually resisted the fire of the artillery, but its destruction being apprehended by the Patriots, who still numbered over one hundred, they surrendered at discretion. Several others who had hidden in the vicinity, were afterwards captured, so that one hundred and thirty were taken altogether, of whom several were wounded; their loss in killed was probably about fifty, there being no certainty on this point, many of the dead having been burned in the buildings. On the side of the Canadians, in the final assault, only one soldier was killed and a few wounded.*

The attempt to obtain possession of Amherstburg terminated equally unsuccessful for the Patriots with the movement against Prescott. On the 4th of December, a body of about four hundred and fifty strong crossed over from Detroit to the Canadian shore, marched upon the village of Windsor, captured the few militia guarding it, burned the steamer *Thames*, lying at the wharf, and two buildings, murdered a negro who refused to join them, and then prepared to move against Sandwich, a village two miles distant on the road to Amherstburg. But the captured militia soon managed to effect their escape, after shooting the leader of the enemy.

During their march towards Sandwich, the advanced guard of the Patriots brutally murdered Surgeon Hume, of the regular army, who happened to meet them and offered his medical aid. His dead body was shockingly mutilated. But his melancholy fate was speedily avenged by a detachment of one hundred and seventy militia from Sandwich, acting under the orders of Colonel Prince, which attacked this portion of the enemy, who had meanwhile established themselves in an orchard, completely routed them, and killed twenty-one of their number. But Colonel Prince stained his victory by ordering four prisoners, brought in immediately after the action, to be shot. Twenty-six prisoners were shortly afterwards taken; but these were reserved for disposal by the proper tribunal. The loss of the militia in this action was trifling; only one man was killed and two wounded.

The Patriots, however, still retained possession of Windsor, from which Prince did not think proper to dislodge them, as a part of their force, which had meanwhile made a flank movement towards Sandwich, threatened his rear. He accordingly retired upon the

* Major Young's Despatch, 14th Nov., 1838. *Brockville Recorder*, 15th Nov., 1838.

latter village, where he was soon after joined by a detachment of regulars with a field-piece, and again proceeded to seek the enemy. But finding that none of the inhabitants would aid them, and having already had enough of fighting, the Patriots had in the meantime either recrossed the river to Detroit, or concealed themselves in the surrounding woods. Nineteen of the latter, destitute of food, and unable to cross to the opposite shore, were shortly after found frozen to death around the remains of a fire they had kindled.

Thus terminated the last Patriot invasion of Canada. Like the inhabitants of Ogdensburg, those of Detroit lined the bank of the river during the action at Windsor, and cheered the Patriot band who had crossed to assail our gallant militia with such disastrous results to themselves. But the horrid drama of blood had not yet terminated. Mercy had been too long shown to the citizens of a friendly country, with which we were at peace, who had invaded our soil for purposes of rapine and bloodshed. Courts-martial were accordingly assembled at Kingston and London, for the trial of the prisoners taken in arms at Prescott and Windsor. Of the former, Von Schultz and nine others, chiefly Americans, were executed at Kingston. Three were executed at London for the Windsor outrage, several were also executed in Lower Canada, and a large number from both Provinces transported to the penal settlements at New Holland. More than half the prisoners taken at Prescott, being youths under age, were pardoned by Arthur, and permitted to return home. Like all rebellions, that of Canada had produced its full harvest of disorder, caused a large outlay to the Government, and checked the progress of the country; aside from arousing men's evil passions, and drawing the militiamen from their homes to the injury of their business.

Every true lover of liberty will admit that rebellion is necessary and justifiable in certain circumstances. When a nation has no security for life and property, when the rights of person are violated arbitrarily and unjustly by the powers that be, when men suffer sharp wrongs, and their liberties are trampled on daily by the iron heel of oppression, when taxation is imposed without legislative representation, then rebellion is a virtue, and not a crime. It is far preferable to die the death of the brave man than to live the life of the slave. But there were no political wrongs in the Canadas of a nature to justify rebellion. Here trial by jury existed, the law of *habeas corpus* protected personal rights, and the levying of internal taxation was vested in the local Legislatures. In Lower Canada, the French-Canadian inhabitants enjoyed a larger liberty than their race possessed in any other part of the world; while, in Upper Canada, the few political evils which existed must soon have disappeared before the pressure of constitutional agitation, the progress of national intelligence, and the increase of national population and wealth. Many persons, at the present time, suppose that the principles contended for in the

rebellion of 1837-8 have since been conceded. That is a mistaken idea. The leaders of the extreme section of the Reform Party, in resorting to violence, no longer sought the removal of existing abuses by constitutional agitation, but aimed at the total overthrow of the authority of the Crown, and the establishment of an independent republic, and completely failed in the attempt. The constitutional Reformers, however, continued to adhere to lawful methods for the removal of grievances, and to their efforts, aided by many favouring circumstances when the storm of rebellion had passed over, and not to the insurrectionary attempts of Mackenzie, and of other persons equally wicked and mischievous, may in a great measure be ascribed the improved condition in which Canada presently found herself.

There can be very little doubt entertained, by any impartial or unprejudiced person, that the singular and very imprudent conduct of Sir Francis Bond Head produced, in a great measure, the wretchedly organised rebellious outbreak in Upper Canada. His injudicious administration, in the first place, created a large amount of adverse political agitation; in the second, the absence of all military preparation to repress armed riots of any kind, invited the rebellion of a small minority of disaffected persons, such as must always exist even in the best governed countries. But these circumstances, nevertheless, do not lessen the criminality of the course pursued by William Lyon Mackenzie, who was decidedly the leading evil spirit of the crisis, and who must ever be held morally responsible for much of the bloodshed in Upper Canada at this period. The progress of time has mellowed much of the asperity with which his conduct has been regarded, and enable us to form more just conclusions as to his principles and his objects. As one traces his checkered existence, which presents such a strange admixture of upright intention and dangerous error, a doubt of his perfect sanity cannot fail to be evoked, to receive additional colour from the softening of the brain, that finally resulted in death. Ever unstable as water, he flits changefully before the eye as the Dundee shop-boy, the uneasy clerk, the bankrupt shopman, the newspaper editor, the bookseller, the druggist, the member of Parliament, the agitator, the political agent to England, the fomentor of rebellion, and the rebel general. As a refugee in the United States, he shifted his occupation with the same chameleon rapidity as in Scotland and Canada; his peculiar faculty of getting into difficulties of one kind or another being in no way diminished, until, at length, fully as tired of the people as they were of him, he was glad to shelter his fortunes once more under the British flag, which he had so impotently essayed to trample in the dust. Scotchmen, as a rule, invariably exhibit great tenacity of purpose and steadiness of application, but to that rule Canada presents two notable exceptions in the persons of Gourlay and Mackenzie. Both were wonderfully alike in their failures and their misfortunes, and both supplied the most ample evidence that method and perseverance

are ever the solid essentials of success. Mackenzie was much the cleverer of the two; but he lacked the sterling talent and the sober judgment which constitute the truly eminent man, and his once great popularity rested chiefly on the passions and prejudices of the hour. He was alike an indifferent writer and a commonplace speaker, and the very prominent position to which he attained was owing to the excitement of the times, and the paucity of talent in a comparatively new country. His subsequent return to Canada was fatal to his previous reputation for ability, and plainly stamped his mediocrity. A weekly newspaper, termed *Mackenzie's Message*, published by him, had a brief existence; and while alive was not distinguished for ably written editorials, such as appeared in contemporary journals, but, on the contrary, for snappish and ill-natured articles, querulous complainings, and for being the receptacle of all manner of fantastic odds and ends, the fungi of an energetic and acute, yet diseased and ill-balanced intellect.

CHAPTER V.

THE FINAL END OF THE REBELLION.

INTERNAL rebellion and foreign invasion had been alike repressed by the gallant militia of the Canadas, and the firm attitude assumed by its civil governments and military authorities. Open violence, and the warlike strength of eight millions of people in the United States, had failed to sever this country from Great Britain in the Three Years' War, beginning with 1812; secret treason and partial internal disaffection had proved equally impotent, in 1837-8, in that direction. The people of the American border, who hoped to see Canada, in being connected with their country, a fruitful source of speculation and profit to themselves, had at length discovered their mistake in expecting that connection, and now fully realised how egregiously they had been deceived by the representations of the visionary Mackenzie and others of the same stamp. Their eager thirst for gain had blinded them to the true condition of this country, and led them to twaddle about Canadian freedom, with the shackles of three millions of their own slaves—their human chattels, clanking in their ears. The result of all their secret border associations to revolutionise the Canadas, and annex them to the United States, had their finale in the wretched attempts on Sandwich and Prescott. They now sought to cover their defeat, and remove the stigma their improper conduct had cast upon their Government, by organizing public meetings to prevent further aggression on Canada, as if such a result could be accomplished by the frothy declamations of place-hunting demagogues.

But Canada needed no questionable aid of this stamp, and was just as independent of the public opinion of the United States in 1839, as she was of their military prowess in 1815. During the course of this year the various military works in progress were completed. All the important defensive positions were re-established; and the entire Canadian frontier, from Maine to Michigan, thus placed in a state of security. A re-organisation of the militia substituted permanent corps, and a certain number of years' service, for those hitherto established for a few months' service, or a parti-

cular emergency. The militia army list for Upper Canada alone showed one hundred and six complete regiments, with the full complement of officers and staff; the names of the two latter grades filling eighty-three closely printed octavo pages. There were four battalions of incorporated militia, organised and clothed like the troops of the line; twelve battalions of provincial militia, on duty for a stated period; thirty-one corps of artillery, cavalry, coloured companies, and riflemen; while most of the militia corps had a troop of cavalry attached to them. Thus, with a population of less than five hundred thousand souls, Upper Canada could easily assemble forty thousand men in arms without seriously distressing the country. The regular army in Canada, in 1839, consisted of seventeen regiments of the line, one regiment of cavalry, and a proper proportion of the Royal Artillery, Sappers, Miners, and Royal Engineers. On Lakes Ontario and Erie a navy had been established, under the orders of Captain Sandom, R. N., to man which seamen and marines were sent out from England.* The firm attitude thus assumed by Canada checked further organised invasion; and beyond isolated burnings of the dwellings of loyalists, and outrages on their persons, nothing further occurred to disturb the public peace, the disputes about the Maine boundary excepted. But our neighbours' blustering, even on this point, was gradually overborne by their good common sense; the matter was left to be settled by arbitration; and international commerce was again commenced between Canada and the United States, two countries whose true policy should ever be to remain on the most friendly terms, at least while such a course is consistent with national honour.

On the 27th of February, the Legislature of Upper Canada was again convened. The opening speech of Sir George Arthur was a long one; it reviewed the recent painful occurrences, and pointed out the measures which he deemed necessary for the welfare of the country. He recommended the settlement of the Clergy Reserves' question, on which there was still much bitter agitation, and the promotion of education by an improvement in the common school system. The Government, he stated, looked for the speedy resumption of specie payment by the banks, which had suspended during the more recent troubles, and trusted no difficulties on that head would be experienced. He also alluded to the depressed condition of the finances of the Province, and the necessity, nevertheless, of sustaining him in the large disbursements, not provided for by act of Parliament, which he had been compelled to make in connection with the defence of the country. There were other claims, he said, also to be provided for; intelligence which was unfavourably received by the House.

The finances of the Province, at this period, were far from being in a flourishing condition. The construction of the great works

* Canada as it Was, etc., vol. ii, pp. 187, 189.

undertaken in various directions had increased. the public debt so largely, that the annual interest thereon amounted to \$252,000. The civil expenditure of the preceding year was \$80,000 larger than the usual amount; and the deficiency in the resources of the Province, (now annually about \$320,000,) to meet the expenditure for the current year, would amount to over \$360,000.* Unless some means were devised to remedy this state of things, it was evident that sooner or later there must be a national bankruptcy.

The publication of Durham's report during the spring led thinking men to look forward to the union of the sister Provinces, as the panacea for many of the evils under which both were labouring. Resolutions approving of this union were introduced into the Assembly and passed there, but thrown out in the Upper House by a majority of two. The session of Parliament, which terminated on the 14th of May, was chiefly distinguished for these resolutions, the assumption of the Welland Canal by the Government, and an abortive attempt to settle the Clergy Reserves' question.

Meanwhile, Mackenzie, who had made an unsuccessful attempt to establish a newspaper in New York, had removed to Rochester, where he speedily became so unpopular with the community, that he was finally arrested, indicted, and tried for promoting armed expeditions against Upper Canada to overturn its Government.—He grounded his defence in part on the presumption, that the Province was in a state of anarchy at the time of the outbreak at Toronto, and that no Government consequently existed. Alluding during his trial to Queen Victoria, he said, "I affirm that the girl had forfeited all right to rule over any part of what she claims as her dominions. I was born in the reign of her uncle, and have long been tired of their usurped tyranny." Despite all his quibbles, and all his endeavours to pander to the anti-British prejudices of his audience, the jury found him guilty, and he was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment in the gaol of Monroe County, and to pay a fine of ten dollars.† It was a tardy piece of justice, brought about chiefly by himself, and was deemed the easiest way to get rid of him by his former admirers. Poor, and comparatively friendless, they made him the scapegoat of the sins of others as well of as his own.

Lord Durham's report had immensely strengthened the hands of the friends of Responsible Government in Upper Canada. Meetings were held at which resolutions were passed in favour of its establishment, and it was evident that in future no Canadian administration need look for much public support, unless it were based on that principle. Matters in the meantime were gradually assuming their wonted appearance of quiet; while, in addition to this blessing, a most abundant harvest gladdened the hearts of the community.

* *Christian Guardian*, 27th March, 1839. † *Rochester Democrat*, 26th June, 1839.

Meanwhile, Colborne, as we have already seen, had been appointed Governor-General of the Canadas, and continued to take the necessary steps for their pacification. But his long and arduous exertions for the benefit of this country, and in the service of his sovereign, led him to desire repose, and he accordingly requested his recall. On the 17th of October his successor arrived at Quebec, and relieved him of the cares of government.

THE GOVERNMENT OF LORD SYDENHAM.

The new Governor-General, Poulett C. Thomson, was a native of England, and born at Wimbledon in 1799. After completing his education at Cambridge he went to St. Petersburg, as the correspondent of his father's timber firm; and until his accession to public office he continued in the mercantile business. In 1826 Dover returned him to the House of Commons; and in 1830 he was again elected for that borough, and also for Manchester.—He decided to sit for the latter constituency, then, as now, one of the greatest manufacturing centres of the kingdom. Possessed of much practical knowledge of commerce and trade, gifted with good debating powers, and most zealous in his devotion to the Whig party, he soon stood high in the esteem of its leader, Earl Grey, who in forming his administration, in 1830, appointed him vice-President of the Board of Trade, Treasurer of the Navy, and a Privy Councillor. In July, 1834, he became President of the Board of Trade. In 1839 he was selected by the Melbourne Cabinet as the most suitable person to succeed Lord Durham, as Governor-General of Canada, and to accomplish the difficult task of re-uniting its two provinces—of bringing order and good government out of their existing political chaos. The appointment of a plain untitled civilian, with a very ordinary name, and lacking high aristocratic connection, to be Governor-General of the Canadas was very unpalatable to many of its people, so accustomed to look up to the representative of the sovereign, amongst them, as the fountain of dignity as well as of authority. Thomson, too, had long been concerned in the timber trade of the Baltic, then the great rival commerce of the Canadas, and this circumstance made him unpopular, at the outset, with many of their principal lumber merchants. The fact that although in his fortieth year he was still unmarried, owing to a disappointment in love in his earlier manhood, and Government House thus left without a mistress to grace its hospitalities, also operated against him. Despite these disadvantages, however, the Whig ranks presented no better man to carry out the union policy which the Melbourne Cabinet had now resolutely determined on. It was the traditional policy, too, of their party, which forty-eight years before Fox had so strongly advocated, and in its estimation was now the only radical cure for the prevailing political evils of the Canadian people. Thomson's prolonged bachelorhood had de-

veloped into coxcombry and self-love, and he was vain of his great abilities, and of the political and social success which they had already brought him.* But, at the same time, he was eminently practical in his views, deeply versed in matters of trade and finance, and well-read in the subtle pages of human nature. His party highly valued his unstinted devotion to its cause, regarded him, above all things, as an eminently useful man, who was always able to make the best of a complicated or awkward situation, and who was never deterred by any Quixotic scruples, or over-sensitiveness as regarded mere sentimental points of honour, from turning the mistakes or weaknesses of others to his own advantage, or to that of his political friends. So he was well adapted, in many ways, to meet the emergency which had arisen in this country, and proved fully equal to the task of rescuing it from the critical condition in which it was now placed. It was certainly a fortunate matter for the Canadas, that he had accepted their government instead of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, offered him by the Melbourne administration.

Thomson sailed for Canada on the 13th of September, his fortieth birthday, arrived in Quebec on the 17th of October, and two days afterwards issued a proclamation announcing the commencement of his colonial reign. The members of the Board of Trade presented him with an address of congratulation on his safe arrival, and on his appointment to his high position. The magistrates of the city followed this example, and, at the same time, with a sharp eye to local interests, pointed out the metropolitan character of Quebec, the safety resulting from its fortifications to the records of the public departments, and its advantages otherwise as the great shipping port of the country. This was a strong bid for the establishment of the seat of government at the ancient capital, but Thomson's answer was a non-committal, although a complimentary, one. He declared that he fully appreciated the political and commercial importance of the City of Quebec; that it would afford him much satisfaction, at all times, to contribute to its prosperity; and that when circumstances permitted him to reside within its walls, he would be delighted to cultivate the good feeling and regard of its inhabitants. And with this cautious answer they had to rest content. His work was waiting for him elsewhere; and he at once proceeded to Montreal, where he summoned the Special Council, now composed of twelve members of British origin and six French-Canadians, to meet on the 11th of November, for the despatch of business.

The union policy of Lord Durham, and the concession of some portion at least of Responsible Government, to the British majority which the carrying into effect of that policy must create, had now been definitely determined on by the Home Government. The recent rebellion had clearly shown the attachment of that presumed

* See the Greville Memoirs.

majority to the Mother Country, and how safely it could be trusted with every privilege that might be regarded as the birthright of British freemen. But, while there was no difference of opinion as to the union features of this policy, no definite conclusion had been formed as to the manner in which Responsible Government should be carried into practice. However broad and liberal the home policy of the Melbourne Cabinet might be, it still clung tenaciously to the ancient traditions of imperial centralisation. It was, therefore, exceedingly unwilling to surrender to the people of Canada the direct governing authority hitherto wielded exclusively by the Crown, or to reduce its representative to a mere constitutional figure-head, as must surely result were complete Responsible Government to be conceded. And, then, if it were conceded to one great colony of the Empire, it could not be withheld from the other great colonies. In order to meet these difficulties a temporising, half-way, policy was determined on; and Canada was to receive just as little of real Responsible Government as could possibly be granted. The outward form of the system was indeed to be conceded, but the essential essence was to be withheld, and the executive authority of the Crown, operating through its representative, the Governor General, thus maintained. This determination will account for the vague character of the Colonial Secretary's instructions to Thomson,* and to his immediate successor as well, as regards Responsible Government, and why so much touching it was apparently left to their discretion. It also gives the key to most of the enigmatical proceedings, up to the period of the Elgin administration, which afterwards transpired. The Home Ministry, while exceedingly anxious to accomplish the union, was by no means equally anxious to accomplish colonial Responsible Government; and stood prepared to resort to even questionable methods to preserve, as far as possible, the authority of the Crown intact. Thomson thoroughly understood the unwritten, as well as the written, views of the Melbourne Cabinet on this head, and resolved to carry them out, no matter how embarrassing it might prove to himself.

But, the first great measure to be accomplished was the union of the two Provinces, and to effect this purpose Thomson, in his usual practical way, applied all his energies. During the session of 1839, a bill for re-uniting the Canadas was introduced into the Imperial Parliament by Lord John Russell. When it came, however, to be considered in committee of the whole, the question arose as to how far Parliament would be justified in pressing this measure, without having first consulted the representatives of the Canadian people. There might be no difficulty as regarded Lower Canada, whose constitution had been suspended. But the constitution of Upper Canada was still in force, could not be legally suspended without

* Lord John Russell's Despatches to Poulett Thomson, 4th and 14th October, 1839.

cause, and the consent of its Legislature must therefore be first obtained before a union bill could be lawfully passed. So far as Lower Canada was concerned, the question of union was to be settled in accordance with the views only of the loyal inhabitants, and so as to subserve the best interests of the people and of the whole Empire, and the French-Canadians were not to be considered. The great majority of the latter were still as much opposed to a union with Upper Canada as ever, but were regarded as having forfeited, by their recent rebellious action, every just right to be consulted in the matter. Thomson presided at the first meeting of the Special Council, and after the transaction of the necessary routine business, called its attention to the message of the Queen, on the 3rd of the preceding May, to both Houses of the Imperial Parliament, recommending the legislative union of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. He explained the views entertained by Her Majesty's Government on the matter, and the anxious desire felt by the British Parliament and people, that the existing unfortunate condition of affairs might be terminated as soon as possible. "Mutual sacrifices were undoubtedly required," said he, "mutual concessions would be demanded, but I entertain no doubt that the terms of union can be adjusted, by the Imperial Legislature, with fairness to both Provinces, and with the utmost advantage to all. On the following day the Council, with Chief Justice Stuart in the chair, proceeded to take into consideration six resolutions, which had been already prepared, relative to the proposed union.* Five of these were finally carried on a vote of

* The six resolutions were as follows :—

"1. That under existing circumstances, in order to provide adequately for the peace and tranquillity, and the good, constitutional, and efficient Government of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, the reunion of these Provinces under one Legislature, in the opinion of this Council, has become of indispensable and urgent necessity.

"2. That the declared determination of Her Majesty, conveyed in her gracious message to Parliament, to reunite the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, is in accordance with the opinion entertained by this Council, and receives their ready acquiescence.

"3. That among the principal enactments which, in the opinion of this Council, ought to make part of the Imperial Act for reuniting the Provinces, it is expedient and desirable that a suitable civil list should be provided for, securing the independence of judges, and maintaining the Executive Government in the exercise of its necessary and indispensable functions.

"4. That regard being had to the nature of the public debt of Upper Canada, and the objects for which principally it was contracted, namely, the improvement of internal communications, alike useful and beneficial for both Provinces, it would be just and reasonable, in the opinion of this Council, that such part of said debt as has been contracted for this object, and not for defraying expenses of a local nature, should be chargeable on the revenues of both Provinces.

"5. That the adjustment and settlement of the terms of the reunion of the two Provinces may, in the opinion of this council, with all confidence be submitted to the wisdom and justice of the Imperial Parliament, under the full assurance that provisions of the nature of those already mentioned, as

thirteen to three. One resolution, the third, was carried on a vote of fifteen to one, John Neilson, of Quebec, being the only dissenter. The nays on all the other resolutions, were Cuthbert, Neilson and Quesnel, two of whom were of British descent. The majority of the French-Canadians in the Council, saw that the policy of union had been resolutely determined on by the Home Government, and accepted the inevitable, however unpalatable it might be to themselves or to their own people. Two days afterwards an address from the Special Council was presented to Thomson, notifying him officially of the adoption of the union resolutions, and thus showing him that his task, as regards Lower Canada, had been easily accomplished. And, then, he wrote to the Colonial Secretary, acquainting him with his success so far; a gratifying result, produced, as he stated, without his having made any change in the composition of the Special Council, so that no charge of packing it in favour of union could be made against him.*

The preliminary steps, as regards the union, having been fully completed in Lower Canada, and the Special Council discharged from further attendance for the present, Thomson proceeded to Toronto, arrived there on the 21st, and, on the following day, assumed temporary charge of the administration of the Province. His installation took place in the chamber of the Executive Council, whose president, R. B. Sullivan, administered to him the usual oaths of office, after which a vice-regal salute, fired by the Royal Artillery stationed in front of the public buildings, thundered through the streets of the little city. And then came the Mayor, John Powell, Mackenzie's escaped prisoner, and the Aldermen and Common Council, to present an address to the representative of their Queen, a part of which set forth "that any legislative union which shall not be predicated upon the ascendancy of the loyal British population of the Province, would be fatal to their continued connection with the Mother Country." There was a cautious non-committal reply, which carefully avoided the embarrassing issue raised by the address. Thomson declared that the accomplishment of the union was the chief object of his mission, and "that Her Majesty's Government recommended the measure from a deep conviction that it would cement the connection between the colonies and the parent state."

The Legislature of Upper Canada assembled at Toronto, on the well as such others as the measure of reunion may require, will receive due consideration.

"6. That, in the opinion of this Council, it is most expedient, with a view to the security of Her Majesty's North American Provinces, and the speedy cessation of the enormous expense now incurred by the parent state for the defence of Upper and Lower Canada, that the present temporary Legislature of this Province should, as soon as practicable, be succeeded by a permanent Legislature, in which the people of these two Provinces may be adequately represented, and their constitutional rights exercised and maintained.

* Thomson to Russell, November 18th, 1839.

3rd of December, and was opened, in no small state, by the Governor-General, whose speech was alike brief and practical. He said that it was Her Majesty's fixed determination to maintain the existing connection between her North American Provinces and the United Kingdom, that the union of the Canadas was most desirable, and that the arrangements for establishing steam communication with this country had been completed. On the Assembly he pressed the necessity of a careful consideration of the public finances, now in an unsatisfactory condition, and offered to it the surrender of the casual and territorial revenues of the Crown in return for a permanent Civil List. Thomson's opening speech was well received in Upper Canada, and favourably responded to by the Assembly. It was supplemented by an important message, sent down to that chamber three days afterwards, pointing out the lines on which union should be effected, and other measures taken for the benefit of the Province. Thomson had speedily discovered, on his arrival in Upper Canada, that considerable difficulty would be experienced in procuring the assent of the Legislature to the union. However favourably disposed the Assembly might be towards that measure, the majority of the Upper House was decidedly opposed to it. There the Family Compact still strongly held its ground, and its members saw they had everything to lose and little to gain by the proposed change. Executive responsibility to Parliament would be certain to follow the union, the majority must rule whatever might be its political complexion, and in the reconstruction of the Legislative Council, the last remnant of their power and patronage must disappear. Hitherto the principal offices of the Government, and the seats in the Legislative Council as well, were regarded by a part of the community as the hereditary right of a few leading families. Members of the Executive Council, who happened to belong to the Legislature, had usually spoken and acted in their individual capacity without the slightest reference to the views of the Crown. Executive responsibility would alter all this, and, at the same time, elevate the people to a higher political plane. The oligarchy alone would suffer by the change; and they now, accordingly, felt indisposed to submit to the loss of power it must entail. Thomson plainly saw the critical condition of matters, and, with great tact, met the difficulty by publishing a despatch from Lord John Russell, which strongly recommended the union, and accordingly placed the members of the majority of the Legislative Council in direct opposition to the Crown. Their loyalty was thus put to a plain crucial test, and their submission at once followed. This despatch also laid down the principle that the views of the Executive Council should harmonise with those of the Crown, and its members must, therefore, either resign their positions or support the policy of union. As most of the Executive Councillors held seats in the Legislative Council, a double pressure was now exercised upon the latter body, and it was presently as plastic as clay in Thomson's hands. It surrendered at discretion, and ex-

pressed, by a large majority, its agreement to the union. It also endorsed the conditions submitted for its consideration by the Government, namely, that there be an equal representation of each Province in the United Legislature, that a sufficient permanent Civil List be granted to the Crown, and that the debt of the Province, for the public works of a general character, be a charge on the joint revenue of the whole country.

The through subjugation of the Legislative Council, so skilfully brought about; removed all real difficulty surrounding the union question. The Assembly had already favourably considered the measure, and now willingly lent itself to the furtherance of Thomson's views. At the same time, it did not hesitate to secure, as far as possible, all the advantages which could accrue from the situation. It concurred, by a large majority, in the terms already agreed to by the Upper House; and then proceeded to press its particular views in an address to the Crown. It asked that British interests and British supremacy be maintained, that the English language be alone used in all judicial and legislative records, and that the seat of Government should be established in the Upper Province. It also asked that existing electoral divisions should be adhered to as far as possible; that the qualification of members remain unaltered; that the tenure of seats in the Legislative Council should not be changed; that the Imperial Government should promote, as far as possible, emigration to Canada from the British Islands; and that municipal institutions, similar to those existing in the Upper, should also be introduced into the Lower Province. The greater part of all these demands were afterwards embodied in the Union Bill.

Thus satisfactorily terminated the important proceedings relative to the reunion of Canada. The action of the Imperial Parliament was now alone necessary for its final accomplishment, and 1840. Thomson lost no time in transmitting to the Home Government an account of his success, and a draft of the Union Bill, principally prepared by Chief Justice Stuart.* The Imperial

* The bill provides for the union under the name of The Province of Canada.

For the constitution of one Legislative Council and one House of Assembly, under the title of "The Legislative Council and Assembly of Canada."

The Council not to be composed of fewer than twenty natural born or naturalised subjects of the Queen, the tenure of such office being for life, excepting the member chooses to resign, is absent from his duties without cause or permission for two successive sessions, shall become a citizen or subject of any foreign power, or become bankrupt, an insolvent debtor, public defaulter, or attainted of treason, or be convicted of felony, or of any infamous crime.

The Speaker of the Legislative Council to be appointed by the Governor, who may remove him and appoint another. Ten members to constitute a quorum, including the Speaker.

The House of Assembly to consist of 84 members (42 from each Province) chosen from the same places as heretofore divided into counties and ridings in Upper Canada; but that the counties of Halton, Northumberland, and

Parliament was then in session, and Lord John Russell, on receiving the bill, promptly laid it before the House of Commons, by which it was favourably received and finally passed. The clause, however, relating to Municipal Councils was very properly struck out, as being more fully within the functions of the local Legislature. The bill also successfully underwent the ordeal of the Lords, despite some opposition from Seaton and Gosford, former governors-general of Canada, and received the royal assent on the 23rd of July. But, owing to a suspending clause, it did not take effect until the 10th of February, 1841, when it was declared in force by proclamation.

As we have already seen, the French-Canadian people were opposed to a union with Upper Canada under any circumstances, however favourable. Even some of the British inhabitants of the Lower Province disliked being coerced into it; and declared that its terms were unfair. There were several good grounds for this view of the case. In the first place, although both Provinces were placed on an equal footing, as regards Parliamentary representation, the population of Lower Canada now stood at 630,000—that of Upper Canada at 470,000. Thus, while Lower Canada got one member for every 15,000 of its population, Upper Canada got one for 11,190. The population of Montreal was 42,000, of Quebec 36,000, and of Three Rivers 3,000. In Upper Canada, the popu-

Lincoln, shall each be divided into two ridings, and return one member for each riding.

That the city of Toronto shall have two members; and the towns of Kingston, Brockville, Hamilton, Cornwall, Niagara, London, and Bytown, one each.

That in Lower Canada every county heretofore represented by one member, shall continue to be so represented, excepting Montmorency, Orleans, L'Assomption, La Chesnaye, L'Acadia, La Prairie, Dorchester, and Beauce. These to be conjoined as follows: Montmorency and Orleans into the county of Montmorency; L'Assomption and La Chesnaye to be the county of Leinster; L'Acadia and La Prairie, that of Huntingdon; and Dorchester and Beauce, that of Dorchester; and each of these four new counties to return one member.

The cities of Quebec and Montreal to return two members each; and the towns of Three Rivers and Sherbrooke one each.

The qualification of a member to be that of *bona fide* possession of landed estate worth £500 sterling

The English language is to be only used in all written or printed proceedings in the Legislature.

The passing of any bill to repeal the provision of the 14th George III, or of the acts of 31st of the same reign relating to the government of the Province of Quebec, and the dues and the rights of the clergy of the Church of Rome; the allotment or appropriation of lands for the support of a Protestant clergy; the endowments of the Church of England, or its internal discipline or establishment, or affecting the enjoyment or exercise of any form or mode of religious worship in any way whatever; or which may affect Her Majesty's prerogative touching the waste lands of the Crown, must be first submitted to the Imperial Parliament previous to the declaration of the Sovereign's assent, and that if the Imperial Legislature shall petition the Queen to withhold her assent within thirty days after such act shall have been received, it shall not be lawful to affix the Royal assent thereto.

lation might be regarded as almost wholly a rural and agricultural one. Not quite one-tenth of its people dwelt in towns and villages. Toronto had increased to 14,000 inhabitants, Kingston to 5,600, Hamilton to 3,000, and London to 2,800. Ottawa, now the capital of the Dominion, was still a mere village in the midst of a forest wilderness; and Brockville, Cornwall, and Niagara were all small places, but got one member each in the new Parliament, while Toronto got two—the same as Montreal and Quebec. But as there was no immigration of any account into Lower Canada, it was confidently expected that Upper Canada would soon equal its sister Province in population, and matters thus be put upon a more equal footing. This expectation was very soon realised. In point of wealth, Lower Canada stood as much ahead of the sister Province as it did in population. At the same time it was almost entirely free from debt, while Upper Canada was on the verge of bankruptcy. Great public works had been undertaken by the latter, to which the resources of the Province were entirely unequal, and which still remained unfinished for the want of funds, and consequently non-productive.* Inexperience and mismanagement had led to much needless expenditure, which would never produce any return; and the public finances were in a depleted and most unsatisfactory condition. Upper Canada, as we have already seen, had always laboured under serious difficulties, owing to the want

The levying of imperial and colonial duties; the appointment of a court of appeal; the administration of the civil and criminal laws; the fixation of the Court of Queen's Bench within the late Province of Upper Canada; the regulation of trade; the consolidation of all the revenues derivable from the colony into one fund, to be appropriated for the public service of Canada.

The total sum of £75,000 (\$300,000) raised and paid for the civil list, to be accepted and taken by Her Majesty by way of civil list, instead of all territorial and other revenues then at the disposal of the Crown.

The first charge upon the consolidated revenue fund to be its collection, management and receipt; the second, the public debt of the two Provinces at the time of the union; the third, the payment of the clergy of the Church of England, Church of Scotland, and the ministers of other Christian denominations, agreeably to previous laws and usages; the fourth charge to be the civil list of £45,000; and the fifth, that of £30,000, payable during the lifetime of Her Majesty, and for five years after her demise. The sixth charge to be that of the expenses and charges before levied and reserved by former acts of the two Provinces, as long as they are payable.

All bills for appropriating any part of the revenues of the united Province to originate with the Governor, who shall have the right of initiating the same, as well as of recommending the appropriation of any new tax or impost, and that, having thus been recommended, the Legislative Assembly shall first discuss the same.

The formation of new townships to originate with the Governor, as well as the appointment of township officers. The power vested in the Queen to annex the Magdalen Islands to the Government of the Island of Prince Edward, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence; and the appointment of Governor of the Province of Canada, to be understood as meaning Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or person authorised by Her Majesty, her heirs and successors, to execute the office of Governor of that Province.

* See resolution passed by the Legislative Council of Upper Canada, 1839,

of a seaport of her own. She had hitherto been little better than a mere mercantile tributary of Montreal and Quebec, the chief centres of commerce and trade, and the great bulk of the customs' duties, the staple source of revenue, accordingly fell to the share of Lower Canada. On the other hand, the vast public works undertaken in the western Province, would, when completed, greatly add to the commerce and prosperity of her eastern sister, so that there was not so much unfairness, as might at first sight appear, in the latter paying her share of their cost. In short, when the question came to be closely examined, it was apparent that the interests of the two Provinces were closely interwoven, and that union must be beneficial to both. But the point that touched the French-Canadians more keenly than any other, was the proscription of their language in certain public proceedings, which they regarded as a blow struck at their nationality, and even at their religion, erroneously supposed to be bound up with their speech. They ignored the fact, that the English language is spoken by many millions of their most ardent co-religionists, who multiply apace all the world over. But they were in no mood then, any more than they are now, to consider these matters after a sober and rational fashion, and took council, instead, of their prejudices and passions. In the districts of Quebec and Three Rivers a petition to the Crown and Imperial Parliament was circulated, under the auspices of the clergy, which expressed hostility to the union project, and prayed that the constitution of 1791 should be again restored. It received 40,000 signatures, or marks for signatures, and while it caused the Imperial Parliament to delay its action somewhat, and to proceed with more caution, it did not at all affect the ultimate result. The bill became law, and while it proved the salvation of Upper Canada in many ways, it also greatly stimulated the progress and prosperity of Lower Canada. Both Provinces were soon practically taught the lesson that union is strength.

Outside the principal cities and towns of Lower Canada, and the eastern townships, very little enterprise existed amongst its people. The rural French Canadian population, numbering over half a million, had made little intellectual, and very little industrial, progress. Agriculture was still their principal occupation, and carried on in the most primitive fashion. Their exceedingly sociable and gregarious habits still led them to build their cottages on the high-ways, which mainly ran parallel with the rivers and larger streams, and the stranger would frequently fancy himself travelling through a continuous village as he passed along the country highways. Unambitious and contented as their fathers before them, they dreamed out their simple lives with little thought for the morrow, and, following the imperious law of their nature, increased and multiplied without stint. But their bad farming had long before begun to work them trouble. Their land exhausted by continual cultivation, without any regard to the rotation of crops, or sufficient manuring, refused to give them wheat as in former years, and

the midge and the blight appeared at times in such grievous forms as to lead almost to actual famine. In every direction throughout Upper Canada there was progress and improvement. Agriculture was there, also, the mainstay of the people, but it was made intelligent and successful by better training, by individual energy, and by co-operation. County and township agricultural societies had been already formed in every direction, and farmers gladly attended their meetings, compared notes, and so laid the solid foundation for future greater progress. In 1830 an act had been passed, by the Upper Canada Legislature, which authorised the Lieutenant-Governor to pay five hundred dollars to any district agricultural society that raised half that amount by local subscription, to enable it to import seed-grain, agricultural implements, or live stock for its members. The Legislature always stood ready to make laws for the benefit of the farming community, and that community evinced the greatest desire to profit by this circumstance. As regards the intellectual training of the masses, the people of Upper Canada, imperfect as their general system of education was, were immeasurably in advance of their *habitant* fellow-subjects.

The staple exports of Canada at this period were lumber and wheat. The Navigation Laws were still in full force, and produced an Imperial commercial zolverein, by which Canada, like all the other British Colonies, was largely the gainer. It favoured her in the Mother Country by preferential conditions, and greatly stimulated domestic trade. The Navigation Laws closed the St. Lawrence River to foreign commerce, and thus led to great activity in the Canadian ship-building business. In 1841 no fewer than 64 sea-going vessels, of an aggregate burden of twenty-four thousand tons, were built at Quebec; and ship-building was even still more active in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. In addition to its advantages in the markets of the Mother Country, and as a compensation for its ships not being permitted to enter foreign ports, Canada enjoyed the exclusive and lucrative privilege of supplying lumber and provisions to the British West Indies. The fur trade was still an important Canadian industry, and from the upper Province potash was exported in considerable quantity, and its apples began to be seen and appreciated in foreign markets.

The most important and pressing question, after the union had been accomplished, was that of the Clergy Reserves, and it was therefore determined to dispose of it if possible. Early in January a bill was accordingly introduced in the Assembly by Draper,* now

* William Henry Draper, afterwards Chief Justice of Canada West for a long period. His career was an eventful one, and tinged with romance. Born in London, where his father was rector of one of the city churches, in 1801, he ran away to sea while still a youth, and after many adventures came to Upper Canada in his 20th year, and became a school teacher at Port Hope, then a mere hamlet. He afterwards studied law, in due time became a barrister, and soon raised himself, by his eloquence and ability, to a high position in his profession. In 1836 Toronto returned him to the Assembly,

Solicitor General, authorising the sale of these Reserves ; part of the proceeds to be applied to the payment of the salaries of the clergymen of the Church of England, to whom the faith of the Crown had been pledged ; half of the remainder to go to the Churches of England and Scotland, in proportion to their respective numbers ; the other half to be sold for the benefit of all denominations of Christians recognised by existing laws. This bill passed in the Assembly by a majority of eight, and was also agreed to in the upper chamber. It was disallowed by the Home Government, on the ground that it exceeded the authority of the local Legislature, and interfered with the provisions of the Imperial statute. During the summer, however, the British Parliament re-enacted the principal provisions of the bill, and empowered the Canadian Government to sell a part of the Reserves for the benefit of the Churches of England and Scotland. But this measure did not meet, by any means, the views of the Reform Party, which was now strongly in favour of the total secularisation of the Clergy Reserves.

Meanwhile, the Assembly had presented an address to the Governor-General, with the view of eliciting a distinct expression of his views on the question of Responsible Government. On the 14th of January he sent down a message in reply, which declared that he had been commanded by Her Majesty, to administer the Government in accordance with the well-understood wishes of the people. This was a vague and rather Delphian response, and did not at all satisfy the more acute members of the Reform Party. It was followed by the removal of Hagerman, who had voted against the union resolutions, from the attorney-generalship, and the appointment of Draper in his place. Hagerman, however, for his long services was raised to the bench, and so disappeared from political life, in which he had been, for so many years, a conspicuous figure. Thomson offered Robert Baldwin the solicitor-generalship, but the latter hesitated to accept the post, and finally undertook its duties with reluctance, being very unwilling to act in the same Cabinet with Draper and its other Conservative members. He was, however, eventually won over by Thomson ; but, at the same time, publicly announced, in justification of his course, that he only accepted office on the condition, that the administration should be carried on in accordance with the principles of Responsible Government.

So discordant, at this period, was the composition of the Assembly that it required all the tact and shrewdness which Thomson

and soon after he was appointed an Executive Councillor by Head, to whom he also acted as aid-de-camp during the rebellion. In March, 1837, he became Solicitor-General, and, in 1840, Attorney General in succession to Hagerman. After being connected with several administrations he retired from political life in 1847, and accepted a judgeship. Nine years afterwards he became Chief Justice, and in 1869 president of the Court of Error and Appeal, the highest judicial rank in the Province, a position retained until his death in 1877.

possessed to enable him to carry on the public business. "I do not wonder at the cry for Responsible Government," he wrote to a friend, "when I see how things have been managed. Then, the Assembly is such a house, split into half a dozen parties; the Government having none, and no one man to depend on. Think of a House in which half the members hold places, yet in which the Government does not command a single vote; in which the placemen generally vote against the Executive; and where there's no one to defend the Government when attacked, or to state the views or opinion of the Governor." But while Thomson held these opinions, he still clung to the principle, laid down by Lord John Russell, that the Governor-General was simply the first executive officer of the Crown, or rather colonial prime minister, and therefore responsible for his acts to the Home Government,* and not to the Canadian Parliament. His ministers, therefore, would be chosen by him, and simply be his advisers, or assistants, in the administration, of which he would be still the chief directing authority; and, hence, the Executive Council was to be preserved in the new order of things. And although ministers might represent the majority in the Legislature, and thus be responsible to the people, the head of the administration would be responsible to the Crown alone. It remained for future experience to show that Responsible Government could not exist, in its full relation to the Crown and the people, under the system laid down by Lord John Russell, and understood by Thomson; nor until the Governor-General became the exact representative of the sovereign, and purely the third estate of the realm, as in Great Britain. Hence, no real Responsible Government existed in Canada until Lord Elgin established it in its entirety, and the Governor-General

* "The constitution of England, after long struggles and alternate success, has settled into a form of Government in which the prerogative of the Crown is undisputed, but is never exercised without advice. Hence the exercise only is questioned, and however the use of the authority may be condemned, the authority itself remains untouched.

"This is the practical solution of a great problem, the result of a contest which from 1640 to 1690 shook the monarchy and disturbed the peace of the country.

"But if we seek to apply such practice to a colony, we shall at once find ourselves at fault. The power for which a minister is responsible in England, is not his power, but the power of the Crown, of which he is for the time the organ. It is obvious that the Executive Councillor of a colony is in a situation totally different. The Governor, under whom he serves, receives his orders from the Crown of England. But can the colonial council be the advisers of the Crown? Evidently not, for the crown has other advisers for the same functions, and with superior authority.

"It may happen, therefore, that the Governor receives at one and the same time instructions from the Queen and advice from the Executive Council, totally at variance with each other. If he is to obey his instructions from England, the parallel of constitutional responsibility entirely fails; if, on the other hand, he is to follow the advice of the Council, he is no longer a subordinate officer, but an independent sovereign.—*Russell to Thomson, October 4th, 1839.*

occupied precisely the same position towards the Canadian people, as the sovereign occupies towards the Empire at large.

The last Parliament of Upper Canada was prorogued on the 10th of February, by the Governor-General in person. On the following day he left Toronto for Montreal in a covered sleigh, and with wonderful energy, for a man in delicate health, performed the entire journey of 340 miles in thirty-six hours, inclusive of stoppages. During the ensuing summer he visited the different Provinces of his government, and was everywhere received with marks of the highest respect and consideration. While popular with the majority of the Canadian people, his measures had also given entire satisfaction to the Home Government, and in the month of August the Queen raised him to the peerage, by the title of Baron Sydenham of Kent and Toronto.

Comparatively brief as General Brock's connection with Canada had been, his memory, in 1840, just as it is to-day, was fondly cherished by its people. On Queenston Heights, where the gallant soldier and wise administrator had fallen in 1812, their gratitude had raised a beautiful hollow column in his honour. It was ascended by 170 spiral steps, and in its base, twenty-two feet square, with walls six feet thick, his remains had been deposited, as well as those of his aid-de-camp, Colonel McDonald, also killed in the same action. The summit of the column commanded a prospect of the grandest description it is possible to conceive. In one direction the eye rested on the wide expanse of Lake Ontario, in another it wandered over an interminable succession of cultivated fields and magnificent woods, above which, at the great Falls, hung the everlasting cloud of mist, that arises from their descending waters, amid which the vesper sunshine loves to linger in rainbow hues. On the morning of the 17th of April, before day, some miscreants instigated, it was said at the time, by the fugitive Mackenzie, obtained access to the monument, during the temporary absence of the keeper, and endeavoured to blow it up with gunpowder. It was shattered by the shock almost from the base to the summit, and had not the trap door in the roof been accidentally left open the building must have been entirely destroyed, and the lives of the neighbouring inhabitants endangered by the scattering masonry. Although a large reward was offered at the time, no definite clue to the perpetrators of this act of vandalism was discovered. But the people of Upper Canada would not consent that Brock should be left without a memorial. A grand and imposing gathering of over 5000 persons, veterans of 1812 and others, presided over by Sir George Arthur, was held, on the 30th of July, beneath the shattered column, and a subscription entered into to rebuild it. After many delays another noble column has been erected in its place, and Brock's monument still remains the great feature of Queenston Heights.

The summer brought with it few other events of any importance, as regarded Canada. The wounds of civil war had begun to heal,

and matters were gradually assuming their normal condition. The return of peace and good order had again directed the current of immigration up the St. Lawrence, to overflow into the new townships, and to fill up their waste places. Towards the close of the year the imprisonment of Alexander McLeod, in the United States, for his supposed participation in the destruction of the *Caroline*, caused a good deal of excitement, and another war-cloud began to gather on the horizon. Meanwhile, the Conservative and Reform Parties were looking anxiously forward to the general election that must soon take place.

In pursuance of a provision of the Imperial Act of Union, 1841. it was declared in force by proclamation on the 10th of February. On that day, also, the Lieutenant-Governorship of Sir George Arthur terminated, and he at once proceeded to England, to be elevated, shortly afterwards, to an important government in British India—the Bombay Presidency. Writs were at once issued for a general election in the united Province, and three days afterwards a new Executive Council, consisting of the higher officers of state, were summoned. It consisted of Sullivan, (president) Dunn, Daly, Harrison, Ogden, Draper, Baldwin and Killally. There was not a French-Canadian amongst them, which caused much indignation in the eastern Province, a feeling which was presently increased, in no small degree, by Sydenham's selection of Kingston as the seat of government. The Union Bill left the choice with him, and, in deference to Upper Canada, Quebec and Montreal were both passed over; and Toronto not being sufficiently central Kingston was chosen, to the intense gratification of its people, who now saw a vision of great prosperity suddenly rise up before them.

While the elections in the western Province were fairly peaceable and orderly, they were fought out, in Lower Canada, with the most intense bitterness; and terrible hand-to-hand encounters, which led to the death of one man, and to the serious injury of several others, took place at many of the polls. The newspapers added fuel to the flame; excited the electors at both sides almost to madness; and a new race war broke out on new lines; and a veritable reign of terror prevailed until the fierce electoral battle had ended. In Montreal and Quebec, Sydenham, by attaching their suburbs to the adjoining rural districts, secured the return of supporters of the Government. But he was bitterly assailed, for altering these constituencies, by the French-Canadians, who have never either forgotten or forgiven the supposed injury from that day to this. By the second week in April the returns were nearly all in, and Sydenham was now able to gauge the situation with sufficient accuracy, and ascertain what support his government, and his general policy, had met with at the hands of the Canadian people. 24 out of the 84 members were his pledged supporters. Only 24 French-Canadians had been returned altogether, and some of these were *Bleus*, or Conservatives, who

would support the Government. The remaining 36 members were put down as either moderate or ultra Reformers, and the majority of whom were regarded by Sydenham as favourable to his policy. The new Legislative Council was composed of 24 members, eight belonging to the Church of England, eight to the Kirk of Scotland, and eight to the Church of Rome. Seven of the latter were French-Canadians. Neither the Methodist, nor other Dissenting body, had any representation there.

The Legislature had been summoned to meet at Kingston on Monday, the 14th of June. The town was stirred to its depths by its good fortune, and its property owners indulged in blissful visions of its future greatness as the permanent capital of Canada. Real estate went up with a bound, and rents more than doubled in a few weeks, while care was taken that the members, and the numerous Government employes, should not starve, by victualling the place as though it were about to stand a siege. By the morning of the 14th seventy-nine members had arrived. The Legislative Council did not muster as well as it should. Several new members had been appointed, and several old ones left out; and there was accordingly much jealousy and much dissatisfaction. In consequence of this state of things, some of the members refused the position altogether, while others delayed being sworn in. Sydenham was unable to be present, and Parliament was opened by commission. Austin Cuvillier, the member for Huntingdon, a successful French-Canadian merchant of Montreal, who spoke English fluently, was unanimously chosen speaker; but not, however, until Francis Hincks, returned for Oxford, who now appeared in the Assembly for the first time, had thrown a fire-brand into the chamber. He declared that he supported Cuvillier because the latter was opposed to the Civil List being withdrawn from the control of the House, and had no confidence in the administration as to its Lower Canadian policy. This was a strong bid for French-Canadian support, and his example was soon followed by Baldwin, whose advice, as to the reconstruction of the ministry, had been declined by Sydenham, and who had, therefore, already resigned. A new party composed of Upper Canada Reformers, and French-Canadian liberals, now began to loom upon the political horizon, to acquire consistency and strength with the progress of time.

On the 15th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, Sydenham, attended by a numerous civil and military staff, proceeded in much state to the Parliament House, formerly a general hospital, a large and fairly suitable building, situated outside the town, on the road leading to the Penitentiary. His opening speech was alike clear and practical, and distinguished for its moderation and good sense. He stated with regard to McLeod, whose case was still pending in the United States, that the Queen was fully determined to protect all her Canadian subjects. He recommended a new arrangement for the Post Office Department, the

completion of the great public works of the Province, for which Great Britain was prepared to pledge its credit for the sum of £1,500,000 sterling*; the encouragement of immigration on a large scale; the creation of Municipal District Councils; and a better provision for education. He stated that a large sum would be annually expended by the Home Government for the military defence of the country; and emphatically declared the fixed determination of the Crown to maintain, at all hazards, the existing British Provinces of North America as part of the Empire. He concluded with a prayer, that Providence might so direct their counsels, as to insure to the Queen attached and loyal subjects, and to united Canada a prosperous and happy people. There was one important question, however, which Sydenham did not touch on—Responsible Government; and during the debate on the address, which lasted for several days, Baldwin, Hincks, and other leaders of the Reform Party, sought for an explicit declaration of the Government policy on this point. Cornered at last, Sydenham informed the House, that the design of the Government was, that if it could not command a majority a dissolution would follow, or ministers resign. With this vague statement the Assembly had to rest content, and the address was at last agreed to. Baldwin afterwards endeavoured to get a more explicit declaration from the Ministry, on the question of Responsible Government, and moved a series of resolutions to that effect. To these Harrison moved amendments, which set forth that the Governor-General was responsible to the Imperial authority alone; but that the management of local affairs could only be conducted by him with the assistance and counsel of his subordinate officers in the Province; and that these officers should possess the confidence of the people, and should use their best endeavours that the Imperial authority would be exercised in accordance with the people's wishes and interests. These vaguely framed amendments, inspired by Sydenham on the lines laid down by Lord John Russell, were carried after a lengthy debate; and the question of *genuine* Responsible Government, as regarded Canada, still remained unsettled. As we have already seen, the Melbourne Cabinet was not prepared to concede it, in its entirety, and still clung to the idea that the Governor-General was simply the prime minister of

* Lord Sydenham's plans for internal improvement in Canada, were conceived on a grand scale, and showed how thoroughly he had mastered the question. They embraced the purchase of the Welland Canal stock from its holders, and making it a ship canal, instead of a barge and small sloop canal; to overcome the rapids of the St. Lawrence by a series of ship canals, to deepen the river at certain points between Montreal and Quebec, so as to permit the passage of ocean steamships; to complete the Chambly Canal, and to make timber slides on the Ottawa. He also planned several smaller and much-needed improvements, as well as the construction of a main road from Quebec to Amherstburg. All his projects were eventually carried out, as they were eminently suited to the requirements of the country.

Canada, and responsible alone to the Home Government. Sydenham's own views ran in the same direction.

During the session the labours of the Governor-General, for a man in very poor health, were out of all proportion to his strength. Several of the more important measures submitted to the Legislature were prepared by himself; while he had to be constantly on the alert to meet one difficulty after another. His ministers could do but little for him, were in some cases secretly opposed to his views, and did not, therefore, lend themselves with any enthusiasm to carry out the more liberal features of his general policy. The fiery political and social ordeal, through which Canada had so recently passed, had produced a state of things so strained, at times, as to render his wisdom and moderation unavailing in at once removing every trace of dissension. He had to contend against lingering Tory prejudice, on the one hand, and extreme Reform expectation, looking for immediate sweeping changes, which could only come gradually with the progress of time, on the other. But Sydenham was not a man to be deterred by the difficulties, which met him in so many directions. His resolute will overcame, for the hour, his bodily weakness; and even his personal vanity and self-regard, which made praise more dear to him—for like Cicero he, too, loved praise—kept him steadily to his work of reconstruction, and his firm determination to relieve Canada from its depressed condition. He literally wore out his feeble life in the service of the Canadian people, and accomplished an enormous amount of work in their behalf. He procured the transfer of the Welland Canal stock from the private holders to the Government; drafted bills for revising the Customs' Laws, regulating the Currency, promoting Education, creating an efficient Board of Works, and erecting District Councils. His School Bill was largely based on Buller's suggestions in Lord Durham's Report, and provided an annual sum of \$200,000 for the establishment and support of elementary schools in Upper and Lower Canada; the latter receiving the larger share, and proportionate to its population. One hundred and two bills altogether were passed during the session, and a solid foundation thus laid for future progress. In addition to personally supervising the chief part of this large amount of legislation, he did much to heal the soreness of party feeling, and to cause the Assembly to unite on measures for the public good; and was well sustained by the moderate men of all parties. But, like the landsman long at sea, who sighs for the day when he shall again stand on *terra firma*, he ardently longed for relief from the terrible labours he had imposed on himself. On the 5th of June he wrote to a friend, "I long for September, beyond which I will not stay here if they were to make me Duke of Canada." On the 28th of August he wrote to his brother, that he feared he would never again be good for quiet purposes, "for," said he, "I actually breathe, eat, drink, and sleep, on nothing but government and politics; and every day is a lost one when I do not find that I have

advanced some of those objects materially." In July he felt assured of his success—that his great task had been well performed, and on the 25th of that month sent his resignation to England. On the 1st of September he wrote home hopefully, and stated that he could stand out the few remaining days of the session. But this eminent benefactor of Canada, for such he may well be termed, was not destined to witness the triumphant results of his labours, in the revived prosperity which they speedily produced. Incessant mental toil, during the preceding two years, had seriously undermined a naturally delicate constitution, which now received a fatal shock from an unfortunate accident. While out riding, on the 4th of September, his horse stumbled and fell under him, and a severe wound, above the knee, was the result. His debilitated frame was unable to bear up against this injury, complicated as it was by his ancient enemy, the gout, and Canada, fifteen days afterwards, lost the ablest Governor-General who had hitherto guided its counsels. His death-bed was a most pathetic one, and memorable in many ways. On the 11th of September he received the official notification that his resignation had been accepted, and that, in recognition of his eminent services, his Queen had bestowed upon him the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath. This new honour fell like a gracious ray of sunshine on the dying man, and appeared to infuse, for the moment, new life into his wasted frame. On the same day he wrote to Lord John Russell, giving him a full account of his accident, and stating that he hoped to be able to sail for England during the autumn. But it was a vain hope, for two days later dangerous symptoms made their appearance. The prorogation of Parliament had been fixed for the 15th, but it was now deemed advisable to postpone it for two days. On the 16th he dictated the speech with which the session was to be closed; and next day, although very poorly, assisted in revising and correcting it. He afterwards issued a commission to the senior military officer at Kingston, Major-General Clitherow, empowering him to act as his deputy for the purpose of closing the session. Notwithstanding his acute suffering he bore up with wonderful fortitude. On the 18th he became fully sensible of his approaching end, and made his will, in which a legacy was given to his personal friend, Lord John Russell. He is the noblest man it has ever been my lot to know, said the dying Governor-General, as this clause was read to him. In the course of the afternoon he caused his household to be gathered about him, and with them received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. He then took a personal farewell of each of them, after which he requested to be left alone with his chaplain. Like Montcalm, "he passed the night with God, and prepared himself for death." It came to him on the ensuing morning, Sunday the 19th, at seven o'clock. As he had no heir to inherit the title he had so arduously won, it died with him. He was greatly mourned by the people. A vast concourse, drawn from all parts of the Province, assembled at his funeral, which took place on the 24th, and all

Kingston was draped in mourning. In accordance with his own wish he was buried there, in St. George's Church, three thousand miles away from the land of his birth, where his remains still await the morning trumpet sound of the Resurrection. High position, wealth, troops of personal friends, political success, public applause, the approval of his sovereign, could not stay the inexorable hand of fate. "This is the end of earth, and I am content," said John Quincy Adams, just before his death, and like him Sydenham had also to bow in humble submission to the lot of all humanity.

But, short as his administration had been, his wise and vigorous policy had effected a great improvement in the condition of the two Canadas. He found them suffering from recent rebellion, and foreign lawless aggression ; their exchequer empty ; their inhabitants mistrusting one another ; and left them in the enjoyment of peace, mutual confidence in a measure re-established, restored credit, and the possession of an improved system of government, which promised the most beneficial results, and proved the sure stepping-stone to a higher plane of political liberty. The name of Wolfe is a great one in Canadian annals, that of Brock will never be forgotten by its people, and the memory of Sydenham, the merchant pacificator of this country, is equally worthy of reverence and honour. His reputation, however, is a Canadian and not an English one ; and when he desired to be buried in Kingston, he felt he was about to leave his ashes among a people with whose history he must be forever associated. No column as yet has arisen to honour him ; but the union, itself, constituted a fitting monument to his memory, and the national peace and prosperity which it led to should teach every true patriot to cherish that memory with gratitude and respect. "All is finished," said the Kingston *Herald* ; "Parliament is prorogued, and the Governor-General is no more. *Sic transit gloria mundi!* Let us now be calm and reflect on these occurrences as men and Christians. The first Parliament of United Canada has ended well—well beyond all expectation, and much good has been achieved. The main positions of the new Government have been sustained, and some of the most essential measures of Reform effected. Conflicting opinions have not been carried out to an injurious extent in any way ; and the members have all parted in good humour." The pact of union had been solemnly sealed by the death of him who had so triumphantly effected it. No sooner had his hand subscribed the instruments of the first Legislature of United Canada than it speedily stiffened in the inexorable grasp of death.

THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR CHARLES BAGOT.

While Lord Sydenham was zealously carrying out the Whig policy of Canadian union, and working hard to secure peace and prosperity for its people, the ten years' reign of his political friends

in England was drawing towards its close. When Villiers, an ardent free-trader, proposed in the Commons, in February 1839, that evidence should be taken, at the Bar of the House, on the operation of the Corn Laws, Poulett Thomson, also a free-trader, was the only member of the Melbourne Cabinet who gave him support. The other ministers all stood aloof, and voted with the majority of 181 which negatived Villiers' motion. But the advocates of the repeal of the Corn Laws were not to be put down by a single adverse vote in Parliament. Associations were established in Manchester, and in other great manufacturing and commercial centres of England and Scotland, for promoting the principles of free-trade; and, as one result of their efforts, the Anti-Corn Law League sprang into existence, and held its sessions in London during the sittings of Parliament. Large sums were subscribed for the purpose of circulating proselytising tracts, and for paying lecturers to educate public opinion in the direction of free-trade. These earnest efforts soon began to produce an abundant harvest, and to lead to strong Anti-Corn Law convictions in the minds of numbers of the more thoughtful part of the people of England. The Melbourne Cabinet so coy in 1839, saw, two years afterwards, that the tide of public opinion was fast turning in favour of free-trade, determined to profit by the change, and win a fresh lease of power. On the 7th of May, 1841, Lord John Russell announced the intention of Government to propose a fixed duty on foreign corn, or grain, instead of the sliding scale then in operation. But the Whigs speedily found that public opinion was not yet ripe for the measure, which was rightly regarded as the entering free-trade wedge, and that they had made a grave mistake. The landlords, and the cultivators of the soil as well, held firmly to the idea that a fall in the price of grain would be the ruin of their properties, and the bane of their industry; while even the factory-workers, and mechanics generally, clung to the fallacy that a fall in the price of grain would also lead to a fall in the rate of wages. Even the Chartists looked askance at the proposed measure, and at every free-trade meeting proclaimed their cherished doctrine of universal suffrage as the sole panacea for the prevailing distress. In Parliament ministers were charged with inconsistency, and ridiculed for their sudden conversion to free-trade principles; and could only make a weak defence. The proposition to raise the duty on colonial timber, and reduce it on the foreign article, and to treat colonial sugar after the same fashion, produced a fresh storm; and the West India merchants, the Canadian lumber merchants, and the landed interests, all now seriously alarmed, arrayed themselves wholly against the Government. After a debate lasting for eight nights the Ministry was defeated by a vote of 317 to 281. But this "notice to quit" did not expel the Whig tenants of Downing Street, and, accordingly, on the 27th of May, Sir Robert Peel moved a direct vote of want of confidence, which was carried by one of a majority, in a very full house of 623 members. On the

7th of June Russell stated that the Ministry had resolved to appeal to the country, and a general election followed. When the new Parliament met, on the 19th of August, 1841, it was found that the Conservative element was in the ascendant, while the Radical section of the Whig Party was either directly hostile to the Ministry, or lukewarm in its support. The debate on the address, in reply to the speech from the throne, presently developed a vote of want of confidence; and, on the 27th of August, in a house of 629 members, the Government found itself in a minority of 91, with no alternative now but resignation. In the Peel Cabinet, which was speedily formed, Lord Stanley became Colonial Secretary. With Lord Sydenham's political opponents now rested the appointment of his successor, and they offered the post to their own friend, Sir Charles Bagot, the second son of Lord Bagot, a staunch Conservative and High Churchman, sprung from a noble ancestry and an ancient line. Born in 1781, Sir Charles became, by marriage in 1806, a nephew of the Duke of Wellington, and in the same year entered public life as Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, with Canning as his chief. At the close of the war with Bonaparte he was sent on a confidential mission to Paris, and afterwards, in succession, became minister to the United States, ambassador to the court of St. Petersburg, and ambassador to Holland. The highest post in the gift of the Crown, the governor-generalship of India, was eventually offered him, but ill-health compelled him to refuse it. In 1834 Peel despatched him on a special embassy to Vienna, where he acquitted himself with his usual prudence and success. It will thus be seen that Sir Charles Bagot was eminently fitted, by great experience in public affairs, to be Governor-General of Canada. He received his appointment on the 7th of October, a few days after he had entered upon his sixty-first year. In November he sailed for New York in the *Illustrious* line of battle ship; but owing to heavy weather, and contrary winds, did not reach his destination until the 30th of December. The city newspapers made the most of his arrival for the gratification of their readers, and told them of his large retinue of servants, his cumbrous English carriage, and the forty-two tons of baggage belonging to his followers or to himself. During his residence as British Minister at Washington, Bagot had made, by his winning demeanour, many friends among the American people, which was now remembered to his advantage, and he was most hospitably entertained by some of the leading New Yorkers. He reached Boston on the 5th of January, where, at the house of the British consul, he became acquainted with the Governor of Massachusetts, and several other local notabilities; and afterwards, while passing upwards through the State, was treated everywhere with the greatest courtesy. Travelling by way of Albany, Utica and Watertown, he arrived at Kingston on Monday, the 10th, and was cordially received by a large number of people, who had assembled to welcome him. On the 12th he was sworn in by three judges, who had

descended from Toronto for the purpose ; and Lieutenant-General Sir Richard Jackson, who had administered the Government for the preceding four months, was relieved from office and returned to Montreal.

The new Governor-General's antecedents led the Conservative leaders to imagine, that he would soon lend himself to their views, and aid, so far as his position would permit him, in establishing their ascendancy. Instead, however, of identifying himself with either party, he passed the winter and spring in making himself acquainted with the condition of the country in general, and of its political affairs in particular. Earnest attempts were made, by cunningly drafted addresses and otherwise, to force him to define his position and explain his views, but he was too experienced a diplomatist to be caught in this way, and absolutely declined to commit himself in any form. His course, in this respect, was an eminently wise one. Previous to his arrival in this country he had known very little about its political or social condition, its past history, or its more recent occurrences, and he had, therefore, much to learn before he could intelligently decide on the best course to pursue, in administering its Government. The task before him was surrounded with many difficulties. His predecessor had introduced a new constitution, and legislatively united two Provinces hostile in many of their conditions ; and he at once realised that his own special work would be to cement their union more firmly, to lead the opposing races to think more kindly and charitably of one another, and to work in harmony for the general welfare. And he also saw that this could only be done by constitutionally governing through a Parliamentary majority, on whichever side it might rest. Lord Sydenham, the Plebeian free trade lumber merchant, and the ardent Whig Reformer, had absolutely declined to admit to his counsels any person at all connected unfavourably to the Crown with the recent rebellion. Sir Charles Bagot, a Patrician by inheritance, and sprung from an ancient Tory race, had no scruples of any sort on this head, determined to use whatever party he found most capable of supporting *his* government, and thus strengthen his own hands. Meanwhile, he resolved to treat all parties with equal justice ; and appointments to vacant posts were made in the most impartial manner. One French-Canadian was appointed Chief Justice of the District of Montreal, another District Judge of Three Rivers, while a third, Meilleur, got the Superintendency of Public Instruction for Lower Canada. During the spring Bagot visited Toronto, where he was warmly welcomed, and where, on the 23rd of April, he laid the foundation stone of King's College. In the following month he descended to Montreal, and there held, on the Queen's Birthday, an imposing levee, which was numerously attended not only by the English-speaking residents, but, also, by leading French-Canadians, won over to his side by his impartial manner of distributing official favours, and by his courteous demeanour. In July he was joined by his wife, a highly

accomplished and queenly woman, who, as well as her daughter, soon won golden opinions on all sides.

Meanwhile, much bitterness of feeling, growing out of the destruction of the *Caroline*, and other occurrences of the recent rebellion, as well as the boundary disputes, was exhibited towards England and Canada in the United States. Not content with the prosecution of McLeod for murder and arson in the case of the *Caroline*, other British subjects, supposed to be connected with that affair, were afterwards arrested when on business in the adjoining state, and although ultimately discharged, for want of sufficient proof against them, much bad blood was engendered.—The immunity from search, claimed by slave traders flying the United States' flag, while plying their nefarious commerce on the African coast, was also another source of difficulty ; and Congress remonstrated, and threatened war if British cruisers persisted in boarding American vessels. The refusal to surrender slaves, who had once set foot on British soil, was another deep cause of offence to the Southern oligarchs who ruled at Washington, and who chafed indignantly at the fact that remonstrance, in this direction, was utterly useless. The poor hunted fugitive the moment he touched the soil of Canada became a free man, provided he had not committed a felony ; and England, firm in her determination that it should be so, would not even stoop to discuss the question of his right to freedom. "It is idle," said the *North American Review*, in 1841, "to imagine that England will even be brought so much as to entertain a question upon that point." The Maine boundary dispute was another long-standing cause of serious difficulty between the two countries. In 1831 this question had been submitted to the King of the Netherlands for arbitration ; but he was unable to come to any final decision, owing to the imperfect character of the evidence laid before him ; and the dispute continued as before. In 1833 another ineffectual effort was made to settle it, and the people on both sides of the frontier line began to lose patience, and grow more hostile in their mutual aggressions. There was another, but minor, difficulty about the North-West boundary. The Peel Cabinet, shortly after its accession to power, determined to establish, if possible, better relations with the United States, and, in February, 1842, Lord Ashburton was sent to this country as a special commissioner to arrange all the points in dispute. As one of the Baring Family, he was intimately connected with its great banking house, which had then extensive business relations with the American mercantile community. In his earlier days he had resided in the United States, married a Philadelphian, and had written a pamphlet, widely read, advocating closer relations between the two great English-speaking nations ; and had many personal friends on this side of the Atlantic. He was a man of some ability, honourable and fair-minded, but no match for Daniel Webster, then the American Secretary of State, to whom was entrusted the task of negotiating with him. It is scarcely necessary to say that

Ashburton was completely outwitted by Webster. While the latter relinquished a tract of sterile wilderness, Ashburton ignorantly surrendered a fertile, well wooded, and finely watered country, equal to the joint areas of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and extended the boundary line of the United States to within some thirty miles of the River St. Lawrence, thus literally cutting Canada, south of that river, into two parts. As regarded the North-West boundary, the question was only settled up to the Rocky Mountains, but at the same time greatly to the advantage of the United States. The Oregon boundary, which afterwards almost led to war, was left wholly untouched. An agreement was come to on the slave trade dispute, the extradition of criminals, and the Caroline matter. As regarded the latter a virtual apology was tendered, and no more was heard about it. The Ashburton Treaty was finally concluded, and signed on the 10th of August. Its terms were criticised with much asperity in England, and some of the Whig peers declared that Canada had been defrauded in the transaction. This feeling was increased when it came to be discovered, that Webster had suppressed important evidence which he had in his possession, and especially a map, discovered by Sparks, the American historian, in Paris, which showed the Maine boundary line of the United States as settled, and so marked by Franklin, to run wholly south of the St. John River, and between the head waters of that river and those of the Penobscot and the Kennebec. Other evidence was afterwards produced to the same effect, and Webster's sharp practice became manifest to the world. Greatly as Canada had been wronged in this matter, by Ashburton's ignorance and incompetence, submission was her sole alternative.

But the confirmation of the Ashburton Treaty was not the only injury that Canada sustained, at the hands of the Home Government, during the year. Free-trade doctrines had taken a still firmer hold of the English people, and their great apostle, Richard Cobden, now stood on a higher popular plane than ever. Peel, despite the recent verdict given at the general elections against these doctrines, accurately gauged the new trend of public opinion, and determined to conform to it, and so take the wind out of the Whig sails. He had a difficult task to win his Cabinet over to this new line of policy, so opposed to all Tory traditions and practice; and the Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Privy Seal, resigned sooner than aid in carrying it out. The Imperial Parliament met on the 3rd of February, and was opened by the Queen. She thanked God for the birth of her son, the Prince of Wales, born on the 9th of the preceding November, and then proceeded to recommend to the immediate attention of Parliament, "the state of the finances and expenditure of the country, and, also, the state of the laws which affected the import of foreign corn." Peel supplemented the speech from the throne, by continuing, for the time being, the half-way measure of a sliding scale, but fixing a much lower rate of duty than had hitherto prevailed.

But, not content with this large concession to free-trade, he lowered the duty on Baltic timber from fifty shillings sterling per load to thirty shillings, whereas, on Canadian timber, on which hitherto a rate of ten shillings had been charged, a reduction of nine shillings was made. But he did not stop here. The free importation of American flour into Canada was put an end to, and the West Indies were permitted to import their flour direct from the United States. Hitherto, as we have already seen, Canada had enjoyed the lucrative privilege of solely furnishing the West Indies with lumber and provisions, but Peel's policy now transferred, at a single stroke, nearly the whole of that trade to the United States. It was a sudden and serious blow to Canadian commerce, the trade up the St. Lawrence immediately commenced to languish; and, in 1842, the number of sea-going vessels, that ascended that river, was less by 377 than in the preceding year. The already straitened revenue of the country was ill-fitted to bear this new strain, commerce became much depressed, money very scarce, and several large firms were forced to suspend payment. Canadian merchants were greatly alarmed, and the public credit much disturbed. But worse things still were in store for Canada; and it was now evident that the progress of free-trade principles, in the Mother Country, would eventually deprive the colonies of all protection in her markets, and throw them wholly on their own resources.

We have already seen that Bagot had sedulously applied himself to make the acquaintance of the Canadian people of both races, and so as to be intelligently able to shape his future course. During the summer he gradually commenced to develop his policy, and to make some changes in the composition of his Ministry. Francis Hincks,* towards the close of the last session of the Legislature, had given important support to the Government; and, in accordance with the advice of his Cabinet, Bagot now appointed him Inspector General, or finance minister. He was an able man, well

* Francis Hinck's grandfather was a native of England, but having got a post in the Irish customs removed to Dublin. He died in a few years afterwards, leaving his widow to bring up and support, mainly by her own exertions, four children. Her eldest son, Thomas Dix, became a distinguished Presbyterian minister, and had nine children, of whom Francis, born in 1807, was the youngest. At sixteen the latter was articled to a mercantile firm for five years. He sailed as supercargo of one of its ships to the West Indies in 1830, and visited Canada in the same year. In 1832 he married, settled in Toronto, and commenced mercantile business, in which he did not meet with much success. His financial abilities, however, soon brought him into notice, and he was appointed secretary to an insurance company, cashier to a new banking concern; and was chosen, in 1835, to examine into the affairs of the Welland Canal Company, then in no small disorder. In the spring of 1838 he commenced the *Examiner* newspaper at Toronto, and speedily became so distinguished as a public journalist, that he was invited to become a candidate for the County of Oxford in the new Union Parliament. After his appointment as Inspector General he was re-elected by a good majority.

acquainted with banking and commercial business, and soon gave order and method to the disordered condition of the public accounts. But he had sympathized somewhat with Mackenzie during the recent rebellion, his appointment was accordingly distasteful to the ultra-Conservative Party, now led by Sir Allan MacNab, and its press at once accused Bagot of leaning towards Radicalism. At the same time, the more extreme Reformers charged Hincks with having sold his principles for office, and with abandoning his friends. He bitterly retorted in his own defence; and stoutly held his ground. The Cabinet still preserved its coalition character, as in Sydenham's day; and, on the 23rd of July, Henry Sherwood* became Solicitor General. But despite this appointment to office of one of its own leaders, the discontent of the Conservative Party continued to increase during the summer. While Bagot had treated it in a courteous and conciliatory manner, he meted out the same treatment to the whilom rebellious French-Canadians and Upper Canada Radicals; and showed a disposition to rebuke intolerance of every description. A new Commission of the Peace included men of different origin, and different political sympathies, a line of policy which added to the prevailing dissatisfaction in the Conservative ranks.

Such was the condition of affairs when the Legislature met on the 8th of September. Bagot, we are told, read his opening speech with a strong clear voice. It deplored the melancholy event, in the death of his predecessor, which had marked the close of the last session, referred to the birth of the Prince of Wales, the recent attempt on the life of the Queen,† and the conclusion of the Ashburton Treaty. It further stated that the Imperial Government had fully redeemed the promise, made by the Melbourne Cabinet, to guarantee a loan to complete the great public works of Canada, that the public revenue was now in a satisfactory condition, and recommended amendments to the Municipal and School Acts. "It is my earnest hope," said Bagot, in conclusion, "that a spirit of harmony and moderation may animate your counsels, and direct your proceedings. The Province has, at length, happily recovered from a state of severe trial and danger, and a bright dawn now opens upon its prospects." The address, in reply, was at once passed by the Legislative Council; but the Assembly deferred the consideration of its address until the 13th, in order to give time for a proposed reconstruction of the Ministry, which, however, was found to be impracticable, as Lafontaine, the leader of the French-Canadian section of the House, at first refused to

* The eldest son of Judge Levius P. Sherwood, of Brockville, and brother of George Sherwood, who was at one time a member of John A. Macdonald's Cabinet, and afterwards county judge of Hastings. These Sherwoods all belonged to the Family Compact.

† This attempt was made by John Francis, on Constitution Hill, London, the place where Edward Oxford had made a similar attempt two years before.

take office in a coalition Cabinet. Eventually, however, all difficulties were smoothed over; and the first Lafontaine-Baldwin administration sprang into existence.* It contained two French-Canadians—Lafontaine an able lawyer, who had been imprisoned for a short time during the rebellion as a “suspect,” and Morin, formerly agent in England for the Assembly of Lower Canada. The new Ministry was assailed with great hostility by the Conservative press, and denounced as the germ of separation from the Mother Country. But it was a very strong one, nevertheless. Its decided supporters in the Assembly amounted to sixty members, while the opposition stood at only twenty-four. Lafontaine, who had been defeated in Lower Canada, at the recent general election, but afterwards elected for North York, vacated by Baldwin, who had been returned for two constituencies, was now re-elected by a majority of two hundred votes. But Baldwin had lost caste by his union with French-Canadians, was defeated in Hastings by Edmund Murney, again defeated in the Second Riding of York, and finally had to take refuge in Rimouski, where a vacancy was made for him.

But the Opposition Press was not content with assailing the Ministry, and also attacked the Governor-General. It was now insultingly stated, that he was a man of feeble will and capacity, who, however good his intentions might be, was still so slenderly endowed intellectually as to be incapable of detecting any intrigue, or resisting any pretension. But, at the present day, and with the additional light evolved by the progress of time to guide us, the conclusion cannot fail to be arrived at that he pursued the wisest line of policy—a policy which eminently tended to assuage the bitterness between the two races, and unite them more closely for the common weal. A different policy would have nullified the measure of Responsible Government, which had been conceded to Canada, and must have proved suicidal to any Ministry seeking to carry it out. Bagot acted on the broad principle, that the Constitutional majority had the right to rule under the Constitution.

The reconstruction of the Ministry, the necessity of its newly appointed members going back to their constituents for re-election, and the derangements which resulted from this state of things, caused the session to be a short one. It was adjourned on the 12th of October until the 18th of the following month, after a

* The Ministry was composed as follows:—

UPPER CANADA.

Robert Baldwin, Attorney General; R. B. Sullivan, President of the Council; S. B. Harrison, Provincial Secretary; H. H. Killaly, Public Works; F. Hincks, Inspector General; J. E. Small, Solicitor General.

LOWER CANADA.

L. H. Lafontaine, Attorney General; J. H. Dunn, Receiver General; Dominak Daly, Provincial Secretary; T. C. Aylwin, Solicitor General; A. N. Morin, Commissioner of Crown Lands.

duration of five weeks. During its continuance thirty acts were passed ; only a few of which were of much importance. Among the latter was one to make the law uniform, as regarded the vacation of seats by members accepting office ; another to authorise making a loan in England of £1,500,000 sterling, for the construction and completion of public works ; and a third granting the sum of \$333,212 for the expenses of the civil government of 1842, and an additional sum of \$111,108 for the same class of expenditure, for the first quarter of 1843. An act was also passed to provide for the freedom of elections, some of the clauses of which, in view of recent disorders, were very severe. For an assault or battery, committed within two miles of any hustings, the penalty was a fine of one hundred dollars, or three months' imprisonment. Bribery was severely punished, and the exhibition of party flags prohibited. A good deal of debate had arisen over the seat of government question, and the Assembly decided, by a vote of 40 to 22, that Kingston was not a suitable place for the capital of the Province ; and thereupon its real estate began to descend to its normal value.

At the close of the session Bagot appeared to be in excellent health, and to have a long future still before him. Early in November, however, he broke completely down, and was prostrated by a dangerous attack of dropsy, complicated with heart disease. Parliament had accordingly to be again adjourned, and Bagot's physicians advised that he should at once return to England, and thus avoid the trying Canadian winter. He immediately applied for his recall, which was at once granted by the Colonial Secretary, and his successor appointed in Sir Charles Metcalfe, who shortly afterwards proceeded to Canada, and assumed charge of 1843. the administration on the 30th of March. On the day before Bagot held his last Cabinet meeting in his own room, being too weak to rise from his bed. He bade his Ministers a cordial and tender farewell, accompanied by an earnest injunction to defend his memory from aspersion. Although the Home Government had not condemned his policy, neither had it expressed its approval. It had been strongly condemned, however, by the Conservative Press of Canada, and this example had been followed by some of the leading organs of public opinion in England. "The result may prove auspicious," said the *London Times*, "we are willing to hope for the best. But it is a somewhat ominous consequence of this new order of things, that the Governor is forced to call to his Councils, on their own terms, men who have lately been proscribed or in prison.* Bagot, who still clung to the hope of being able to return to England in the spring, grew worse as the days became longer ; and on the morning of the 19th of May his sufferings were terminated by death. His remains were conveyed to England, by way of New York, and were honoured by marked

* Vide *London Times*, October 27th, 1842.

tokens of respect while passing through the United States. His stately wife never recovered from the loss of her husband, and rejoined him in another and better world, where there is no more sorrow—no more tears, early in February 1845.

THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR CHARLES METCALFE.

The new Governor-General was born of English parents, at Calcutta, in January, 1785. His father was an officer of the Bengal army, a Director of the East India Company, and a wealthy man. Charles was the second son, and, after being educated in England, returned to India in his sixteenth year, and became a "writer" in the Company's service. After a seven years' training in this capacity, he was sent on a mission to the native court of Lahore, and acquitted himself so well as to win further promotion. He filled one high position after another, until, in 1827, he became a member of the Supreme Council of India—one of the select few who then made laws for the government of one hundred and fifty millions of people. Meanwhile, by the deaths of his father and elder brother, he had succeeded to the family title and estate, and so became Sir Charles Metcalfe. In 1834 he was appointed acting Governor-General of India, and filled that high position with much credit to himself until the arrival of Lord Auckland, two years afterwards, when he returned to England. In 1839 he was induced by the Melbourne Cabinet to accept the post of governor of Jamaica, where almost a war of races prevailed, and the coloured population said to be wholly unfitted for freedom, and ungovernable except as slaves. His reign there, of nearly three years' duration, was eminently successful; and when compelled to resign and return to England, owing to general ill-health, and the appearance of cancer in his face, he had, by judicious conduct, and the exercise of systematic justice, converted strife and disaffection into tranquillity and loyalty. A successful operation apparently relieved him of cancer, and, at the earnest solicitations of the Colonial Secretary, Lord Stanley, he was induced, although much against his own inclination, to become the successor of Bagot. There has been much discussion, and many surmises as to his instructions, the character of which has never been divulged, and which do not appear to have been reduced to writing. Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby, had been trained in the Whig school of politics, spoke and voted for the Reform Bill, and, as Chief Secretary for Ireland in the Grey administration, was responsible for an excellent measure on national education, and also for the Church Temporalities Act, which abolished ten unnecessary Irish bishoprics. But his mind was naturally a Conservative one, nevertheless, and being also an ardent protectionist, he presently deserted the Whigs, and attached himself to the rising fortunes of Peel. There can be little doubt that Stanley, as well as his chief, did not

approve of Bagot's course, in so unreservedly placing himself in the hands of the extreme French-Canadian Party, so largely identified with the recent rebellion, and that he was disturbed, in no small degree, by the adverse comments of the *Times*, and other leading journals. And there can be no doubt, also, that the Conservative leaders in Canada made strong representations to the Colonial Office against Bagot's line of policy. It was quite natural, under these circumstances, that the Peel Cabinet should desire to alter that policy to an extent, at least, which would permit of the loyal portion of the population, who had made such great sacrifices in suppressing insurrection, having their due influence in any future Canadian administration. But, at the same time, there are no grounds whatever for the supposition, that the Home Cabinet was desirous to return to the former method of governing Canada, or of withdrawing from it the partial system of Responsible Government which had already been conceded. Peel was too broad and enlightened in his views, and too great a statesman, to lend himself to any narrow attempt of this description, and there is not the slightest evidence to show that Metcalfe was ever instructed to make it. As we have already seen, Lord John Russell had been most anxious to impair the authority of the Crown as little as possible; and, to promote that purpose, sought to continue the Governor-General as the executive premier of Canada, and secure for him all the power and influence surrounding that position; and Stanley was merely desirous of pursuing the same line of policy. Neither the Whig nor Conservative Party in England, was as yet willing to concede the full measure of Responsible Government to Canada, nor to make the Governor-General merely the representative of royalty, and so deprive him of all executive authority. In these facts lie the solution of the oral instructions given to Metcalfe, and the key to his policy afterwards. The theory propounded by Sir Francis Hincks, at a later period, that Stanley had formed a determination to overthrow Responsible Government, and selected Metcalfe as the most suitable instrument to accomplish his purpose, must be dismissed as resting on mere supposition only, and as being wholly destitute of proof. The very tone of all Metcalfe's despatches, to the Colonial Secretary, confirms this view of the case. In one of these despatches he says,* that the party in power expects that the patronage of the Government shall be bestowed exclusively on their own friends; and that he disliked the notion of governing as the supporter of any particular party. "I wish," said he, "to make the patronage of the Government conducive to the conciliation of all parties, by bringing into the public service the men of the greatest merit and efficacy without any party distinction." Metcalfe, himself, repeatedly declared, both before and after his arrival in Canada, that Responsible Government existed, and he was bound to carry it out; but how—after the

* Metcalfe to Stanley, 24th April, 1843.

manner of Sydenham or of Bagot? He chose the half-way system of Sydenham, the only one possible to the latter under his instructions from Lord John Russell, and the only one possible, also, to himself, under his own instructions from Stanley. He had, therefore, to regard himself as merely the first executive officer of Canada, responsible to the Home Government alone for the exercise of his authority, and bound to use the appointing power, in the interests of the Crown, without reference to mere party considerations.

Metcalfe's life in India had been a tranquil one, so far as mere politics were concerned. In fact, there might be said to be no politics there, in the ordinary acceptance of the phrase; and a paternal despotism, mildly tempered by the genial principles of English law, and English equal justice, controlled the lives and fortunes of an obedient and satisfied people. In Jamaica, his principal difficulty arose from the turbulence of a recently disfranchised and uneducated coloured population, and the desire of the whilom slave-owning oligarchy to keep that population still down with the strong hand, and out of politics. In Canada, he had to confront the fires of political partisanship in the most active operation, and rendered doubly intense by exciting environments. Both parties were bent on conciliating their new Governor General, and deluged him with addresses of the most opposite character, and embodying, in several cases, very extreme political views. He found the Conservative Party, which had stood so loyally by the Crown during the rebellion, and which included a large majority of the wealthy and educated part of the community, out of power, and the Reformers of Upper Canada, now supported by the French-Canadian Party, recently so disloyal, firmly entrenched in authority. His sympathies naturally leaned strongly towards the Conservative Party; and he determined, if possible, to restore it to what he regarded as its merited position. As head of the Executive, he considered that the appointing power constitutionally rested with him, and he resolved to use it for his own purposes.

Summer came, with its balmy winds and pleasant sunshine, but as yet no difficulties had arisen between Metcalfe and his ministers; and nothing definite was known as to the line of policy he designed to pursue—whether he would sustain or repudiate the course of his immediate predecessor. As time moved forward, one public difficulty after another presented itself. The seat of government question had already become an embarrassing one for the administration. It had been absolutely decided that Kingston should not be the capital, and the contemplated removal to Montreal was very generally distasteful to the people of Upper Canada. During the month of July, there were serious affrays between the Orangemen, now becoming very numerous, and the Irish Roman Catholics. The echoes of the "Repeal of the Union" agitation of O'Connell had reached the shores of the New World, and there produced afresh the hostile feeling the movement had already excited in the Old. The Irish quarrel extended itself to Canada, and the vast distance it had

travelled from the father-land, in no way diminished its bitterness. In Kingston, the Orange body were then, as now, strong in numbers, but in deference to Metcalfe's wishes determined to have no street procession on the 12th of July, and to celebrate that anniversary by simply meeting in its lodge rooms. At night these rooms were besieged by mobs of Irish Repealers, and furious rioting began, to suppress which the military had to be called out, with the result that several persons were dangerously wounded, and one youth killed. A few days afterwards, placards were posted up on the walls, announcing a Repeal meeting; to be followed by counter placards from the Orangemen, stating that the meeting would not be permitted. The Repeal meeting was not held, however, as wiser counsels prevailed, and a fresh riot was thus averted. Ogle R. Gowan, of Brockville, was now Grand Master of the order he had founded in this country, wielded great personal influence, as a consequence, and having obtained the ear of Metcalfe, sought to lead him to favour the Conservative Party more openly. There were conferences, also, with other leading Conservatives; and as the summer wore away rumours began to float around that the Governor-General was leaning towards the opposition. Meanwhile, acting on the advice of his ministers, and no doubt with the concurrence of the Home Government, pardons, under the Great Seal, had been extended to Doctors Rolph, Morrison and Duncombe; and also to David Gibson, Nelson Gorham and John Montgomery; all concerned in the recent rebellion. Wolfred Nelson had also been permitted to return to this country, and had resumed the practice of his profession in Montreal. At the autumn assizes, in that city, a *nolle prosequi* was entered in his case, as well as in the cases of Dr. O'Callaghan, Thomas Storrow Brown and Papineau. Mackenzie was now the only fugitive of the recent insurrection who had not been pardoned. Towards the close of summer Metcalfe made an extended tour of the Province, was well received, and presented with very complimentary addresses.

Parliament had been summoned to meet on the 28th of September, and owing to the rumours touching Metcalfe's Conservative leanings, and other exciting topics, the session promised to be a memorable one. Kingston was crowded to its utmost capacity, by visitors anticipating some unusual occurrence. Metcalfe's opening speech was guarded in the extreme, raised no issues that might provoke hostile criticism, and was received with very general favour. It gave rise in both Houses, however, to considerable discussion, although of a more or less irrelevant character. Sir Allan MacNab, still the Conservative leader, bitterly attacked Robert Baldwin for his presumed connection with Rolph; and endeavoured to make it appear that he was favourable to the rebellion. Baldwin made a crushing reply, and placed MacNab so much at fault, that the latter afterwards found it necessary to apologise for his remarks. A ministerial resolution, authorising the removal of the seat of government to Montreal, produced a long and bitter debate;

and the Opposition, now hopelessly in the minority, fought the motion as best they could. But, although several Upper Canada Reformers sided with them, it was eventually carried on a vote of 51 to 27. As the session progressed, it leaked out that Metcalfe had made some official appointments without consulting his Cabinet, and towards its close he showed a disposition to favour the Opposition in many ways. Ministers were now taunted, on the floor of the House, with his "Excellency's disrespect for them," and matters soon approached a crisis. At a Cabinet meeting, held on the 25th of November, a strong remonstrance was made to Metcalfe, on the score of his having authorised recent appointments without the advice of his ministers. While admitting that he was bound to carry out the principle of Responsible Government, in accordance with the resolution of the Assembly on the 3rd of September, 1841, he still clung to his right to make appointments at his own discretion. The result was, that nine out of the ten ministers resigned; and Daly remained the sole occupant of the Treasury Benches. Metcalfe's Conservative leanings were still further shown, by his reserving the "Secret Societies Bill," mainly levelled at the Orange society, for the consideration of the Crown. The explanations in both Houses of the Legislature, which necessarily followed the resignation of the Ministry, embittered existing complications; which were rendered still more complex by a message from Metcalfe, brought down by Daly—a proceeding which had no precedent whatever. This message charged, among other things, "that the recent Ministry sought to acquire the patronage which rightly belonged to the Crown, for the increase of its political influence, and so corrupting the House of Assembly; and that it had also sought to impose conditions on the Governor-General derogatory to his high station." This was a straight declaration of political war; and the gage thus thrown down was promptly taken up by the Assembly. An address, in reply, sustaining the recent Government in its action, and asserting its right to control public patronage, was carried, after a long debate, by a vote of 46 to 23. The business of the country was seriously impeded by this state of things, and when Parliament was prorogued, on the 9th of December, no Ministry had as yet been formed. In his closing speech, Metcalfe declared that while he recognised the just power and privileges of the people to influence their rulers, and to regulate, through their representatives, the administration of government, he still maintained that he had the right to select the executive officers of the Crown. During the last days of the session, he sought to form a provisional Cabinet, to tide over the existing crisis. But he found even this to be a most difficult task, as in the existing composition of the House of Assembly all the Conservative leaders were unwilling to take office. Finally, on the 12th, Viger, a French-Canadian, and Draper, now a member of the Legislative Council, were added to Daly, as Executive Councillors.

Metcalfe's policy, the logical result of the principle laid down by

the Home Government, and of its instructions as well, awoke a storm of censure from the Reform press, and the Reform leaders, in both Upper and Lower Canada. Viger was bitterly assailed by his fellow-countrymen for taking office, and issued a pamphlet in his own defence, which did not at all improve his position. Months passed over without a new Ministry making its appearance; the political crisis grew more and more acute with the progress of time; and the whole country resounded with denunciations of Metcalfe, and counter-denunciations of his ex-ministers. Party ferocity arose to such a pitch, that for a time it appeared as if it must all end in civil warfare. Meetings held to discuss the situation were repeatedly broken up by sheer physical force; and bludgeons and stones not infrequently supplied the place of argument. Ex-ministers were charged with annexation proclivities, and denounced as traitors to their country, on the one hand; while, on the other, Metcalfe was stigmatised as a despotic tyrant, eager to stamp out the liberties of the people. The Reverend Egerton Ryerson vigorously took up his defence against these attacks, and laboured to show that his position was the constitutional one; while George Brown, in the *Globe*, already the leading Reform organ of Toronto, adversely criticised Metcalfe's course, with all the force of vigorous youth, and the bitterness of extreme political asperity. Anonymous pasquinades and doggerel rhymes, added, in no small degree, to the prevailing excitement; and the political storm raged fiercely from Gaspe to Goderich—the Canadian Dan and Beersheba. Away down by the sea, in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, a similar storm, but on a somewhat milder scale, had also commenced to blow; and there, too, the question of Responsible Government was in issue. By-and-by the effects of the storm began to be felt in the Mother Country. On the 2nd of February, in the House of Commons, Lord Stanley, in replying to a question from a member of the Opposition, declared most emphatically, that the course pursued by Sir Charles Metcalfe met with the approbation of Her Majesty's Government. On the 30th of May, a second discussion, on the same subject, took place, when Roebuck drew attention to the fact, that for over six months Canada had been left without an administration. Stanley again expressed his approval of Metcalfe's policy, commended him for having refused to surrender the patronage of the Crown, and defended his action, in having reserved the "Secret Societies Bill" for the consideration of the Home Government; and Peel endorsed his language. Lord John Russell, who fully realised that Metcalfe was merely carrying out the Whig policy, in seeking to preserve the authority of the Crown in colonial affairs, also expressed his approval of his conduct, and eulogised his character. While the leaders of the two great parties in the Commons, were thus unanimous in their support of Metcalfe, his assailants, in that chamber, were only to be found in its Radical section.

The summer had almost passed away, and Metcalfe as yet had

been unable to form an administration. Draper, however anxious he might be to meet his views, clearly saw that this dangerous and anomalous state of things could not exist much longer, without leading either to anarchy or revolution; and early in August stated that it was absolutely necessary a new Ministry should be appointed. Metcalfe now earnestly bestirred himself to accomplish this purpose, but found the task an exceedingly difficult one. The leading French-Canadians stood loyally by Lafontaine, and refused to enter a new Cabinet without him. Finally, Dennis B. Papineau, a brother of the celebrated agitator, and a man of no great account, was induced to accept the office of Commissioner of Crown Lands; and James Smith, a Montreal barrister, and William Morris, of Perth, both unknown men hitherto, also accepted portfolios. Thus, after a ministerial interregnum of several months' duration, six of the more important Cabinet offices were at last filled. A dissolution of Parliament was now determined on, and writs, returnable on the 12th of November, were issued for a general election. As might well be expected the contest that ensued was a furious one; and fought out, at both sides, with the utmost determination. Everywhere the excitement was very great. In many places fierce rioting and bloodshed ensued, and the troops had to be called out to preserve the peace. Unblushing bribery was freely resorted to, and the Government put forth its most strenuous exertions to secure success. It won a majority in Upper Canada only, but on the whole there was a small balance in its favour. Wolfred Nelson beat Viger in the county of Richelieu; Cuvillier, the late speaker, suspected of leaning towards the Government, was defeated in Huntingdon; and John Neilson was beaten in Quebec. On the other hand, Hincks was defeated in Oxford. He had become a resident of Montreal, where early in the year he had established the *Pilot* newspaper, which soon became a formidable political power.

Parliament assembled at Montreal on the 28th of November, and the Government was able to elect its candidate for the speakership, Sir Allan MacNab, by a majority of three. There were a good many new members in the House, among whom were Ogle R. Gowan, returned for the County of Leeds, and John A. Macdonald, elected for Kingston. John Neilson, and James Morris of Brockville, were called to the Legislative Council. The speech from the throne was a long one, but contained little that was remarkable, with the exception of some damaging admissions as to the delay in assembling Parliament and forming a Ministry. The division on the address in reply, showed, that in a full House, Government had a majority of six—a small margin on which to conduct the business of the country. To make matters still worse, there was no proper cohesion, or unanimity of purpose, in the Cabinet. Ministers frequently disagreed among themselves, were destitute of a proper leader in the Assembly, and Metcalfe was continually haunted by the fear that the administration, which had cost him so much

labour and anxiety to construct, might go to pieces at any moment. In the month of January, Draper accordingly resigned his seat in the Legislative Council, was returned for the town of London, the sitting member having resigned in his favour; and, on the 13th of February, took his seat in the Assembly. The Government had at length a really able leader there, and matters now proceeded more satisfactorily. The session lasted for four months, and was distinguished for the removal of restrictions on the French language, and a good deal of beneficial and necessary legislation. During its continuance, Metcalfe was raised to the peerage, and the question of presenting him with a complimentary address met with unusual opposition in the Assembly, 25 members voting against the motion, so bitter was the personal feeling towards him. Prorogation took place on the 29th of March, and the long session at last came to a close. Meanwhile, the shadows of approaching death were steadily gathering around the new peer of the realm. The cancer in his face had again reappeared in its final and most fatal form. One eye had been totally destroyed, the sight of the other greatly weakened, and his mouth had become so affected that he could scarcely masticate his food. Nevertheless, actuated by a strong sense of duty, he clung tenaciously to his position, in the belief that he was acting for the benefit of the empire at large—a belief greatly strengthened by the approval his conduct had met with from the leaders of the two great political parties in England. Metcalfe has been strongly condemned for his mistaken line of policy. But Canadians should not forget that up to his day it was the traditional policy of the empire, which had always relegated the colonies to a secondary and inferior position; and that he was merely carrying out his instructions from the higher authority.

On the 27th of May, a most disastrous conflagration took place in the City of Quebec, which destroyed 1650 dwellings, two churches, an extensive shipyard, and several lumber yards and wharves. So fierce was the storm of fire and flame, that no human power was of any avail to arrest it; and so rapid was its advance, owing to a high wind, that but little chattel property could be saved, and many persons perished. One month later, a still more disastrous conflagration scourged the unfortunate city, destroyed a vast amount of property, and a number of people, unable to escape, lost their lives in the flames. By this double calamity the dwellings of twenty-four thousand inhabitants were destroyed, and a most appalling state of things arose. To relieve the unfortunate people, many of whom had been reduced, in a few minutes, from affluence to the direst poverty, \$500,000 were raised by subscription in England; and large sums were also collected in Canada and the United States. Sheds were promptly erected to shelter the houseless citizens, who gradually took courage, and before the close of summer the stricken city began to rise again from its ashes.

The progress of the year produced no change in the Conservative

character of the Draper administration. On the 6th of August, William Cayley, an untried and little-known man, accepted the vacant post of Inspector-General; and Joseph A. Taschereau, a French-Canadian lawyer of ability, became Solicitor-General. In Lower Canada, the press now began, for the first time, to agitate the principle of a Double Parliamentary Majority, or, in other words, that legislation solely affecting one section of the Province, should always be supported by a majority of the members of that section; and that no government should rest on a mere single majority drawn from both sections. No law applying solely to Lower Canada should be passed unless by the concurrence of a majority of its members, and the same rule to apply also to Upper Canada. But the embarrassing line of policy, thus limned out, was adopted very slowly, and did not come into practical operation until some ten years afterwards.

Meanwhile, Metcalfe had continued to grow worse. On the 29th of October he wrote to the Colonial Secretary, stating that he was now unable to entertain company or to receive visitors, and asking to be relieved. His wish was promptly complied with. "I need hardly say," wrote Lord Stanley, "that your administration of the affairs of Canada has more than realised the most sanguine expectations which I have ventured to form of it; and you will return from it with the entire approval and admiration of Her Majesty's Government; and, I may venture to add, of the Queen herself." Metcalfe was authorised to hand over the Government, when he thought proper to leave it, to Earl Cathcart, now commanding the forces in Canada. On the 26th of November he left for Boston, where, on the 4th of December, he embarked for England in the Cunard steamship, to arrive at Liverpool twelve days afterwards. His departure was hailed by a shout of triumph from the Opposition press, and the dying man was assailed with a virulence of party invective alike unjustifiable and indecent in its character.* His latter days, however, were cheered by sympathetic addresses from his many Canadian friends beyond the sea. By-and-by he left London to die in the pure air of the country; and there, in the society of his sister, (for he had never married,) he lived out the few sad months of life that remained to him. He bore his terrible trials with all the fortitude and courage of a true Christian; and died the death of the righteous, on the 5th of September, 1846. Like Sydenham, he had no heir to inherit his title, and the Metcalfe peerage became extinct at his death. Princely in his charities, he gave with unstinting hand wherever he saw his way clear to do so. While in Canada he generously contributed to the building of churches, and to every good work that came to his notice. In the fullest sense the language of the Psalmist applied to him: "The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon him, and he caused the widow's heart to sing for joy."

* Dent's Last Forty Years, vol. ii, p. 25.

THE GOVERNMENT OF LIEUTENANT-GENERAL, THE
EARL OF CATHCART.

The Earl of Cathcart was duly sworn in, as administrator of the Government, on the 26th of November, and a few months afterwards received his commission as Governor-General. Born in England, in 1783, he became a soldier while still in his boyhood, served with distinction in the Peninsular War and elsewhere, rose to the rank of lieutenant-general, and, in 1845, was sent out to Canada as its commander-in-chief. The Oregon boundary question, left unsettled by the Ashburton treaty, had become a source of bitter dispute with the United States; and as there was every prospect of war, Cathcart was selected as the most suitable officer for the emergency, and instructed to put the defences in the best possible condition. He fulfilled his instructions with the greatest energy, travelled along the frontier for a distance of over two thousand miles, and made himself thoroughly acquainted with its condition. His representations to the War Office, led to the troops in Canada being rearmed with percussion muskets, in lieu of the old flint-lock weapon, and thus rendered much more efficient. In accordance with the usual policy of the Home Government, when there was a prospect of war, it was deemed advisable to give Cathcart the full control of the civil, as well as military, administration of Canada, and hence his appointment as Governor-General. He took no part whatever in the disputes between the rival political parties; and, whatever might have been his own predilections, left them to settle their quarrels as they thought proper.

Parliament met on the 20th of March. In his opening 1846. speech, Cathcart expressed regret at the painful cause which had led to the departure of Lord Metcalfe, who, he said, "had discharged the duties of his station with a zeal and ability which had won for him the highest approbation of his sovereign." The reorganisation of the militia was urged as a necessary measure, in view of the unsettled state of the negotiations on the boundary dispute, as well as a proper provision for the Civil List, so that the Imperial Parliament might be justified in making the necessary amendment to the Union Act, and thus hand over full control of that list to the Canadian Legislature. The recent changes in the commercial policy of the Empire were also alluded to, but not very definitely, as the Corn Law Bill was still pending in the House of Commons.

In the Legislative Council, when the matter of the address came up for consideration, some of the members declined to congratulate the Governor-General on his appointment, owing to the circumstance of his being a military man instead of a civilian; and, in the Assembly, Baldwin took exception, in an amendment to the address, to the compliment paid Metcalfe. But his Reform friends from Upper Canada very properly repudiated this needless bitterness; and his amendment was accordingly negatived, by a vote of

43 to 27. But, although thus sustained on the address, the position of the Ministry remained very weak, and, during the session, it carefully avoided the introduction of measures which might provoke serious opposition. A militia bill was agreed to, as well as a bill providing for a sufficient Civil List; the permanent Civil List already provided for by the Union Act being now regarded as unconstitutional. The latter measure subsequently received the sanction of the Imperial Parliament, and thus became the law of the land. This procedure amply justified the action which had been taken by Hincks in the first Union Legislature.

As the summer approached, it became more and more evident that the policy of the commercial union of the Empire, was about to be wholly abandoned by the Imperial Parliament for that of free-trade. Early in the preceding year, Cobden had moved, in the House of Commons, for the appointment of a select committee, to enquire into the causes and extent of the agricultural distress, and into the effects of legislative protection upon the interests of land-owners, tenant-farmers, and farm-labourers. This motion had been rejected by 92 of a majority. But his speech, alike able in its grouping of facts and figures, and exceedingly eloquent in its delivery, had made a marked impression upon the country generally, and also upon Peel, who, despite the bitter assaults of Disraeli and others, was becoming more and more favourable to free-trade. As the autumn of 1845 advanced, the condition of the potato crop in Ireland, the main food of its eight millions of people, became a source of the most profound anxiety to the Home Government; and, as the appearance of the rot grew more and more pronounced, the appalling prospect of a terrible famine caused the utmost general alarm. The potato was also the principal food of the poorer classes of Scotland, especially in the Highland districts, and there the rot also began to show itself in a virulent form. Sir James Graham, the Home Secretary in the Peel Cabinet, clearly gauged the situation. "The Anti-Corn Law pressure is about to commence," said he, in a letter to his chief, "and it will be the most formidable movement in modern times." "Inaction," said Peel to his Cabinet on the 31st of October, "under existing circumstances, is impossible." But, despite the manifest approach of famine, the majority of the Ministry refused to support any measure looking to the repeal of the Corn Laws, and, accordingly, on the 5th of December, Peel placed his resignation in the Queen's hands. But the Whigs were most unwilling to touch a question, a second time, which had already turned them out of power; Lord John Russell was accordingly unable to form an administration, and Peel again resumed office, with Gladstone as his Colonial-Secretary in the room of Stanley, who had resigned. When the Imperial Parliament met, on the 23rd of January, 1846, the Queen's speech, delivered in person, recommended a free-trade policy. After a long and arduous struggle, Peel succeeded in passing two most important measures, which reduced the duties on grain and also on general

imports, but was afterwards defeated on a bill "For the Protection of Life in Ireland." On the 29th of June his Cabinet resigned, and Parliament adjourned to the 3rd of July, in order to give time to Lord John Russell to form a new administration, in which Earl Grey became Colonial-Secretary. The main feature of the policy of the Whigs was now the total abolition of all preferential duties on behalf of the colonies, which were thus to be left to shift for themselves as best they could. Peel's change of principle—his total desertion of the landed and colonial interests, sealed his political doom for all time. From being the leader of a powerful and united party he dwindled down into an independent supporter of the Whigs, whose free-trade policy he had at length accepted in its entirety.

The total abandonment, by the Imperial Parliament, of the commercial union of the Empire, greatly alarmed the people of Canada. If the British markets were thrown open to the world, they would be unable to compete with the United States in breadstuffs, and with Russia and Norway in timber; and they naturally supposed that their prosperity was about to receive a serious if not a fatal blow. At great public meetings, held in Montreal and Quebec, Cobden and the Anti-Corn Law League were denounced in no measured terms; and a feeling of uneasiness, and even alarm, spread from one end of the country to the other. The general solicitude found united expression in an address to the Queen, agreed to unanimously by the Assembly on the 12th of May, and forwarded to England by the next mail. It was received by the Colonial-Secretary while the debate on Peel's Corn Law Bill was still in progress, and at once laid before the House. "We cannot but fear," said the address, "that the abandonment of this protective principle, the very basis of the colonial commercial system, is not only calculated to retard the agricultural improvement of the country, and check its hitherto rising prosperity, but seriously to impair our ability to purchase the manufactured goods of Great Britain; a result alike prejudicial to this country and the parent state." But although its argument throughout was put with great clearness and force, this address did not at all affect the final issue. The free-trade policy of Cobden and the League, gathering new and overwhelming strength from the Irish and Scotch famine, became, in its entirety, the policy of England. Its markets were thrown open to the world, and have remained so from that day to this, and the colonies of the Empire were placed on the same commercial plane as foreign countries, and left to rely wholly on their own resources. Canada suffered the worst of all. Shut out by a high tariff from her natural market in the United States, deprived of all preferential advantages in the Mother Country, which had hitherto compensated her for the enforced loss of her natural market, a period of great agricultural and commercial depression ensued. Under the Imperial Act of 1843, Canadian wheat and flour were admitted into British ports at a nominal rate of duty. This arrangement

enabled Canadians to buy wheat in the United States and turn it into flour, which was shipped to England at a good profit. In order to carry on this commerce with greater success, large and expensive mills and storehouses had to be built, and led to heavy investments, in this class of property, by millers, merchants and forwarders. The produce of the west was thus attracted to the St. Lawrence route, and, independently of the direct profits of this trade, the revenue of the Province from canal tolls was greatly increased. All this profitable and growing business was now swept away without notice, at a single blow, by Imperial legislation. At the same time, the operations of the Navigation Laws, still in force, closed the St. Lawrence to the ships of foreign countries, prevented the Canadians from looking for new markets for their produce, and rendered their commercial and industrial distress more acute. As the result of this state of things, nearly half the merchants of the country were forced into bankruptcy, and real estate became unsaleable. But, the full measure of the depression, resulting from this state of things, was not at once felt. Its severity, at the first, was mitigated by the avails of recent prosperity. But it gradually caught the country more firmly in its grasp, business grew less and less as time progressed, and the agricultural, like the commercial, community, became poorer and poorer. In the course of a few years, the farmer could scarcely sell any of his produce for cash, and was only too glad to take, in exchange therefor, goods of almost any kind that could be at all of use to him. The author settled in Upper Canada in 1848, at once embarked in business, and has still a vivid recollection of the very general poverty of the people, and the scarcity of money, which then prevailed.

During the session of the Canadian Legislature, no small pressure was brought to bear on the administration in reference to the payment of certain losses, caused by the wanton destruction of property during the recent rebellion in Lower Canada. In 1839, the Special Council of that Province passed an ordinance, providing for the payment of losses which had been sustained by its loyal inhabitants. A similar measure was agreed to in the same year by the Legislature of Upper Canada. In the first session of the Union Parliament it was resolved to amend the Upper Canada Act, so as to grant compensation in cases where property had been wantonly and unnecessarily destroyed, by persons acting, or assuming to act, on behalf of the Crown; and a sum of \$160,000 was provided to meet these losses. The French-Canadian members of the Legislature had agreed to this measure, which put the compensation question finally at rest as regarded Upper Canada, on the condition that steps should also be taken to pay just losses in the Lower Province. But, independently of this condition, it was obviously impossible to treat Lower Canada less liberally than her sister, and accordingly, in 1845, an address to Lord Metcalfe was unanimously passed by the Assembly, the Draper Ministry concurring, asking that proper measures be taken, in order to insure to the inhabitants

of that part of the Province, formerly called Lower Canada, indemnity for just losses by them sustained during the rebellion of 1837-8.* In accordance with this address, Metcalfe, on the 24th of November, appointed six commissioners to enquire into the losses sustained by Her Majesty's *loyal* subjects in Lower Canada. Lord Cathcart subsequently, on the 12th of December, renewed this commission to the same persons, who were now instructed to "classify carefully the cases of those who may have joined in the said rebellion, or who may have been aiding or abetting therein, from the cases of those who did not ; stating particularly, but succinctly, the nature of the loss sustained in each case, its amount and character, and as far as possible its cause." In the course of their investigation, a difficulty arose in the minds of the commissioners as to the mode of procuring the necessary evidence. On the 27th of February, the Ministry decided that "they were to be guided solely by the sentences of the courts of law, and that they had no power to call for either persons or papers." Under these circumstances it would seem, that unless parties had been legally convicted of participation in the rebellion, their innocence was to be presumed, and their losses, where any had been sustained, taken into consideration.

On the 18th of April, the report of the commissioners was made. It stated that they had recognised two thousand one hundred and seventy-six claims, amounting in the aggregate to £241,965. These claims were classified under three heads, viz., personal property, £111,127 ; real property, £69,961 ; and damages, not comprised in either of these classes, £61,876. In the last class were included £9,000 for interest, £2,000 for quartering troops, and £30,000 for imprisonment, temporary banishment, interruption of business, loss of goods, account-books, and so forth. The commissioners, however, were of opinion that the sum of £100,000 would be sufficient to pay all real losses. Some of the claims they deemed to be altogether inadmissible, and others again as entirely too extravagant. Their want of legal authority to investigate methodically and strictly the losses in question, had left them wholly dependent on the statements of the claimants themselves.

This report presented a very unsatisfactory basis for legislation, being altogether of too indefinite and uncertain a character. Nevertheless, the Conservative Ministry, with Draper for its leader, feeling the necessity of French-Canadian support, introduced a bill into the Legislature for the payment of the rebellion losses in Lower Canada, sustained by "certain loyal inhabitants of that Province," and which empowered the issue of £9,986 in debentures, to be chargeable against its "Marriage Licence Fund," for that purpose. Despite the report, however, no decided action was taken during the session for the payment of other losses, and the question was left over for future settlement.

* Reminiscences of Sir Francis Hincks, p. 189.

Parliament was prorogued on the 9th of June. The policy of Cathcart, in holding aloof from political strife, and the wise discretion he displayed in interfering as little as possible in civil affairs, had toned down party friction in a sensible degree, and people began to think somewhat more charitably of one another. But, at the same time, he had kept a watchful eye on the military forces, introduced important reforms wherever they were needed, and made every possible preparation for the defence of the country in the event of war. President Polk, with the Democratic Party of the United States at his back, had, at one time, made up his mind to claim the entire country, on the Pacific Coast, extending from California to the Russian possession of Alaska. But sooner than confront actual war, which must certainly have ensued, if that claim were persisted in, his Secretary of State, Buchanan, was authorised to offer the 49th parallel of latitude as the boundary from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Coast, thus cutting Vancouver Island in two. Great Britain refused this offer; and, after a good deal of bluster, Vancouver Island remained wholly British territory. Had the Home Government stood firm, a more southern boundary still would have been obtained. But, as usual, the Transatlantic interests of the British people were lightly regarded when balanced against the anxious Imperial desire to stand well with the United States. The Oregon Treaty was signed at Washington on the 15th of June; and another vexed question thus set at rest. All danger of war having thus passed away, it was no longer desirable that a soldier, however eminent, should remain at the head of Canadian affairs; and it was soon learned that Lord Elgin had received the appointment of Governor-General. The Duke of Wellington, now commander-in-chief, strongly urged Cathcart to remain in command of the forces in Canada. But deeming himself slighted by being so soon deposed from the Governor-Generalship, he declined to pursue this course, and resigned his post.

Meanwhile, the political calm which his prudent conduct had led to, had given the Whig Party leisure to review the situation in Canada, and to investigate the question of Responsible Government more narrowly. New and more accurate light presently broke in upon its leaders, and they began to realise that Responsible Government could only be worked out effectually in Canada, on precisely the same lines that it was being worked out in the Mother Country. "The Queen's representative," said a leading Whig organ,* "should not assume that he degrades the Crown by following in a colony, with a constitutional government, the example of the Crown at home. Responsible Government has been conceded to Canada, and should be attended in its workings with all the consequences of Responsible Government in the Mother Country. What the Queen cannot do in England, the Governor-General should not be permitted to do in Canada. In making Imperial appointments

* The London Morning *Chronicle*, September 1st, 1846.

she is bound to consult her Cabinet : in making Provincial appointments the Governor-General should be bound to do the same." This article gives the key to the new Whig policy towards Canada, which was now to be based on much more liberal lines than had been embodied in Lord John Russell's instructions to Lord Sydenham. The new Imperial commercial policy had so greatly weakened the ties that bound Canada to the Mother Country, and placed her in such an independent position, that it was no longer deemed safe to make the Governor-General the mere executive mouth-piece of the Colonial Office. Instead he must, in the future, represent the Sovereign, and allow his Ministers to be a *de facto* as well as a *de jure* Executive ; and, therefore, his constitutional advisers on all public matters—on appointments to office as well as others. This new line of policy, which the Whigs had now, from necessity, fully determined on, was the principal reason of the sudden recall of Earl Cathcart, and the appointment of Lord Elgin, on the 1st of October, to succeed him. Although the latter was Conservative in politics, his successful administration of the somewhat difficult government of Jamaica, led the Whigs to hope that his acknowledged ability and tact would enable him to be equally successful in this country. In short, they regarded him as the best man at hand for the post ; and his politics, accordingly, were not permitted to stand in the way of his promotion. It is a fortunate matter for the Empire at large, that successive Home Governments so frequently rise superior to the mere exigencies of party, in making their appointments, and are not restricted by the narrow and illiberal views, which, unfortunately for colonial administrations, so invariably govern their action in a like direction.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF ELGIN.

THE Right Honourable James Bruce, eighth Earl of Elgin, and twelfth Earl of Kincardine in the peerage of Scotland, and afterwards created a baron of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, was born in 1811, and the lineal descendent of the hero of Bannockburn. Like his father, so distinguished in the matter of the Elgin marbles, and who, while ambassador to Turkey, so seriously impaired the family fortunes by his archæological tastes, Lord Elgin was a person of high educational attainments, and had a natural aptitude for public affairs. In 1841 he was returned, in the Conservative interest, for Southampton; and seconded an amendment to the address, in an eloquent speech in which he professed himself friendly to free-trade. The amendment was carried by a large majority, and Melbourne gave way to Peel. On the 14th of November, in the same year, the death of Elgin's father made him possessor of the family title and estates; and, as a Scottish peer, he was now barred from a seat in the House of Commons. Still, a slender and embarrassed patrimony rendered him desirous to obtain public employment; and in March, 1842, he readily accepted the governorship of Jamaica, and thus decided his vocation for life. Four years afterwards he became Governor-General of Canada.

He was twice married; first, in 1841, to a relation of his own, who died some two years afterwards; and, again, in 1846, to a daughter of the Earl of Durham. Elgin reached Montreal, *via* the Cunard Line to Boston, on the 29th of January, and 1847. next day was duly sworn in at Government House, in the city, in the presence of Earl Cathcart, the Executive Council, and other public functionaries. He was presented with the usual complimentary addresses, and his ready and fluent replies, and cultured manners, at once won him many friends. His instructions from Lord Grey were of a broad and liberal character, and he had, in addition, made himself thoroughly acquainted with Lord Durham's views, and saw his way clear to yielding to Canada a full measure of Responsible Government. As the son-in-law of Durham, he was naturally anxious to do justice to that nobleman's memory, by

carrying out his ideas into full practical effect. "Depend upon it" he wrote to his wife, "if this country is governed for a few years satisfactorily, your father's reputation, as a statesman, will be raised beyond the reach of cavil. I do not indeed know whether I am to be the instrument to carry out this work, or be destined, like others, who have gone before me, to break down in the attempt." The violent party spirit exhibited during the municipal elections at Montreal, in February, showed him clearly the fierce social elements he had to sooth and reconcile, and the difficulties which beset the accomplishment of the task he had assumed. For a few months after his accession to office, political affairs remained unusually quiet. The Draper administration still held together, although already tottering towards its fall. It was bitterly assailed by the Reform press of Upper Canada, and by the *Montreal Pilot*, still ably edited by Hincks, and vainly endeavoured to win support from one section or another of the Opposition. As the spring wore away it began to break up. Smith, the Attorney General from Lower Canada, resigned, and got a judgeship; and Draper, a few months afterwards, also resigned his portfolio, and was appointed a judge of the Upper Canada Court of Queen's Bench. John A. Macdonald joined the Cabinet, as Receiver General, in May, and Henry Sherwood became Attorney General West and premier.

But, if the people of Canada were divided on political questions, they were unanimous on one of philanthropy—in a desire to relieve their suffering fellow-creatures. From amid the Scottish Highlands—from Ireland's Connemara and Skibbereen, and even from her more fertile districts, arose the appalling cry of famine and the prayer for succour. Canada did not shut her ears to the appeal. A "Relief Fund" was opened, and from every direction—from old-fashioned Tories and modern Radicals, from Conservatives and Reformers, from the Iroquois Indians of Caughnawaga, and the Huron and Delaware Indians of Western Canada, and from her coloured citizens, also, came contributions in money or in food.

On the 2nd of June, the Legislature was convened at Montreal, and the session opened by Lord Elgin in a short, practical, and clever non-committal speech. He stated that the Imperial Government was prepared to surrender to the colonial authorities the control of the Post-office department; and that the House was now empowered, by Imperial statute, to repeal the differential duties in favour of British manufactures. He alluded to the necessity of providing increased warehouse facilities at inland ports, to the preliminary survey of the intended railroad from Quebec to Halifax; to the proposed alteration with respect to the British copyright law; and to the measures which had been adopted to provide for the large immigration expected to take place to this country.

The immigration thus alluded to had already commenced. For the past half century the population of Ireland had steadily increased, until it now numbered over eight millions. The poverty of its working classes had been greatly deepened, by the general

depression which followed the termination of the war with the Emperor Napoleon, affected all parts of the British Islands, and was made still more acute in Ireland by the thriftless habits of the people themselves. Although the struggle for a mere existence was always a ceaseless one, and frequently most severe, poverty did not prevent early marriages, and the families of the poor were literally born into a lot of misery. The potato was the staple food of the masses, and when their little patches of that esculent were ruined by the blight, in 1845 and subsequent years, starvation soon stared them in the face, and their only refuge from death, in its direst and most protracted form, was the charity of the government, and of the benevolent in the New World and the Old. Vast numbers of the very poorest of the people gradually wasted away, and died from want, or sickness caused by want, despite the great efforts made by the British Government, by charitable associations, and by the benevolent of all classes, to relieve the prevailing distress. In 1847, the class above the very poor, who had still a little means left, gathered up their all, took whatever government or landlord help they could get, and fled for their lives across the Atlantic. Thousands upon thousands never reached the promised land. Their systems, already enfeebled by want and suffering, were little suited to withstand the hardships of a long voyage in crowded and ill-ventilated sailing vessels, and the unfortunate people were scourged by the more malignant forms of ship-fever, and large numbers found their graves amid the stormy billows of the Atlantic Ocean. Those who outlived the sea voyage, landed, in the great majority of cases, in a state of destitution; and were thus at once thrown upon the charity of the Canadian community, and the humanity of the authorities. Army after army of sick and suffering people, fleeing from famine in their native land, to be stricken down by death in the valley of the St. Lawrence, stopped, in rapid succession, at Grosse Isle, the quarantine station below Québec, and, after leaving numbers of their dead behind them there, pushed upwards towards the lakes in overcrowded steamers to burthen the inhabitants of the western towns and villages. Everywhere "immigrant sheds" were hastily erected, and everything done, that benevolence could suggest, to meet the emergency. But ship-fever, nevertheless, continued to follow the hapless fugitives, the graveyards were thickly sown with their dead, and the frosts of winter had made their appearance before the scourge had finally abated. In the United States, the laws against the landing of indigent persons were strictly enforced; a policy that greatly increased the emigration to Canada. Up to the 7th of August 70,000 immigrants had landed at Québec, and ere the season of navigation had finally closed these were followed by more than 20,000 others.

In Canada politics were almost forgotten for the time, and the Government had its hands full in meeting the difficulties of the unusual crisis that had so suddenly arisen. The proceedings of

the Legislature drifted onwards comparatively unnoticed, and the session quietly terminated on the 28th of July, after the transaction of a large amount of business; one hundred and ten acts having been passed. The Ministry still continued to hold office, though defeated on some important measures; and it was evident that it could scarcely hope to carry on the Government much longer. The leaders of the Reformers saw clearly that it would hardly dare to meet another session of the Legislature, with a "no confidence vote" staring it in the face, and warned their party to be ready for a new election, now evidently near at hand. Reform conventions were accordingly held in every direction, candidates decided upon, newspapers started in their interest, and every measure taken necessary to success.

In this active state of preparation did the Reform Party meet the dissolution of Parliament on the 6th of December. The 1848. writs for the election were made returnable on the 24th of the following January. From the general tone of the public mind, it was confidently expected by Reformers that the Conservative Ministry had exhausted its popularity, and would scarcely be sustained at the polls. The result justified this expectation. The Conservative Party was so completely defeated, that it was evident the Reformers were in for a long continuance of place and power. All their principal leaders were returned: Hincks for Oxford, Baldwin for the fourth riding of York, Price and Blake for the first and second ridings, William Buell Richards for Leeds, John Sandfield Macdonald for Cornwall, and Malcolm Cameron for Kent. Wolfred Nelson was returned for the County of Richelieu, the scene of his exploits during the rebellion; and L. J. Papineau, who had meanwhile with Rolph and other pardoned refugees come back to Canada, was chosen as their representative by the *habitants* of St. Maurice. Papineau had better have remained in privacy. He soon found that he had outlived his once great popularity, and was bearded even as a coward by his former associate in rebellion, Wolfred Nelson, infinitely the better man of the two; who had lived sufficiently long to regret his own folly, and to honour the same Victoria against whose troops he had so stoutly contended at St. Denis.

Parliament met on the 25th of February, and the relative strength of the two parties was soon brought to the test. The Cabinet put forward, as its candidate, the late speaker, Sir Allan MacNab. Baldwin objected to his election, on the ground that he had no knowledge of the French language; and nominated A. N. Morin for the position, and was seconded by Lafontaine. MacNab was defeated on a vote of 54 to 19, and Morin was then chosen speaker by acclamation.

Elgin's opening speech was at once able and practical. The clause, however, which gave most satisfaction to the public, was one announcing that the Home Government would take steps to prevent a fresh emigration of the character of the preceding year,

and recommending that an act be passed to prevent the landing of undesirable immigrants. When the address in reply to the speech from the throne came up for consideration, Baldwin moved an amendment which condemned the policy of the Ministry, in remaining in office without having possessed the public confidence. This amendment was carried on a vote of 54 to 20 ; and, on the following day, Sherwood and his colleagues resigned their portfolios. Instead of following the example of all his predecessors, by acting the part of premier, and selecting his ministers, Elgin now adopted the more constitutional method, pursued by the sovereign, and sent for the leader of the Opposition, Lafontaine, to whom he entrusted the task of forming a new administration, with the full right to select his colleagues. It was speedily accomplished, and the second Lafontaine-Baldwin administration sprang forthwith into existence.* Thus calmly and constitutionally was formed one of the ablest Cabinets that has ever directed Canadian affairs ; and this country was at length endowed with the true inward essence and spirit, as well as the outward form, of Responsible Government. Had not, however, the commercial union of the Empire been finally abolished, by the repeal of the Corn Laws and other recent Imperial legislation, and had Canada still continued to reap substantial benefits, as in the past, from her connection with the Mother Country, there can be little doubt that the Home Government would have clung to established colonial policy and precedent, that the Governor-General would have remained as its first executive officer, and that the full measure of Responsible Government would not have been conceded. Political liberty had necessarily to follow commercial liberty ; and the total abolition of its preferential advantages in the Mother Country, led directly and at once to the practical independence of Canada. The consequence, in this case, logically and necessarily followed the cause. When Great Britain at last bowed down before the free-trade image which the Cobden school of political thought had set up for her adoration, drew the mantle of its selfishness about her future commercial fortunes, and practically cast off her colonies as old enough to shift for themselves, and with whom intimate relations were no longer desirable, she virtually closed the door against any present or prospective claims upon them. As she concluded to give nothing

* The Cabinet was composed as follows :—

LOWER CANADA.

L. H. Lafontaine, Attorney General ; James Leslie, President of the Executive Council ; R. E. Caron, Speaker of the Legislative Council ; E. P. Tache, Chief Commissioner of Public Works ; T. C. Aylwin, Solicitor General ; and L. M. Viger, Receiver General.

UPPER CANADA.

Robert Baldwin, Attorney General ; R. B. Sullivan, Provincial Secretary ; Francis Hincks, Inspector General ; J. H. Price, Commissioner of Crown Lands ; Malcolm Cameron, Assistant Commissioner of Public Works ; and William Hume Blake, Solicitor General.

in the future, it was only reasonable that she should expect nothing. A strong disposition was shown in England, at this period, to carry out this new policy to its final and logical issue, by ceasing to assume all future colonial responsibility, and even excluding the colonies from the British household. Wiser and better counsels, however, eventually prevailed, and while it was insisted that the colonies should be self-sustaining in every possible way, the formality of turning them out of doors was postponed for the present.

After a short session, and the transaction of some necessary business, Parliament was prorogued on the 23rd of March. Before it closed, however, the Indigent Immigration Act was hurried through its several stages. It provided for an increased tax on immigrants, and for better sanitary ship and quarantine regulations, and to prevent the landing of paupers. On returning to their several constituencies for an approval of their having accepted office, ministers were all re-elected, and at once applied themselves to the business of their departments.

While Canada was thus peacefully pursuing her onward and upward destiny, the Continent of Europe was suddenly convulsed by revolution. Louis Philippe fled from France, which now accepted a new republic, and the agitation speedily extended to adjoining countries. In England it revived the slumbering fires of Chartism, and its organ, the *Northern Star*, published by Fergus O'Connor, a brawling and ignorant demagogue, and one of the members for Nottingham, now became unusually active in support of the "Five Points of the Charter." A new monster petition, in their favour, was to be presented to Parliament on the 10th of April, and it was feared that the physical-force Chartists would avail themselves of that occasion to create a riot in London, after the style of the Parisian mob, in order to overturn the government; and extensive military preparations were quietly made by Wellington, to meet the threatened danger. But, while the troops were kept carefully out of sight, one hundred and twenty thousand special constables, armed only with batons, represented the majesty of the law, and standing shoulder to shoulder preserved order in the principal thoroughfares, while the vast procession moved along, and the threatened danger passed away. The Chartist proceedings in Glasgow and elsewhere were equally abortive; and it was soon apparent that the French revolution could not be repeated in the British Islands. In Ireland the response was a rebellion in miniature, under the leadership of Smith O'Brien and others, to be ingloriously suppressed, in a pitched battle, at Ballinagary in the County of Tipperary, by forty policemen, with a loss to the insurgents of seven killed and twice that number wounded, and a trifling loss on the other side.

The echoes of revolution in Europe at length touched the valley of the St. Lawrence, and produced unrest and excitement there as well as elsewhere. Although Elgin congratulated himself on the strength and loyalty of his new Government, he fully realised that

an uneasy feeling was abroad among the people ; and several times, during the summer, it appeared as if an invasion of the Province, by the turbulent Irish spirits in the United States, was designed. Papineau, jealous of Lafontaine, and of others as well, who had supplanted him in popularity and influence, was exceedingly anxious to win back his ancient prestige, and now stood ready to play his old part of the agitator, in order to recover it. Emigration to the New England States had even then become a chronic evil in Lower Canada, and its hierarchy, anxious to prevent it, had adopted the project of colonising the newly surveyed districts along the Saguenay and St. Maurice Rivers and elsewhere. A public meeting was convened at Montreal to consider this project, and Papineau promptly availed himself of the opportunity to foment trouble. He denounced British policy as tending to drive people out of the country, and as the source of all the evils they were suffering. But although this new movement was thus surrounded with a disloyal aspect, Elgin wisely threw no obstacles in its way, and a large home emigration to the new districts resulted, and for a time the exodus to the United States was seriously checked. As the year wore away there was no abatement of the commercial distress, and general scarcity of money. The free-trade policy of the mother country was working serious disaster to the mercantile classes of Canada, and the business failures continued to be very numerous. The repeal of the Navigation Laws would have greatly helped to relieve the monetary pressure and revive commerce, but a bill brought into the Imperial Parliament for that purpose, during the summer, after having passed the Commons met with such strenuous opposition in the Lords, that it did not become law until the following year. A large majority of the Canadian merchants and other capitalists were Conservatives of a pronounced type, and strongly demurred to having the government of the country in the hands of persons who had been mixed up, on the wrong side, in the recent rebellion. Papineau was soon busy at his old occupation, and although he could not move the *habitants* as in former days, and gathered no city following of consequence, he caused, in addition to other adverse circumstances, a good deal of discontent. He advocated electoral reform, and an elective Upper House, among other things, and earnestly denounced Responsible Government.—From all these causes there was a strong spirit of dissatisfaction among the great body of the people of both nationalities ; and Elgin found the task of preserving order, and avoiding giving offence, a trying one. He wisely met the difficulties of his position by adopting a mild and conciliatory policy towards all classes, and by earnestly pursuing measures for the general welfare.

Parliament met on the 18th of January. In his opening speech, to the intense gratification of the French Canadians, Elgin used both languages, now permissible owing to the recent 1849. repeal by the Imperial Parliament of the restrictive clause

in the Union Act. He announced the Queen's purpose to grant a general amnesty to all persons who had been concerned in the rebellion, that the Post-office would shortly be handed over to the Provincial authorities, that there was every prospect of the speedy repeal of the Navigation Laws, and that the St. Lawrence Canals were almost completed. The address in reply, after a lengthy debate, was passed by a majority of 48 to 18, and the business of the session was then proceeded with. One of the first measures was to pass an address to the Queen, urging the early repeal of the Navigation Laws, which was at once forwarded for presentation.—An Amnesty Bill was also passed, and Mackenzie, now the only remaining fugitive of any note, was at length enabled to return to Canada. Life had indeed been a bitter struggle for him during his eleven years' sojourn in the United States, and he gladly availed himself of the permission to again make his home in this country. A very important measure which became law, was a University Bill, framed by Baldwin, and which obliterated the Church of England features of the King's College Charter, and established a purely non-sectarian seat of learning, under the name of the University of Toronto. This proceeding led, at a later period, to the founding of Trinity College, a wholly Church of England institution. Several railway bills were also passed, as well as a Court of Chancery Act, which made some important and needed changes. The latter act owed most of its provisions to Baldwin, under whose immediate auspices it had been carried through the House, and he regarded it with a good deal of laudable pride. A few months after it had become law, Blake resigned his position in the Ministry, and became Chancellor. Among the other important measures of the session was a new municipal Act for Upper Canada, and a customs' Act. But the most important measure of all, was the famous Rebellion Losses Bill.

Up to this session of the Legislature, no action had been taken by the new Ministry with regard to the report of the commissioners appointed to enquire into the losses sustained in Lower Canada during the rebellion. Resolutions were now introduced by Lafontaine, on which to base a bill for the payment of these losses, which were passed with some amendments. The bill itself was subsequently brought in, and on a motion for its second reading, on the 13th of February, a stormy debate ensued. It was contended by the Opposition, that parties implicated in the rebellion must receive payment for losses under its provisions; and that it was unjust to charge this payment on the consolidated fund of the country, thus making Upper Canada liable for its proportion. On the other hand, it was urged, that it was not the intention to pay one shilling to parties concerned in the rebellion, but only to reimburse those whose properties had been wantonly destroyed without any due cause or provocation; that the present Ministry were merely carrying out the views of their Conservative predecessors in office; and that, as the payment of the Upper Canada losses had been drawn

from liceuses forming part of the consolidated fund, it was no injustice to make that fund also liable for the same purpose in the sister Province.

However correct these representations may have been, they had little effect in allaying the excitement, which rapidly spread from Montreal westward. Meetings were held in every direction, at which ministers and their adherents were denounced in unsparing terms. "No pay to rebels" became the watchword of the Conservative, and of a portion of the Reform, Party, and the old antagonisms of race burst out with extraordinary virulence. To escape from French domination, as it was termed, the more violent Tory members of the Conservative Party declared that they were prepared to go to any lengths—even to annexation with the United States, a project which in the passionate excitement of the moment was openly advocated. Men who had long made boast of their loyalty to the British Crown—of their hatred of republican license and extreme democracy, were now seen supporting the same treasonable measures precisely for which so many, in 1838, had perished on the scaffold. It was a rash procedure, and forms a mortifying epoch in the history of Canadian parties. When the excitement died away, and reason and reflection again resumed their sway, this annexation position was abandoned; but not, however, till the Reform Party had retorted the accusation of treason and disloyalty on their political foes.

But, fierce as the political storm was, the Ministry, sustained by a majority of both Houses, determined to face it and put the matter finally at rest. The passage of the bill was the condition of support from French members to Upper Canada Reformers; and if it were abandoned, aside from the moral cowardice this course would involve, that support could not be any longer looked for, and the loss of office must consequently follow. The bill was accordingly pushed through its several stages, in the face of the fiercest, and, at times, the most personal debates, and finally carried, on the 9th of March, in the Lower House by forty-eight votes to thirty-two, and, six days afterwards, likewise passed the Legislative Council by twenty votes to fourteen.

The preamble of this bill recited the different measures already taken by the Legislature, during preceding sessions, to pay the losses in question, and authorised the issue of debentures chargeable on the consolidated fund, to the amount of \$400,000, for their final liquidation. Alluding to the loose and unsatisfactory report of the commissioners, the preamble further declared, "It is necessary and just that the particulars of such losses, not yet paid and satisfied, should form the subject of more *minute enquiry under legislative authority*, and that the same, so far only as they may have arisen from the total or partial, unjust, unnecessary, or wanton destruction of the dwellings, buildings, property, and effects of the said inhabitants, and from the seizure, taking, or carrying away of their property and effects, should be paid and satisfied, provided

that *none* of the persons who have been *convicted of high treason*, alleged to have been committed in that part of this Province formerly the Province of Lower Canada, since the first day of November, 1837, or who, having been *charged with high treason or other offences* of a treasonable nature, and having been *committed to the custody of the sheriff in the gaol of Montreal, submitted themselves to the will and pleasure of Her Majesty*, and were thereupon *transported* to Her Majesty's Island of Bermuda, shall be entitled to an indemnity for losses sustained during or after the said rebellion, or in consequence thereof."

The adoption of Lafontaine's preliminary resolutions in the Assembly, and the introduction of a bill based upon them, led to the greatest excitement throughout the country. The Opposition in the House hastened to turn the measure to the account of party purposes, in the hope of winning some advantage; and, through their adherents, soon fanned into fury the flames of indignation and anger, which at once arose. Petitions, praying that the bill should not be allowed to pass into law, came pouring into the Legislature from every direction. Several petitions, of the same character, were personally addressed to Elgin, praying that he would either refuse his assent to the bill, reserve it for the consideration of the Home Government, or dissolve Parliament. This attempt to bring him into hostile collision with his ministers and the Legislature, placed Elgin in a serious dilemma. But, although he did not at all sympathise with the main principle of the bill, and regretted the diversion of the public funds from more utilitarian purposes, he determined to refrain from hostile action towards it.* This determination received additional weight from the fact, that out of ten Lower Canadians of British origin in the Assembly, six had voted for the measure. Its final passage was the signal for rioting and confusion throughout Upper Canada. In Toronto, occurrences of this description were coupled, by some of the city authorities,† with the recent return of Mackenzie, and excused on that ground. Baldwin and Blake were burned in effigy, the windows of the house in which Mackenzie was stopping were broken by an infuriated mob, and the dwellings of Rolph and George Brown sustained the same rough treatment. Mackenzie had chosen an inopportune time for his return to Toronto.

But, great as was the excitement in Upper, and also in some parts of Lower, Canada, particularly in Montreal, where the English-speaking element was still in the ascendant in point of numbers, it would have been much greater were it not for the general belief, that the Governor-General would either refuse his assent to this bill altogether, or reserve it for the consideration of the Home Government, which would no doubt have been the wiser course, as

* Elgin to Earl Grey, March 1st, 1849. *Reminiscences of Sir Francis Hincks*, p. 193.

† See proceedings of the Toronto City Council, March 28th, 1849

the public mind would have had time to cool in the interval, and regard matters more calmly. In this respect, however, those who inveighed against the measure were completely disappointed. Navigation had opened very early, and it was deemed advisable that the royal assent should be given at once to a customs bill, finally passed on the 26th of April. On that day, Elgin accordingly proceeded to the Parliament House, formerly St. Ann's Market, escorted by some cavalry, and gave his assent to the bill in question, and also to the Rebellion Losses Bill at the same time. Intelligence of this procedure was speedily circulated, and as he was leaving the House, he was received by a crowd with hootings and groans, while a knot of well-dressed individuals pelted his carriage with the missiles next to hand. Notwithstanding all this outside excitement, the Assembly still continued in session, the majority supposing that no violence would be offered to themselves. But Sir Allan MacNab held a different opinion, declared a riot might be looked for, and stated that it was advisable to call for military assistance.

Matters remained in this state till evening, no measures having been taken in the meanwhile to suppress a riot, presuming it should occur, owing to the imprudent confidence of the Government. Towards eight o'clock the fire-bells were rung to create an excitement, and a large number of persons speedily assembled at the Champ de Mars, where several inflammatory speeches were made. Presently a cry was suddenly raised: "To the Parliament House!" Thither the crowd immediately proceeded in a state of great excitement, and encountering neither police nor military to check their progress, their loud shouts and yells gave the first intimation to members, now discussing the judicature bill for Lower Canada, of the commencement of what was evidently a formidable riot. A few moments more, and a shower of stones dashed in at the windows, when the strangers' gallery was immediately deserted. Some of the members made their escape by this gallery, while others took refuge behind the speaker's chair.

Meanwhile, stones continued to be thrown, until nearly all the windows were broken. Presently, this mode of attack was discontinued, and the mob began to force their way into the building. A few men, armed with sticks, soon after made their appearance in the hall of Assembly, at the opposite end of which the remaining members and clerks now disappeared as rapidly as possible. One of the rioters then seated himself in the speaker's chair, and waving his hand said, "I dissolve this House." The work of destruction was now rapidly proceeded with. Benches were pulled to pieces, and piled in the middle of the floor with papers from the members' desks. Chandeliers and globe-lights were next broken, and the speaker's mace seized and carried off, despite the exertions of the sergeant-at-arms, who had the courage to remain.

Messrs. Robinson and Gagy did their best to expel the rioters; and Sir Allan MacNab employed himself in saving the Queen's picture, painted by Partridge, for which £500 had been paid.

Presently, the cry was raised "that the Parliament House was on fire!" and a lurid glare from the basement story bore painful truth to its correctness. Several gentlemen now exerted themselves to save some of the valuable books in the library of the Assembly; but the flames spread so rapidly that they were soon compelled to seek safety in flight. Some of them, however, remained so long in the burning building, that they were injured by the fire, and had to be rescued with ladders.

The military, who had at length been sent for, were available in keeping back the dense crowd; but nothing could be done to arrest the conflagration, or save the valuable libraries and public records, the destruction of which inflicted a lasting disgrace and irreparable injury on the country. The Paris mobs, in the midst of revolution and anarchy, respected public buildings, the libraries, and works of art; and it remained for the vandalism of Montreal rioters to inflict a public injury on themselves, of a character adopted by the Saracens and Huns, and other barbarians of the middle ages, to punish their enemies. Some fire-engines made a useless attempt to suppress the flames, which speedily illuminated the whole city, and threw out dense volumes of smoke, borne by the breeze towards the dark mountain, dimly visible in the background of the magnificent though painful spectacle. When the morning sun arose, the fire-charred and still smoking ruins of the Parliament House were all that remained of a vast amount of public property, more than equal in value, it was estimated, to the sum about to be expended under the Rebellion Losses Bill. Having fully wreaked their vengeance in this quarter, a part of the rioters conveyed the mace to Donegani's Hotel, where it was finally deposited, after some quarrelling among themselves, in the room occupied by Sir Allan MacNab. The *Pilot* office, where the ministerial paper was printed, was afterwards visited by the mob, and the windows demolished, when the work of destruction terminated for the night.

Next day, the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, came into the city from his country-seat, and made arrangements for the suppression of further disorder. Several arrests were made of parties accused of inciting the rioters to violence. The latter threatened to rescue them, and insulted and beat several Reform members, who were so unfortunate as to come in their way. The mob next beset the old Government House, in the city, where the members of the Ministry had assembled in council, but were forced back by the bayonets of the military. After nightfall the rioters received large accessions to their number, and presently a numerous body moved towards the St. Antoine suburb, where they completely wrecked the dwelling of the premier, Lafontaine, and burned down his stables. The windows of Baldwin's and Cameron's boarding-houses were next broken. Wolfred Nelson's house shared the same fate, as well as the houses of Hincks, Holmes, and Charles Wilson. Objections being made next day to the military doing police duty, a body of French and Irish constables were sworn in,

and the rumour that these were being armed and drilled at the Bonsecours Market, threatened for a while to produce a fresh riot.

The arrival of a deputation from Quebec (the inhabitants of which had a keen eye to the removal of the seat of Government to their own city) to offer protection to the Governor-General, renewed the excitement, and loud threats were made of violence to its members. But during the day they prudently remained in the French-Canadian suburb, and entered the city in the evening without exciting observation. The loyal inhabitants of Montreal now held a public meeting, and circulated an address, signed by two hundred respectable names, inviting the citizens to co-operate in the preservation of peace and order, which had a tranquillising effect.

But a new source of public uneasiness speedily arose. During the 28th, the Assembly had agreed upon an address to the Governor-General in connection with the recent riots, and it was arranged that he should receive it at the Government House, instead of at Moncklands. Escorted by a troop of volunteer dragoons, and accompanied by several of his suite, Elgin, accordingly, drove into the city on the 30th. He was greeted with showers of stones in the Haymarket, and in Great St. James and Notre Dame Streets, and with difficulty preserved his face from being injured. When he entered Government House, he took a two pound stone with him, which he had picked up in his carriage, as evidence of the most unusual and sorrowful treatment Her Majesty's representative had received. Captain Weatheral, a magistrate, read the Riot Act, and ordered the infantry on guard to charge. But the crowd had no ill-feeling towards the military, and cheered them as they ran out of their way. They waited patiently, expecting the reappearance of the Governor-General, in order to renew their assault upon him. But instead of turning round up Notre Dame Street, he doubled on the mob, and passed rapidly along in the direction of Sherbrooke Street. Cabs, caleches, and everything that would run, were at once launched in pursuit, and crossing his route, Elgin's carriage was bitterly assailed in the main street of the St. Lawrence Suburbs. The good and rapid driving of his postillions, enabled him to clear the desperate mob, but not until the head of his brother, Colonel Bruce, had been cut, injuries inflicted on the chief of police, Colonel Ermatinger, and on Captain Jones, commanding the escort, and every panel of the carriage driven in. It was the old war of races putting itself into a new shape, and British feeling was now venting its indignation in this riotous fashion for the imaginary triumph of the rebellious foe that had been so thoroughly crushed eleven years before. Nor did the excitement terminate with the assault on the Governor-General. A deputation from Toronto was made the occasion of a ministerial dinner, at Tetu's Hotel, on the 10th of May, when the cheering of toasts was met by groans from the mob outside. Presently, missiles were thrown, pistol shots fired, men wounded, and the arrival of a strong body of

military alone prevented a serious loss of life. Next day, Lafontaine's house was again attacked, but this time a volley of musketry compelled the mob to retreat; not, however, till one man had been killed. At the inquest, an attempt was made to fire the hotel where it was being held, and to do violence to Lafontaine during the confusion, but he was saved by a party of the 71st Highlanders.

The Government was greatly blamed, at the time, for not having taken proper precautions to suppress the riot which ended in the destruction of the Parliament buildings. But the truth appears to be, that despite the warning of Sir Allan MacNab, who was merely regarded as creating an alarm without due cause, there was no expectation of serious riots such as afterwards occurred. The action of the mob, in assailing the Parliament building, was the result of a sudden determination, and not of any previous plan. "I was myself," afterwards wrote Hincks, "absent at the time at my own house, and the first I knew of the attack on the public buildings was hearing that they were in flames.* The excited state of the public mind should most certainly have led to greater caution on the part of the Ministry, and to its over-confidence the success of the riot must, in no small degree, be attributed. Had a company or two of soldiers been placed on guard in the vicinity of the Parliament House, its destruction could scarcely have taken place. For some three months afterwards, Elgin did not again visit the city, and remained quietly at Moncklands. Although with an adequate military force at his command to insure his protection, he wisely determined to give no cause for fresh riot, and to refrain from any act, on his part, which might lead to loss of life; while, at the same time, he firmly determined not to yield to mob clamour or violence. This was his true policy, and speedily brought its reward. From all parts of Upper Canada—from his own countrymen in Glengarry, addresses of confidence and support poured in upon him, although his fiercest enemies in Montreal were the members of St. Andrews Society.†

The riots which had so rapidly followed in succession, and the apparent insecurity of life and property in Montreal, led the Legislature to resolve on the removal of the seat of Government elsewhere; and it was eventually determined to hold the meetings of Parliament alternately at Toronto and Quebec. Thus Montreal was most deservedly punished for the insane folly of its mob, instigated by a part of its newspaper press; and there is little prospect of a Canadian Parliament being ever again convened in a city, which, from its natural advantages, should be the capital of the Dominion. After sitting for a few days in the great hall of the Bonsecours Market, the Legislature moved into a large rented building on Dalhousie Square, where the remainder of the session

* Reminiscences of Sir Francis Hincks, p. 195. † Reminiscences of Sir Francis Hincks, p. 196.

was held. On the 30th of May the House was prorogued by Lieutenant-General Rowan, whom Elgin had commissioned as his deputy for that purpose.

The disgraceful riots in Montreal, and the gross personal indignities to which he had been subjected, led Elgin to tender his resignation to the Home Government. But the Queen and her ministers expressed their entire approval of his conduct, and urgently requested that he should retain his position.* While the Legislature was still in session, MacNab and Cayley left for England, with the avowed purpose of moving its public opinion against the Rebellion Losses Bill; and shortly afterwards Hincks also proceeded there in order to neutralise their proceedings. The whole matter soon came up in the Imperial Parliament, and produced a sharp debate in both Houses. But the Government was sustained in the Commons, although Gladstone spoke strongly in opposition; and even Sir Robert Peel highly commended Elgin for the course he had pursued. And despite the adverse eloquence of Lyndhurst and Brougham, who both strongly denounced the obnoxious Bill, it was also sustained in the House of Lords. The action of the Home Government and Imperial Parliament, placed the Canadian opponents of the Rebellion Losses Bill completely at fault, and greatly strengthened the hands of the Reform Party. The feeble cry for annexation to the United States, which was raised towards the close of summer, by a portion of the Conservative Party, had a similar tendency.

The political agitation of the period was rendered still more acute, by the prevailing commercial depression. During the month of October, a manifesto, addressed to the people of Canada, and signed by 325 of the leading merchants and other citizens of Montreal, depicting the wretched condition of the country, was widely circulated, caused much excitement and discussion, and led to the issue of similar publications in Toronto, Quebec, and elsewhere. Among the several remedies pointed out as the cure for the existing depression, was the revival of colonial protection in the Mother Country, a federal union or republic of all British North America, reciprocal free-trade with the United States, and a separation from British connection, and annexation to the neighbouring nation. The supposed advantages of the latter step were much enlarged upon; and it was suggested, at the same time, that Great Britain would offer no serious opposition to a proceeding which must greatly benefit this country. But the great majority of the people of Canada held wholly aloof from this agitation, and it presently collapsed.

Early in September, Elgin paid a visit to Upper Canada for a double purpose. He desired to make himself acquainted with the people, in the first place; and, in the second, to meet President Taylor, then visiting Niagara, in order to confer with him on the

* Earl Grey to Lord Elgin, May 18th 1849.

matter of reciprocity with the United States, which he had much at heart; and which he clearly saw would be the only adequate compensation, as regarded Canada, for the loss of the markets of the Mother Country. At Kingston the mayor and corporation presented him with an address; the people of the Niagara District welcomed him with enthusiasm; and in many of the western towns he was equally well received. During his entire tour he was only accompanied by an aide-de-camp and a single servant; and thus conclusively proved that he could travel through the Province without protection. At Toronto, a few missiles were hurled at him, as he drove through the streets, without, however, doing him the slightest harm; and at Brockville, on his return journey, Ogle R. Gowan saluted him, at the steamboat wharf, with a black flag. Early in November, while navigation was still open, the removal of the Government departments to Toronto took place. Elgin went with them; and Montreal was left to ruminate sadly over the serious loss it had sustained. Some changes in the Ministry now occurred. Viger retired, and was succeeded by Tache; Malcolm Cameron also resigned on some personal grounds, and Blake accepted the chancellorship, to be succeeded by John Sandfield Macdonald, of Cornwall. During the summer the Reform Party of Upper Canada began to divide itself into two sections, one of which was distinguished by its moderation, and the other by extreme political views. The first section, which had the *Globe* for its organ, was led by Baldwin and Hincks, and the second, whose cause was championed by the Toronto *Examiner*, now owned by James Lesslie, by Dr. Rolph, William McDougall, Peter Perry and Malcolm Cameron. The *Globe* christened the latter the Clear Grit Party, a name which still clings to it. It advocated universal suffrage, vote by ballot, free-trade, and direct taxation; and various other extreme measures of reform. In Lower Canada, a corresponding movement was set on foot by Papineau, which was organised at Montreal, and styled "*Le Partie Rouge*." Its membership was mainly limited, at the first, to young French-Canadians and a few extreme English-speaking Radicals; and its platform embraced, among other things, repeal of the union of the two Provinces, a republican form of government, and eventual annexation to the United States. After a little space the Rouges moderated their views somewhat, made many converts to their opinions, and became a permanent political institution, distinct from the Bleus, or Conservatives. The French-Canadian people were at length clearly divided into two distinct parties, of much the same complexion as those existing in Upper Canada. But the occurrences connected with the Rebellion Losses Bill were the great Canadian events of 1849. Parliament did not again assemble during the year, and towards its close the country was rapidly recovering from the injurious results of the violent political ordeal it had undergone. Much bitter feeling it is true remained. Magistrates were dismissed for undue opposition to Government, some rioting occurred

at public meetings convened to vote addresses to Lord Elgin, and a Conservative League was organised to give a systematic opposition to ministers. Yet, as the new year approached, time was gently laying its Lethean finger on political asperities, and the sound common sense of the Canadian people, so practical in their disposition, was gradually reconciling them to the new epoch which had opened on their country.

The final steps having been taken for the settlement of the Rebellion Losses question, the Ministry applied itself to the prosecution of measures for the better development of the 1850. general resources of the country. An agent was despatched to Washington to press reciprocity, or, as it was understood, the free interchange of agricultural and other products between Canada and the United States, on the notice of the American authorities ; and earnest efforts were made, at the same time, to establish our credit on a broader basis in the London Stock Exchange. The exertions of Hincks, in the latter direction, met with considerable success ; and Canadian securities now began to be quoted in the English money market. The doubtful financial situation, however, which had resulted from the recent Montreal riots, prevented, for the time, any extensive investment of foreign capital in these securities. Nevertheless, a solid foundation was laid for a better state of things in the future.

The Legislature assembled at Toronto, on the 14th of May, in the old Parliament buildings on Front Street, so long a landmark in the Province, and recently superseded by a modern and more imposing structure. The weather was delightful, and the streets of the city were crowded with strangers, who had come to witness the opening ceremonies. Elgin's speech presented no very remarkable features ; exciting political topics were wisely avoided, and a prudent desire to permit the past to be forgotten, as soon as possible, was apparent. The important changes, that had recently been made in the Imperial Navigation Laws, which freed colonial commerce from restraint, and opened the St. Lawrence to foreign shipping, were referred to as being most beneficial to Canada. He also spoke of the great improvement in the canal system, as tending to promote commercial interests ; the importance of establishing free-trade between the various British North American Colonies ; and the desirability of reciprocity with the United States. But nothing was said about the secularisation of the Clergy Reserves, an omission that led to a good deal of discussion both inside and outside the House ; and the *Toronto Globe*, although still supporting the Government, expressed its regret that the question had not been made a ministerial one.*

The non-committal character of the opening speech did not, however, prevent, when the matter of the address in reply came up, a violent debate which lasted a whole week. The Opposition in the

* See *Globe* of May 16th, 1850.

Assembly was now formed of three groups, destitute of any common political sentiment, and solely united in their hostility to the Government. Of these groups, the Conservative Party, embodying fifteen members, led by MacNab, John A. Macdonald, and Henry Sherwood, was first in importance; next came the Clear Grits, six in number, with Malcolm Cameron and Peter Perry at their head; behind them stood Papineau and the small Rouge Party he had created. Colonel Prince and three others figured as independents, and gave an occasional support to the Government. During the debate on the address, Prince presented a petition, signed, as he said, by numerous respectable Canadians, praying the House to address Her Majesty to the effect, that Canada might be relieved from its dependent state, and allowed to become an independent sovereignty. But Baldwin declared this petition—the product of hard times and discontent—to be treasonable in its character, moved its rejection, and was sustained by 57 votes to 7. Papineau, Malcolm Cameron and Prince, voted in the minority. The address in reply to the speech from the throne, was finally carried by a large majority, and the House at length settled down to practical business. During the progress of the session, Papineau again renewed his ancient advocacy of an elective Legislative Council, lost no opportunity of assailing the Government, and displayed a rancour that widened the breach he had already created between himself and the more moderate French-Canadians led by Lafontaine. Considerable discussion took place on the desirability of retrenchment in the public expenditure. But the matter of the Clergy Reserves overshadowed all other questions, and led to a prolonged debate. On the 18th of June, Price, Commissioner of Crown Lands, introduced, on his own individual responsibility, and without the sanction of his colleagues, a series of resolutions with the object of procuring the repeal of the applying part of the Imperial Act of 1840, in order to enable the Canadian Legislature to dispose of the Clergy Reserves. Lafontaine declared that he was opposed to diverting these lands to secular purposes; and Baldwin, while declining to go as far as this, combated the idea that vested rights could justly be set aside by the mere will of a majority, and felt unwilling to disturb the settlement of 1840. Hincks admitted the existence of wide differences of opinion on the Clergy Reserves' question; and, while evidently not wholly opposed to their secularisation, denounced the attempt to deal with them by a local bill as unconstitutional.* The line of the debate clearly showed that Lafontaine, Baldwin, and other old Reformers, were decidedly opposed

* Dent's Last Forty Years, p. 213. Any person who carefully reads Dent's work, from page 213 to page 217, must come to the conclusion that Baldwin was not favourable to the secularisation of the Clergy Reserves. At page 241, Dent finds fault with the author's former statement to that effect, although he had already virtually admitted it to be correct at page 213. If Baldwin were favourable to the secularisation of these Reserves, why did he not say so to the electors of York, when asked to pledge himself to that effect, or why did he not express himself in favour of Price's resolutions?

to the revival of this agitation, and were in favour of allowing the settlement of 1840 to stand undisturbed. The Assembly, however, met the difficulty, for the time being, by passing Price's resolutions on a vote of 46 to 23; and founding upon them an address to the Crown, asking permission to deal with the question at issue. In his despatch to the Colonial-Secretary, accompanying this address, Elgin expressed his regret at the renewal of the Clergy Reserves' agitation. While re-echoing this feeling, Earl Grey admitted that the question was one so exclusively affecting the people of Canada, that its decision ought not to be withdrawn from the local Legislature.* The action of the Assembly, in endorsing Price's resolutions, effectually calmed the existing agitation, and transferred the difficulty to the Imperial Parliament.

During the session the Lower Canadian question of the abolition of the "Seigniorial Tenure" led to prolonged debates, without, however, any positive conclusion being arrived at. No definite plan of commutation having been as yet framed, the matter had to be left over for future legislation. One hundred and forty-five bills were finally passed, and received the royal assent without a single reservation—a most unusual occurrence; and showing the existence at last of genuine Responsible Government. The House was prorogued on the 10th of August, and Elgin shortly afterwards made a tour to the western confines of the Province, and the mining regions of Lake Supérieur, and was well received by the people.

The harvest of 1850 was a bountiful one, and saved in the best condition. Prices were good, and money became more plentiful. Owing to the repeal of the Navigation Laws a large volume of trade passed up the St. Lawrence, and the harbours of Quebec and Montreal were crowded with English and foreign vessels. The canals did a flourishing business, several railways were in process of construction, and the expenditure on them, for labour and material, added new wealth to the country. The customs' revenue for the year almost doubled in amount, and the canal receipts showed a corresponding increase. In October, the Provincial Agricultural Exhibition was held at Montreal, for the first time, and proved a great success; and arrangements were begun for the representation of Canada at the London World's Fair. This pleasant state of things exercised a soothing influence on political asperities, which, towards the close of the year, became sensibly diminished in extent. A part of the Reform press, however, grew weaker in its support of the Government, owing to its appointment of some Conservatives to offices of emolument, and the *Globe* showed a disposition to attach itself to the rising Clear Grit Party; and declared that the Ministry had placed no definite line of policy before the country. † This outside pressure, resorted to for the purpose of forcing the Government into a more radical course than it was willing to follow, proved a source of no small embarrassment to ministers, spring-

* Grey to Elgin, January 27th, 1851. † See *Globe* of October 15th, 1850.

ing as it did from those who still called themselves their friends ; and led the public to look forward to the approaching session of Parliament with unusual interest. This feeling was increased by 1851. the result of a by-election for the County of Haldimand, which took place in April. There were no less than five candidates in the field, one of whom was a Conservative and four Reformers. Among these were William Lyon Mackenzie, who had again rushed into politics, and George Brown. The latter offered himself for election as a member of the Reform Party and a supporter of the Government, although disagreeing on some points with its leaders ; while Mackenzie, on the other hand, declared himself to be an independent candidate and opposed to the Government. "Beware of Mr. Brown," said he to the electors, "the advocate of high salaries and pensions, and the apologist of the Court of Chancery, bound hand and foot to a political party." But Brown would have been returned, nevertheless, had he not given serious offence to the Roman Catholic community, by a series of articles in the *Globe* condemning the Pope's Bull, creating a Papal Hierarchy in England, and appointing Cardinal Wiseman as Archbishop of Westminster. This action, coming in the wake of the Tractarian excitement, created a strong anti-papal feeling in England, which naturally reacted on this country. So Brown was defeated for his Protestant views on this question, and Mackenzie was elected for Haldimand, which he continued to represent for the ensuing seven years.

The earlier part of the year was chiefly distinguished by the efforts of the Roman Catholic population of Upper Canada to procure separate common schools, under a recent statute, wherever their numbers were sufficiently large to warrant such a procedure. A very general movement was also taking place in favour of the construction of railways in various parts of the Provinces. Hitherto, Canada had been too young a country to provide these costly modes of locomotion. Her noble canals and vast water frontage had also rendered them to a great extent unnecessary ; but the great increase of the inland population within the preceding few years, and the difficulty of conveying farm produce and lumber to the navigable rivers and the lakes, now rendered railways necessary to develop the resources of the interior. The post-office had at length been transferred to the Canadian Government, and great improvements had been made in that department. Letter rates had been reduced, and a single, or half-ounce, letter was now conveyed to any part of Canada for threepence currency. In the spring, prepayment letter stamps were issued, as in England and the United States. Thus, the country was steadily progressing, and from the numerous improvements observable in every direction, it was evident that the Canadas were rapidly recovering from the effects of partial rebellion and violent political agitation ; and that a long vista of national prosperity was now indeed gradually opening on the view.

Parliament assembled on the 20th of May. The occurrences of the session showed that the "Clear Grit" agitation was beginning to tell upon the House, and that, to satisfy it, more radical changes must be made. George Brown, who blamed the Ministry for not having actively supported him in Haldimand, had now become more open in his hostility, and severely criticised many of its proceedings; while within Parliament the support it received was becoming more lukewarm in its character. Baldwin became the first victim of this state of things. The Chancery Act of 1849 was mainly his measure, had already produced most beneficial results, and was regarded by him with much satisfaction. The Clear Grits had, however, made its abolition a plank in their platform, and Mackenzie had now completely identified himself with that party, although he still called himself an independent. Towards the latter part of June he brought forward a motion, to the effect, that the Court of Chancery should be done away with, and an enlarged equitable jurisdiction conferred upon the courts of common law. This motion, although voted down by the whole House, received the support of a majority of the Reform members from Upper Canada, a circumstance which so mortified Baldwin, that, accepting the Double Majority principle, he resigned his seat in the Cabinet, and afterwards absolutely refused to reconsider his determination. The announcement of his resignation was received in the Assembly with a very general expression of regret, and several members who had voted with Mackenzie, declared that they would not have done so had they for a moment supposed it would have produced such an unlooked-for result. For a time it appeared as if the other members of the Cabinet would have followed Baldwin's example, but were finally dissuaded by him from taking this step.

The fourth session of the third Parliament of United Canada terminated on the 30th of August. Elgin's speech, when he prorogued the House, reflected the general condition of the country. He alluded to the grants which had been made for the erection of lighthouses, improvements in the navigation of the St. Lawrence, reduction of the immigrant tax, and the favourable state of the revenue which had permitted the adoption of these and other measures of a kindred nature. He congratulated both branches of the Legislature on the steps they had taken for fostering railway enterprise, on the creditable appearance of Canadian industrial productions at the London Crystal Palace Exhibition, on the harmony which had characterised their own proceedings, and on the removal of prejudices and misgivings engendered by years of disquiet. At the same time, he declared his own determination to continue to administer the government in conformity with the wishes of the people, as expressed through their representatives.

The increased prosperity of Canada was now attracting a large measure of attention from other countries, and several of which evinced their desire to add to the volume of their commerce up the St. Lawrence. With the United States a large international traffic

had sprung up ; and Canadian imports and exports, passing in bond over the New York and New England railways, formed an important item of their business. This close community of interests led to the interchange of mutual national civilities. In the month of September, Boston distinguished itself by giving a grand fete to many of the principal Canadian merchants and public men, at which Elgin was present, and made a most happy speech tending to augment the mutual good feeling engendered by the occasion, as well as by the more enduring bond of identity of interests. But these occurrences, however satisfactory in themselves, did not diminish the dissensions within the Reform Party. In October, the Clear Grit element in politics pressed so embarrassingly on the ministerial leaders of that party, that it led to the reconstruction of the Cabinet, into which the whilom rebel refugee, Dr. Rolph, and Malcolm Cameron, were now received as the leading exponents of the new political faith. Into the hands of Hincks, as the most able member of the Ministry, these changes threw a large amount of additional influence. He now became premier, and speedily developed a financial policy, which subsequently shaped, in an eminent degree, the fiscal relations of this country. The reconstruction of the Cabinet was immediately followed by a general election, which introduced many new men into public life, while several of their old servants were rejected by the electors.* Among the latter was Robert Baldwin, who, like many other benefactors of their country, was now most ungratefully discarded by its democracy, and defeated in the fourth riding of York, by a hitherto unknown man, named Hartman, who appeared as the Clear Grit candidate. During the contest, the cry was raised that Baldwin was opposed to the secularisation of the Clergy Reserves, and had surrendered himself too much to French-Canadian domination ; and pledges were now demanded from him which he refused to give. He was not a professional politician, did not make his living by his Parliamentary position, and refused to abase himself before the electorate. "I go to the House a free man," proudly and independently said the noble-hearted Baldwin, "or not at all ;" and the greatest of Canadians was beaten at the polls. What a shameful reward for his disinterested and patriotic services ! John A. Macdonald was re-elected for Kingston, MacNab for Hamilton, and Richards for Leeds. In Lower Canada several of the more extreme

* The new Ministry was composed as follows :—

UPPER CANADA.

Francis Hincks, Premier and Inspector General ; William B. Richards, Attorney General ; Malcolm Cameron, President of Council ; Dr. John Rolph, Commissioner of Crown Lands ; and James Morris, Postmaster General.

LOWER CANADA.

A. N. Morin, Provincial Secretary ; L. T. Drummond, Attorney General ; John Young, Commissioner of Public Works ; R. E. Caron, Speaker of the Legislative Council ; and E. P. Tache, Receiver General.

Rouges, among whom was Papineau, were defeated by candidates avowing moderate principles. But, in the following July, the whilom rebel leader again found a seat in the County of Two Mountains. George Brown was returned for the County of Kent. He was now in bitter opposition to the new administration, and had already violently assailed Hincks, in several open letters in the *Globe* above his own signature. These letters were afterwards printed in pamphlet form, and had been widely circulated during the election. They charged the Inspector-General with various political sins—with having evaded the settlement of the Clergy Reserves' question, and with surrendering himself to French-Canadian influence.

The lapse of time had gradually assuaged the bitter asperities engendered by events which arose out of the rebellion, and the public mind now exhibited a desire to turn aside from 1852. exciting political topics, and apply itself instead to questions of social and physical progress. Hitherto, Canada had lagged far behind the United States in many respects; and English and other tourists not infrequently made most unfavourable comments on the backward condition of public improvements in this country. But a visible change for the better was now rapidly taking place. An act favourable to the formation of joint-stock companies had already given a great impetus to the construction of plank and macadamised roads, and in many other ways the industrial resources of the country were now developed. The cause of education, as regarded the masses, had also been materially advanced, by improvements in the Common School law, and the introduction of a uniform system of text-books; while an excellent Normal School at Toronto afforded the requisite facilities for the training of competent teachers for Upper Canada. The public mind of the country was evidently becoming eminently utilitarian, and readily applied itself to the development of railway projects of various kinds, as well as to the consideration of the best methods to promote more intimate reciprocal commercial relations with the United States. In the earlier part of the year, Hincks had gone to England to push forward the scheme of a Grand Trunk Railway, and the precise location of which continued to be a source of the most fruitful contention, owing to conflicting interests. From the discussion of these matters, the public, in the month of July, turned aside to regard the catastrophe of a terrible fire in Montreal, which laid a large part of that city waste, and rendered ten thousand people homeless. Great exertions were made to relieve the sufferers.

The seat of government had now been removed to Quebec; and there, accordingly, the new Parliament assembled on the 16th of August, and chose John Sandfield Macdonald as speaker of the Lower House. The Governor-General's opening speech alluded to the necessity of a change in the seigniorial tenure system, the expediency of having a line of steamers to sail from Canada to England, the advisability of an alteration in the currency, so as to

permit of accounts being kept in dollars and cents, and the propriety of increasing the Parliamentary representation—measures which were all subsequently adopted.

During the session, Hincks introduced a series of resolutions relative to the settlement of the Clergy Reserves' question, which passed; and declared, at the same time, that he felt confident the Home Government would shortly bring a bill into the Imperial Parliament, permitting the Canadian Legislature to dispose finally of a matter which had been such a source of prolonged agitation. The House, also, unanimously agreed to an address, requesting the Imperial authorities to make no advances to the American Government in the matter of the fishery dispute, unless in connection with the concession of reciprocity. Hincks exhibited a desire to retaliate on the United States for not conceding more intimate commercial relations, by adopting differential duties in favour of British commerce, and by shutting the Canadian canals to American shipping. The public voice, however, was at once raised against a narrow and suicidal policy of this kind, and the Ministry had to abandon it altogether. But the great feature of this session was its large amount of railway legislation, which placed no less than fifteen bills on the statute-book. Among these, the act relating to the incorporation of the Grand Trunk Railway was the most important. By its twenty-eighth section, the bonds of this company received the provincial guarantee to the extent of £3,000 sterling per mile. The same section further set forth, that for every £100,000 actually expended on this railway by the company, £40,000 should be guaranteed by the Province. By this act, a sum exceeding \$16,000,000 was in a few years added to the permanent liabilities of the country; and, in 1866, the total debt of the Grand Trunk Railway to the Government, principal and interest, had swelled to the enormous sum of \$23,000,000, of which there is no likelihood that any portion will ever be repaid.

But the inception of the Grand Trunk and other railway projects was not sufficient to satisfy the speculative mind of Hincks. In this session, also, was passed an act to establish a Consolidated Municipal Loan Fund for Upper Canada. This fund was to be under the management of the Canadian Government, and designed to enable municipalities to borrow money on the credit of the United Province for the construction of railways, macadamised roads, bridges, and other public works. Availing themselves of the provisions of this act, several municipalities rashly incurred liabilities which they were afterwards unable to meet, and much unwise speculation was indulged in. Subsequently, in 1854, it was found necessary to amend this act, to extend its provisions to Lower Canada, and to limit the "fund" to £1,500,000 sterling for each Province. The full amount of the loan was soon absorbed by Upper Canada, but the Lower Province acted much more prudently. Yet the entire public debt contracted in this way speedily reached the sum of about \$9,500,000; and as most of the borrowing muni- //

palities were utterly unable to pay the interest, the greater portion of it had to be met from the public exchequer, while Parliament was afterwards obliged to pass measures for their relief. Most of the works constructed were, however, of great benefit to the community, and aided in no small degree to develop its resources.

It will thus be seen that the legislation of the session of 1852 laid the foundation of a large addition to the liabilities of this country, and paved the way for the annual deficit which subsequently existed in the public revenue for so many years. At the close of 1852, the whole debt of Canada, direct and indirect, was \$22,355,413; the net revenue for the year amounted to \$3,976,706; while the expenditure was only \$3,059,081. This prosperous state of the finances placed the credit of the country on the soundest basis; and Canadian Government securities, bearing six per cent. interest, were now quoted at a premium of sixteen per cent. in the English money market.

This satisfactory condition of financial affairs very naturally led, at this juncture, to much unwise speculation, and to a rage for railway improvements beyond the immediate necessities, or monetary ability, of the country. Nor was the ample railway legislation of the Parliamentary session of 1852 deemed sufficient to meet the wants of the public in that direction. On the 10th of November, after a session of nearly three months' duration, the Legislature adjourned until the 14th of the following February; and on this occasion no less than one hundred and ninety-three bills 1853. were duly assented to by the Governor-General. Twenty-eight of these bills had reference to railway matters, and reflected the mania which had now seized possession so completely of the public mind. But, aside from legislation of this stamp, a large number of useful measures was passed, giving evidence of the energy and industry of the Ministry, and the desire of both Houses to further beneficial legislation. The Parliamentary Representation Act increased the members of the Assembly from eighty-four to one hundred and thirty, sixty-five for each Province, and more equally re-distributed the different constituencies. Montreal and Quebec were now to return three members each, and Toronto two; while some of the smaller towns in Upper Canada had adjoining townships attached to them, for the purpose of Parliamentary representation. This act was not to take effect, however, until the termination of the existing Parliament. The statute-book of this session also contained a new municipal act, a school act, an act to regulate the practice of the superior courts of common law, and several other measures of an elaborate character, which necessitated the greatest care in their preparation,—matters all alluded to by Elgin when he closed the Legislature, on the 14th of June, in a brief yet pertinent speech.

Meanwhile, the Home Government had procured the passage of a short bill in the Imperial Parliament, conceding to the Canadian Legislature the power to alter the appropriation of the Clergy Re-

serves, and to make such provision with regard to their future proceeds, as might be deemed advisable. But existing interests, in connection with these Reserves, were not to be interfered with ; and the annual stipends paid to the clergy of the Churches of England and Scotland, and of other creeds, were to be continued during the lives of the incumbents. This bill received the assent of the Queen on the 9th of May, was at once forwarded to the Canadian Government ; and there was nothing now to prevent the settlement of a question, hitherto so productive of bitter and persistent agitation in Upper Canada.

While the Canadian Legislature was still in session, no small excitement was caused at Quebec by the lectures of Father Gavazzi, an Italian priest, who had become a convert to Protestantism. On the 6th of June, the Presbyterian Church, where he was lecturing, was assailed by a riotous mob, the audience dispersed, and several of them seriously injured, while Gavazzi made his escape with no small difficulty. The rioters subsequently proceeded in search of George Brown, who was at this time regarded as the advocate of extreme Protestant views in the Assembly, with the object of wreaking their vengeance on him also, but fortunately were unable to find him. On the following day, this riot led, in the Lower House, to an informal discussion, but which was ruled out of order by the speaker when Brown rose to address it. Gavazzi at once proceeded to Montreal, where his lectures were the cause of renewed and more extensive rioting, which eventually terminated in a deplorable loss of life. On the 9th, while speaking in the Zion Congregational Church, an immense mob, chiefly composed of the lower orders of the Irish city population, assailed the building, despite the presence in its vicinity of a strong force of police and military. Stones were thrown, and some pistol shots fired by the rioters, as well as by parties inside the church at those outside, and the greatest confusion prevailed. The congregation at once dispersed, and while peaceably proceeding homewards as best they could, were fired into by the military, acting under the orders of Charles Wilson, the mayor of the city, who appears to have wholly lost his presence of mind on this unfortunate occasion. Some five persons were killed outright, and many wounded, but the correct number of the latter was never ascertained. The respectable citizens of Montreal were greatly shocked by this lamentable occurrence, which also produced the deepest feeling and excitement throughout the whole country. As Wilson was a Roman Catholic, and the Government did not proceed rigorously into the enquiry touching his conduct, the Protestant population became exceedingly indignant, and denounced the Hincks' administration in the most unsparing terms. These circumstances added very materially to the rising popularity of George Brown, and strengthened his hands, in no small degree, in the active opposition he had already commenced, in conjunction with William Lyon Mackenzie, to the Ministry.

Although the Cabinet had tided safely through the recent session of Parliament, with good majorities on all its measures, it was now quite evident that Brown's influence was steadily on the increase with the Reform Party of Upper Canada, and that his opposition must sooner or later be of a very embarrassing character. With the exception of Hincks, the Ministry was composed of very average men, and was, accordingly, weakened by the elevation, in July, of Attorney-General Richards to the judgeship which had become vacant by the death of Sullivan. The Solicitor-General West, John Ross, now became Attorney-General, while Joseph C. Morrison succeeded Ross. Rumours that the Ministry would not take immediate steps to secularise the Clergy Reserves, which received additional colour from remarks of the Postmaster-General, Malcolm Cameron, at a public dinner in the town of Perth, and from letters written by Hincks and Rolph to some of their leading Reform friends, tended also to seriously damage it with the public. Towards the close of the year, charges of corruption, and of using his exalted position for his personal profit, were brought against Hincks, and reduced it still further in public estimation. A suit in the Court of Chancery, in which Bowes, the mayor of Toronto, was the defendant, developed the fact that he and Hincks had purchased £50,000 worth of the debentures of that city, at a discount of twenty per cent., and that the premier had a bill subsequently passed in Parliament, which raised the value of these securities to par. Other charges of improper conduct, in connection with the purchase of some public lands at Point Levis, opposite Quebec and elsewhere, and designed to be re-sold to railway corporations, were also made against Hincks and other members of the Government, and had an additional damaging effect on its reputation. We may here state, that in 1855 a Parliamentary committee was appointed to enquire into the truth of these charges, which exposed a condition of things not at all flattering to the morality of the Hincks administration, and further developed the corrupting tendency of railway speculations.

Meanwhile Elgin and Hincks had proceeded to England, to take part in the negotiations, now pending, relative to the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States' Government, and 1854. for other purposes connected with Canada. They were well received by the Home Government, and met with great success as regarded the furtherance of reciprocity, a matter now regarded with deep interest by the people of Canada, as well as by the leading merchants of the American sea and lake coast cities, who must largely benefit by a liberal system of international traffic. All preliminary matters having been disposed of, Elgin, as the special envoy of the Imperial Government, proceeded to Washington, where, after long and protracted negotiations with the United States' administration, the final details of reciprocity were concluded, and the treaty signed on the 5th of June. Its ratifications were speedily exchanged, and the action of the several Legislatures

concerned was now alone necessary to give it practical effect. It was to continue ten years from the date of its going into operation, at the end of which term it could be terminated, on either of the parties thereto giving twelve months' notice to that effect. This treaty provided for the free admission from the British North American colonies into the United States, and *vice versa*, of the products of the farm, the forest, and the mine ; opened the in-shore sea fisheries of the Anglo-American waters to the fishermen of New England ; and conceded the free navigation of the River St. Lawrence and the Canadian canals to the United States' shipping, while the British craft acquired, on the other hand, the right to sail through Lake Michigan. It came into active operation in March, 1855, and gave a vast impulse to the commerce and prosperity of all the North American colonies ; but Canada was immeasurably the largest gainer by its provisions.

Under ordinary circumstances, Canadian Parliaments have usually been summoned to meet in the latter part of winter. It is the season, in this country, of greatest leisure, and when long speeches and late hours may be most easily indulged in. But the desire to let the public mind cool down, after the excitement produced by the recent charges against them, and the hope that it would be fully soothed by the satisfactory termination of the reciprocity question, induced ministers to defer the assembling of Parliament until the treaty had been first completed. The 13th of June was at length fixed upon as the day when it should meet for the despatch of business. It was duly opened by the Governor-General in a brief speech, in which he alluded to the recent destruction by fire of the old parliament buildings at Quebec, in the preceding month of February, which entailed a loss of at least \$100,000, to the war with Russia, to the conclusion of the Reciprocity Treaty, and to the necessity of bringing an act passed at the previous session, for the extension of the elective franchise, into early operation. To the Legislative Assembly he talked about the prosperous condition of the revenue, and the consequent propriety of making a reduction in the customs' tariff, and sought to propitiate that body by speaking of the proofs he had received in England of the great interest taken there in the affairs of Canada, and of its high standing in point of public credit. But there was nothing in the opening speech about the settlement of the Seigniorial Tenure question, now eagerly desired by Lower Canadians, nor the final disposition of the Clergy Reserves, so anxiously looked for by the people of Upper Canada. Deep, therefore, were the murmurs of dissatisfaction from all sides of the House ; and the Conservative Party, now led by Sir Allan MacNab and John A. Macdonald, drew closer its ranks, and eagerly watched for an opportunity to defeat the Ministry. That opportunity speedily came. Cauchon moved an amendment to the address, censuring ministers for not intending to bring in a bill for the immediate settlement of the Seigniorial Tenure question. To this, after a most acrimonious

debate, extending over several days, Sicotte tacked another amendment relative to the disposal of the Clergy Reserves, which was accepted by Cauchon, and, on the 21st, ministers were beaten by a majority of thirteen, in a House of seventy-one members. On the following day, at three o'clock, Elgin went down in state to the chamber of the Legislative Council, and, summoning the Assembly to his presence, abruptly prorogued Parliament, although not a single bill had been passed, with a view, as he stated, to its immediate dissolution. The Opposition were astonished in no small degree at this procedure, at once so unusual and so arbitrary. At the eleventh hour, MacNab, on behalf of the Conservatives, had offered to return a respectful answer to the address; but it was evidently part of Hincks' policy to force an adverse vote, with a view to a dissolution, and his vantage-ground once taken, he declined to recede from it. The proclamation dissolving Parliament speedily followed, and towards the close of July the country was deep in the turmoil and excitement of a general election. The personal standing of Hincks was still good. He was returned for two ridings, Renfrew and South Oxford; but his colleague in the Ministry, Malcolm Cameron, was soundly beaten in Lambton by George Brown, and soon after shrank into the obscurity of private life, from which he again emerged in 1860, as an elected legislative councillor, to possess himself ultimately of the lucrative office of Queen's Printer, the extravagance and impropriety of which, in his day of rampant Grittism, he had so often and so violently denounced.

Secure of a majority from Lower Canada, the Ministry had expected that a dissolution would strengthen their hands in the Upper Province. But the *Globe* newspaper, which had supported MacNab against Buchanan, a Hincksite, in Hamilton, was now more firm in its opposition than ever, and the *North American*, the *Examiner*, *Mackenzie's Message*, and other extreme Reform journals, regarded it also with no friendly spirit; while the whole Conservative press was exceedingly hostile. The *Toronto Leader*, a new, yet ably-conducted journal, continued to stand firmly by the Ministry, as well as the more moderate Reform journals generally. The newspaper press was, at this juncture, the true reflex of the public mind, and it was now quite evident that a deep schism was riving apart the hitherto solid ranks of the Reform Party of Upper Canada.

Such was the condition of affairs when the new Parliament assembled on the 5th of September. Defeat awaited the Ministry on its threshold. George E. Cartier, the member for Vercheres, was the ministerial candidate for the speakership of the Assembly, and was duly moved by Robert Spence, of North Wentworth, and seconded by Francois Lemieux, a Lower Canadian. On the part of the Opposition, Antoine A. Dorion proposed Louis Victor Sicotte, as the speaker, and had for his seconder Joseph Hartman, who sat for the extreme Reform riding of North York. Cartier

was defeated by a majority of three. The Lower Canadians gave the ministerial candidate a majority of nine, but he was in a minority of twelve as regarded the representatives of Upper Canada. Although this vote clearly indicated the hostile spirit of the House, the Ministry still clung to the hope that the liberal character of their sessional programme would rally some at least of the dissatisfied Reformers to their ranks. On the 6th, Elgin formally opened the Legislature with a speech designed to be of a satisfactory nature. He announced that the Imperial Parliament, in response to their address, had empowered them to make the Upper House elective, commended to their attention the settlement of the Clergy Reserves and Seigniorial Tenure questions, and urged the desirability of remodelling the tariff, so as to permit of the Reciprocity Treaty being carried into effect.

But it soon became evident, that even the satisfactory tone of his Excellency's speech had not strengthened the hands of the Ministry, and that it was the determination of the section of the Upper Canada Reformers led by Brown, to drive it altogether from office, and to unite, if necessary, with the Conservatives for that purpose. On the 7th, great efforts were made by the Opposition to weaken the Ministry still further; and so alarmed did one of its members, Rolph, now become, that he expressed his determination to resign. That evening a question of privilege having come up, a demand for twenty-four hours' delay by the Attorney-General for Lower Canada to consider the matter was refused by the House. Rolph voted with the Opposition, a circumstance which made the situation still more embarrassing, and the Hincks' administration had now no course left but to resign.

Although the Ministry had been driven from power by the union of the Brown party with the legitimate Conservative opposition, the followers of Hincks in the Assembly still formed a strong and solid body, who bitterly resented his fall, and stood ready to avenge it at the first opportunity. There were now in point of fact three distinct parties in the House—the old Reform Party, led by Hincks; the Brownite Party, composed of the extreme Reformers of Upper Canada and the *Rouges*, or Liberal Party of Lower Canada; and the Conservative Party. Of these the Hincks Party was much the more numerous, and with which neither the Brownite nor Conservative Party could singly expect to cope. MacNab, who had been sent for by Elgin, on the resignation of Hincks, to form a new Cabinet, measured shrewdly the correct situation of affairs, and at once proceeded to profit by it. His first step was to open negotiations with Morin, the leader of the Lower Canadian Conservative Party, which had hitherto supported the Hincks administration, with the view of forming a government on the basis of carrying out the measures of the late Cabinet. Morin and his friends disliked the section of the Reform Party led by Brown infinitely more than they did the Conservative Party of Upper Canada, and readily entered into the proposed alliance. Overtures

were next made to Hincks to secure the support of his party, which was speedily conceded on the consideration that two gentlemen, having the full confidence of himself and his friends, should be included in the new administration. After consulting with John A. Macdonald, and other Conservative leaders, MacNab agreed to the terms proposed by Hincks, and a Coalition Government forthwith made its appearance. As President of the Council, and Minister of Agriculture, MacNab stood at its head. Robert Spence became Postmaster-General ; John A. Macdonald, Attorney-General West ; William Cayley, Finance Minister ; and Chauveau, Provincial Secretary. This coalition, however, was not approved of by all the members of the Hincksite Party, several of whom at once went into opposition. Still, the new administration had a large majority to sustain it, and the Reform opposition stood for the present in a hopeless minority. Brown had been completely outwitted by the *coup d'état* of MacNab, and found himself utterly unable to reap any benefit from the important victory he had, after so much exertion, achieved. At the same time, the destruction of the Hincks Cabinet, and the consequent union of the Conservative Parties of Upper and Lower Canada, may be regarded as the death-knell of the old Reform Party, so long cohesive hitherto, and so formidable under the leadership of Robert Baldwin. And from that day to this that party has never recovered its ancient prestige. To John A. Macdonald the existing condition of affairs was quite satisfactory, and he stood prepared to work then, as afterwards, with any one who could bring him support ; but MacNab, now acting with politicians he had so frequently denounced, did not find the existing condition of matters entirely to his satisfaction. In deference, however, to the stronger will of his colleague, he meekly bowed to the force of circumstances, and the Liberal Conservative Party sprang into existence.

The new administration promptly proceeded to redeem its pledges, with regard to carrying out the policy of the late Cabinet, as announced in the Governor-General's speech at the opening of the session. Such of its members as belonged to the Assembly, and had to go back, therefore, to their constituencies for re-election, had been alike violently opposed by extreme Tories and extreme Reformers, but were all, nevertheless, elected. When they again took their seats, they found that an opposition to their government had been fully organised. It was composed of the *Rouges*, led by Dorion, of the extreme Reformers, or, as they were termed, Clear Grits, under the leadership of Brown, and of several moderate Reformers, who regarded John Sandfield Macdonald as their chief, and aiming to be consistent with party traditions, now refused to aid a Coalition Government in passing most important Reform measures. But ministers, nevertheless, did not hesitate to pursue the line of action which they had determined upon; and, on the 17th of October, a bill was introduced for the secularisation of the Clergy Reserves. The bitter hostility to the Church of England,

mainly produced by the course of Bishop Strachan as a politician, in so thoroughly identifying that Church with the obnoxious rule of the Family Compact, had at length culminated to its meridian, and nothing would now assuage the sectarian and political agitation but the utter alienation of the endowment. Regarded at first as the exclusive property of the Church of England, the claim of the Church of Scotland, to a share of the Clergy Reserves, had to be admitted after much agitation and a decision of the bench of English judges in its favour. At a later period, still less exclusiveness had been shown in the distribution of the proceeds of the lands, a large portion of which, under the provision of an Imperial Act, had been placed at the disposal of the Governor-General, for the benefit of the clergy of any denomination willing to receive public aid. Yet even this liberal arrangement was not deemed satisfactory ; and the agitation caused by the exclusive claim of the Church of England had scarcely ceased, when it was succeeded by another, which had for its object the entire alienation of the Reserves from religious uses. The Free Church movement, which had led to the Scottish secession of 1843, produced, in the ensuing year, a corresponding action in the Canadian Presbyterian body. It being a cardinal principle with the newly-organised church, that public aid, however unconditionally granted, was injurious to the cause of religion, its members at once united with the party who had from the first advocated the appropriation of the endowment to secular objects, and the agitation was again bitterly renewed. Robert Baldwin, a member of the Church of England, was, as we have already seen, opposed to secularisation ; and, despite his great public services, this circumstance had lost him the hearts of the Reform Party. Francis Hincks unquestionably had a covert dislike to the measure, despite his assertions to the contrary ; and although he eventually turned with the current it swept him to the bottom. The Conservative Party, mainly composed of members of the Churches of England and Scotland, clung to non-secularisation as the great mainstay of their political faith, and yet its leaders had now to bend to the storm. The Government measure speedily became the law of the land, the Clergy Reserves under its provisions were handed over to the various municipal corporations for secular purposes, and a noble provision made for the sustentation of religion frittered away so as to produce but very few beneficial results. The Churches of England and Scotland were violently dragged down to the level of other religious bodies, could no longer arrogate to themselves a state supremacy of any kind, and the democratic features of the country presented an evenness of religious surface which had hitherto been wanting. Bishop Strachan had led the Church of England in Canada to bitter and humiliating defeat ; and while the wise policy of the same church preserved its Trinity and other endowments in republican America, unwise assumption and clerical politics in monarchical Canada had raised up against it the most bitter and persistent foes, who had never ceased their efforts

till they swept almost every royal acre from its possession. But, a slender provision for the future was saved from the wreck of its Canadian fortunes. The permissory act of the Imperial Parliament had reserved the life interests of incumbents. These interests were now commuted by the Canadian act of secularisation, with the consent of the clergymen themselves; the foundation of a small permanent endowment was thus laid, to the great disgust of the Opposition, and the Clergy Reserves' question was fully and finally settled for ever.

But, while every semblance of a state church was being vigorously swept away in Protestant and Democratic Upper Canada, the Roman Catholic community of the Lower Province bowed contentedly to the government of their clergy, regular and monastic, who quietly collected their tithes, took care of their princely city endowments, erected splendid temples for their worship, and swayed the political aspirations of their flocks. No country in the world, not even excepting Spain, is such a paradise for the Papal clergy as Lower Canada. Secured in their broad possessions by the terms of the old French capitulation, they repose in peace under the solid and safe protection of the British flag; and revolution or annexation as regards them can only mean deprivation and misfortune. The simple and unlettered *habitant* bends willingly to clerical rule, as the best, not only for his spiritual, but even temporal welfare; while the more educated and refined, who aspire to political position, or social influence, find it a paramount necessity to bow to priestly domination. So complete, indeed, is its sway, that it passes onwards almost wholly unquestioned, and scarcely a murmur against its despotic authority escapes from within its portals to the world outside. In Montreal, its religious and educational foundations are wealthy and imposing; there its structures constantly assume grander architectural forms, whilst its Jesuit and other churches are either marvels of size or of splendid interior decoration. In Quebec, its huge temples tower upwards in a solidity of construction which promises perpetual duration, while all around is touched with the finger of decay and departing prosperity. In the rural districts its churches are the great features of the level landscape, and their spires even glance in the far-off northern sunshine, which lights so coldly the ripples of the romantic and rock-bound Saguenay. And yet this church, so massive in its foundations, so repressive in its tendencies, so fatal to freedom of thought, so crippling to national progress, was so politic in its general course, that it excited none of the indignation which had rolled so constantly and persistently against the Church of England; and the agitation against state endowment in Upper Canada did not make even a solitary rent in its armour. Whatever uneasiness might have possibly been produced by the agitation against the Clergy Reserves in the minds of its flocks, was skilfully turned by the clerical order against the abuses of the Seigniorial Tenure, and the public voice of Lower Canada, under its direction, now loudly demanded the abolition of

this residue of the feudal ages. Anxious to establish an aristocracy in Canada, as the basis at once of religious and regal influence, the French Crown, from time to time, had granted large tracts of land to younger members of ancient families; and the patents on which these were held confirmed to them, in addition, many of the privileges accorded to the *noblesse* of old France. Years elapsed, even after the Conquest, before these privileges were found to be very oppressive. But although the charges on the lands were never high, the heavy payments accruing to the seigniors on the transfer of property, and the repression of industry caused by milling and other vexatious monopolies, led to a very general desire for the abolition of the system. The bill to effect this object passed through the Assembly in conjunction with that to secularise the Clergy Reserves, and made provision to have the claims of the seigniors, as defined by a commutation commission, paid from the public chest. Five years afterwards, the expenditure under this act had reached to about \$1,000,000; not a large sum, certainly, for the valuable results achieved. Several other important measures were also passed during this session. The Grand Trunk Railway Act was amended, a new Customs Tariff adopted, the Canada Ocean Steamship Company incorporated, and effect given to the Reciprocity Treaty. On the 18th of December, the necessary legislation having all been completed, Parliament was adjourned, with the usual formalities, to the 23rd of the ensuing February. On the following day, Lord Elgin, who had committed the fatal mistake of identifying himself too closely with one of the political parties of the country, gave up a government so fruitful of personal humiliation to himself, and at once proceeded home. The tide of public opinion had again set strongly in his favour, but his memories of Canada were laden with too many indignities to render a longer residence in it either pleasant or desirable. No doubt, also, he anticipated other employment from the Imperial Government. After his subsequent mission to Japan and China, he closed a great and useful existence in the governor-generalship of India, the highest post in the gift of the British Crown, and became another distinguished victim to a climate so fatal to European life. He left England, never to return, in 1862, reached Calcutta in March, and in its magnificent vice-regal palace, at once proceeded to make himself acquainted with his onerous duties. In October, 1863, while on a tour of the North-West Provinces, he died of heart disease at Dhurmsala, within the shadows of the Himalayan Mountains, and was buried there at his own request in a spot selected by his wife. Hincks remained in Canada but a few months after the departure of Lord Elgin. He had already outlived his once great popularity; and the union of his immediate followers with the Conservatives, and the charges of corruption against himself, although grossly exaggerated by his political enemies, so thoroughly alienated the bulk of the Reform Party of Upper Canada, that his political influence, as a member of that party, must have been

destroyed for all time to come. In England, Lord Elgin no doubt stood his friend ; and the Palmerston administration, not unmindful of his services, appointed him to the governorship of Barbadoes and the Windward Islands ; and eventually solaced him for the loss of his Canadian influence by the honour of knighthood. Having administered his West Indian government in a very creditable manner for six years, he was elevated to a higher post, as the Governor of British Guiana, which he held until 1869, and then retired upon a pension. After a brief sojourn in England, he returned to Canada, the land where his early political reputation had been solidly laid, took up his residence in Montreal, and shortly afterwards became Finance Minister in the Macdonald Cabinet. On his subsequent retirement therefrom, he again returned to Montreal, became concerned in several commercial projects there, wrote a Political History of Canada, and the "Reminiscences of his Public Life," which was published in 1884, and died from an attack of smallpox, then very prevalent in the city, some time afterwards.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR EDMUND W. HEAD.

SIR EDMUND W. HEAD, appointed at the ripe age of fifty years as the successor of Lord Elgin, was descended from an ancient and honourable English family of Kent. As a gentleman-commoner of Oriel College, Oxford, he had distinguished himself for a close application to philosophy and rhetoric, 1855. finally passed a brilliant examination, was almost immediately afterwards elected to a fellowship, and received the appointment of tutor to Mereton College. A clever article from his pen in the *Quarterly Review* introduced him to the notice of the Marquis of Lansdowne; by whom, shortly afterwards, he was created an assistant poor-law commissioner, at a salary of £1,000 a year. In this office Sir Edmund acquitted himself so well, that a change in the administration only tended to advance his interests; and Sir James Graham promoted him to be chief commissioner, and doubled his remuneration. But the assaults of a portion of the London press, and the dissatisfaction of the public with the new Poor-Law Act, which he had mainly framed, compelled his retirement from office, to be appointed governor of New Brunswick, and to be elevated, subsequently, to the more important position of Governor-General of British North America. Such, then, was the man, under whose auspices the adjourned session of Parliament was opened on the 23rd of February. During the recess, several changes had taken place in the Lower Canadian section of the Ministry. Morin resigned the Commissionership of Crown Lands, to be succeeded by Joseph Cauchon, Cartier had replaced Chauveau as Provincial Secretary, and Chabot made way for Lemieux in the Department of Public Works. But the Coalition Cabinet, nevertheless, still held the reins of power firmly in its hands; and throughout the session the Opposition continued in a large minority on all important questions.

On the 27th, a despatch from the Colonial Secretary to the Governor-General, which gave evidence of the kindly spirit that now subsisted between the Mother Country and her cis-Atlantic daughter, was laid before the House. It acknowledged the receipt of the cordial congratulations of the Parliament of Canada on the

victory gained by British and French arms on the heights of the Alma, and of two drafts of £10,000 sterling each, voted towards the relief of the widows of the soldiers and sailors of both nations slain in the war. Nor was this spirit of sympathy with the motherland in her difficulty restricted to the Parliament of this country. It produced the subscriptions, for the same benevolent purpose, of the cities and towns throughout the land, and otherwise evoked a deepened feeling of natural affection in the hearts of the people.

The session terminated on the 30th of May, after the unusual number of two hundred and fifty-one bills had been enacted. A large and solid majority had enabled the Ministry to transact a very great amount of business. The Opposition, still led by George Brown, had not improved its position by the occurrences of the session ; and, intensely disliked as its leader was by the majority of the French-Canadians, it would now seem as if the Coalition Cabinet was destined to have a long lease of power. The Governor-General's closing speech supplied a historical retrospect of value. He alluded to the Clergy Reserves Act of the preceding session, as being based on liberal principles, and respecting individual rights ; to the Seigniorial Tenure Act, as effecting great changes, with some individual hardship, but establishing Canada as the only country in the world where the feudal system had expired without violence and revolution, and to the benefits already arising from the operations of the Reciprocity Treaty. Great issues had, indeed, been for ever disposed of ; Head had no public evils of magnitude to dilate upon ; and, secure in the most ample guarantees of their rights, the people of Canada could now apply themselves, without let or hindrance, to the full development of their material prosperity. A brief paragraph in the speech set forth, that a measure, passed during the session, had provided for the improved organisation of the militia and volunteers. This was the first step taken towards the creation of a volunteer force in Canada. Hitherto, in time of peace, the militia was simply a paper organisation, and the regular troops were alone available in the event of any sudden emergency. But the new Militia Act produced a most important change for the better in this respect, and ultimately led to the formation of well-drilled and efficiently-equipped volunteer corps throughout the whole of Canada ; an element of additional security in time of peace, and an admirable nucleus for a militia army in the event of war.

The year 1855 may be regarded as constituting a fresh landmark in the commercial annals of Canada. The general policy of the Peel administration, which culminated in the repeal of the Corn Laws, had terminated the protective and discriminative Home and Colonial system of trade. Up to that period the commercial legislation of Canada had been made to harmonise, as far as possible, with the Imperial practice. But, left to shift for herself as best she could, the Legislature abolished in 1848 the differential duties in favour of direct trade with Great Britain ; and the repeal of the

Imperial Navigation Laws, in 1849, still further loosened the commercial bonds between Canada and the Mother Country. As a necessary consequence, the trade policy of the Colony again became the reflex of that of the parent land; and the Reciprocity Treaty was the coping-stone of a system, inaugurated six years before, which opened wide the portals of the Canadian markets on equal terms to all the world, and commenced a new and more enlightened era of commercial intercourse. With the close of 1854, the old trade period may be said to have fully terminated. During that year the imports into Canada had amounted to \$40,529,325, on which, at an average rate of twelve per cent., the duty collected was \$4,900,769, while the exports were only \$23,019,190. The total public revenue from all sources was \$6,088,110, against an expenditure of \$4,171,941, thus leaving a large surplus, which permitted, in 1855, the reduction of the Customs' Tariff to ten per cent. On the other hand, the legislation of the three preceding years had increased the public debt by \$21,000,000, and this debt, at the beginning of 1855, had swelled to \$38,851,833. The greater portion of the new debt had been contracted for the Grand Trunk and other railways, of which three hundred and thirty miles had now been opened, despite the severe monetary pressure mainly resulting from the Crimean war. Towards the close of the summer the Grand Trunk Railway had been completed to Brockville, one hundred and twenty miles above Montreal, and some of the piers of Victoria Bridge had also been constructed. The rejoicings of the railway opening followed close upon those for the Fall of Sebastopol—an occurrence which illuminated almost every city and town from Gaspe to Goderich.

The commencement of the new year brought with it no event of importance to record. Railway matters had not yet begun 1856. to seriously vex the public mind; and beyond a very slight agitation relative to making the Legislative Council elective, and the seat of government question, no political excitement whatever existed. From the general tone of the Reform press, however, it was quite evident that the feeling of antagonism to MacNab's government was on the increase. It was too liberal and progressive to suit the Family Compact wing of the Conservative Party, but not sufficiently extreme to meet the views of that portion of the Reform Party which acknowledged the leadership of George Brown. This gentleman, destined at a more recent period to fill a very prominent position in this country, was born in Scotland, at the city of Edinburgh, in 1821. In 1838 his family emigrated to New York city, where his father, Peter Brown, a man of large general information and excellent abilities, commenced the mercantile business. But his success not being commensurate with his expectations, he entered, in 1842, upon the career of a public journalist, and issued a weekly newspaper, intensely Anglo-Saxon in every respect, called the *British Chronicle*. Its proposed field of operations was already, however, too completely filled by the

Albion; so the *Chronicle* only lived for the brief space of eighteen months. In 1843 the family removed to Toronto, where George Brown became the publisher, in the interests of the Free Church Presbyterians, of a weekly newspaper termed the *Banner*. In 1844 the publication of this journal was relinquished for that of the *Globe*, a newspaper devoted to Reform politics, general news, and literature, which very speedily attained to a most influential position. In 1849 he was appointed, by the Baldwin-Lafontaine Ministry, as a commissioner to investigate certain alleged abuses in the Provincial Penitentiary, a trust he discharged with much ability and benefit to the country. In December 1851 he was first elected to the Legislature, as member for the county of Kent, and his unquestionably great abilities soon raised him to a conspicuous position.

A man of this stamp, whose personal exertions in behalf of his party were aided by the great influence of the leading Reform journal of Upper Canada, could not be otherwise than a most formidable opponent. Gifted with a clear and vigorous intellect, possessed of habits of great industry, and of the most indomitable perseverance, his information extended over every branch of the public service, and eminently fitted him for the position of a partisan leader and successful agitator. It is a somewhat singular circumstance, that as regards the latter capacity, this country should be so much indebted to natives of Scotland instead of to its more mercurial citizens of Irish origin. The eccentric Gourlay effected, indirectly, no small amount of good for Canada; his mantle fell upon the shoulders of William Lyon Mackenzie, to produce, indeed, the miseries of rash and causeless rebellion, but, at the same time, to hasten the advent of "Responsible Government," the redress of numerous abuses, and the dawn of a new, more enlightened, and more healthy epoch. Of a far superior stamp to his two predecessors, Brown's intellectual standard was commensurate with the modern and more advanced period of Canadian progress; and if the want of tact, and an inaccurate perception of the true idiosyncrasy of this country, led him occasionally into fatal errors of statesmanship, posterity, nevertheless, must confess itself deeply indebted to him for a manly exposure of public abuses, and for restraining the current of corruption, which railway and other kindred speculations turned at one time so strongly upon Canada.

Early in 1856, Brown's peculiar views, as well as his public policy, were rising rapidly into favour with the Reform Party of Upper Canada. His sturdy Protestantism not only rallied to his side the Free Church and Methodist denominations, which had hitherto entered largely into the composition of that party, but was also awakening a profound sympathy in the Orange element of the Conservative ranks. The agitation against the influence of the Roman Catholic priesthood, now unquestionably very great, and against Lower Canadian domination, was already becoming popular in the Upper Province; and the Baldwin and Hincks' policy of a

union with the French Conservative or Church party, was almost entirely abandoned by the western Reformers.

Such was the condition of affairs when Parliament, on the 15th of February, assembled at Toronto, whither the seat of government had now been removed. The Governor-General's opening speech set forth that there was a large balance of Clergy Reserves' money awaiting distribution among the several municipalities, that the subject of an elective Legislative Council (the old dream of the visionary Papineau) would again be brought before Parliament, recommended reforms in the Legislature, in the police system, and in prison discipline; stated that a contract for a St. Lawrence line of ocean steamers had been completed, and congratulated the country on the inestimable blessing of profound peace, while other parts of the world were suffering the privations and miseries of war. A bitter debate on the address ensued, and ministers were most violently assailed, not only by Brown and his friends, but also by several Conservatives, who disliked their secularisation of the Clergy Reserves, or were tainted by the extreme Protestant views propagated by the *Globe* newspaper, and by other journals of a kindred stamp. The Cabinet ultimately carried the address by a good majority, yet it was quite evident that its position was not by any means a secure one, and that the desertion of many of its supporters might now take place at any inauspicious moment. On the 10th of March, John Hillyard Cameron, subsequently Grand Master of the Orange Association for many years, moved for a copy of the charge delivered to the jury by Judge Duval, on the trial of several men at Quebec for the murder of a Protestant, Robert Corrigan, in the neighbouring township of St. Sylvester. The judge and jury were all Roman Catholics, and the acquittal of the accused, in the face of evidence generally deemed conclusive, gave a partial aspect to the proceedings, which awoke a storm of indignation on the part of the Protestant population of the country. No previous trial had ever so deeply moved the public mind of Canada, or caused such bitter feeling on the part of the western press; and for a time it seemed as if the Orange element would ally itself permanently with the Reform Party. The formation of a new and exclusively Protestant party was now advocated by the *Globe* and its immediate partisan contemporaries, while several Conservative journals leaned strongly in the same direction. Under these circumstances, Cameron's motion placed ministers in the most serious dilemma. If they agreed to its passage, and so permitted Judge Duval's charge to be reviewed by the House, their French-Canadian supporters would be seriously offended and alienated; while, if they pursued the opposite course, they must expect to lose the votes of some Protestant Conservatives. Skilfully covering their procedure by constitutional pleas, ministers refused to agree to the motion, and were defeated by a majority of four. They declined, however, to regard this as a vote of "want of confidence," on the ground chiefly that a subsequent division, the same evening, showed

that they had still the support of the majority of the House. These occurrences, in addition to the bitter sectional conflict caused by the "seat of government question," still undecided, materially weakened the Ministry; and it now became evident, that some changes must be made in its composition, or it would ere long be compelled to surrender the reins of power into the hands of the Opposition. Its Hincksite section cavilled at the premiership of Sir Allan MacNab, on the score of his past Family Compact proclivities, and imagined that if he were compelled to retire altogether from the Cabinet, it would strengthen its hands with the Reform Party, and disarm the hostility of its press. Born at the town of Niagara, in 1798, MacNab had soldiered it stoutly during the three years' war with the United States, was long a member of the Canadian Legislature, and, as we have already seen, rendered important services during the dark period of the rebellion. Solid, loyal, and respectable, his past excellent and consistent record, and not his brilliancy of intellect, had raised him to the position of a party leader. But ambition could no longer endure even respectable mediocrity, and his colleagues now determined to sacrifice MacNab, with the double object of propitiating the Opposition, and of making way for the more able leadership of the Attorney-General, John A. Macdonald. The intrigue was successful, and on the 23rd of May the Premier resigned, to be succeeded by Tache, a member of the Legislative Council, and a French-Canadian of respectable reputation and abilities. But Macdonald, as the ministerial leader in the Assembly, was the real head of the administration; and from that day to his death, in 1891, he occupied a foremost place in the public councils of his country. Like many other political notabilities of Canada, he had been the architect of his own fortunes, and his biographical story may briefly be told. The son of Scottish parents, who established themselves in the city of Kingston, he applied himself, in 1829, to the study of the law, although then but fifteen years of age, and had barely attained his majority when admitted to the bar, a matter at that day of even less difficulty than it is now. A brilliant defence of the unfortunate Pole, Von Schultz, captured at the battle of the Windmill, in 1839, brought the young lawyer into prominent notice; and his great tact, genial nature, and affable manners made him a favourite with the public, and added to his rising reputation. In 1844 he was elected for Kingston, and long continued to be the member for that city, despite various attempts to unseat him. Attaching himself to the Conservative Party, he was appointed, in 1847, Receiver-General in the Draper administration, but had only a brief term of office, owing to its defeat in 1848. For the ensuing six years, Macdonald remained in opposition, and, on the resignation of Hincks, his counsel and assistance led, in no small degree, to the formation of the coalition Ministry. A ready and fluent speaker, tenacious of purpose, possessed of great tact and sterling administrative ability, he filled a most prominent position as a public man,

through a long, and at times most critical, period for this country ; and tided safely over difficulties of the most serious kind.

Such was the person who became the Conservative leader of Upper Canada in 1856, and whose elevation speedily produced a reaction in favour of the Cabinet. Under his auspices it passed safely through a stormy session, which terminated on the 1st July, and placed several important measures on the statute-book. Foremost among these was the Common Law Procedure Act, which greatly simplified and expedited the proceedings of the Courts of Queen's Bench and Common Pleas in Upper Canada, and another act which effected the same results as regarded its county courts,—both much-needed measures of law reform. An act was also passed during the session, making the Legislative Council elective, and permitting the existing incumbents to hold their seats during life, but adding twelve elected members, whose term of office was eight years, to their number every two years. The lapse of time demonstrated this measure to be a failure. It neither tended to make the Upper House more popular, nor the elected members superior to those hitherto appointed by the Crown. The elective system, as regards the chamber of the same character, has accordingly been abandoned under the Confederation Act, and the old and more constitutional mode of appointment again resorted to. During the session, a bitter quarrel arose between John A. Macdonald and George Brown. The latter had at once sprung to a foremost position in the House, and despite the crudeness and ungracefulness of his eloquence, his vigorous speech, wide range of information, earnestness of manner, and fluency of invective, made him a most formidable antagonist. During the debate on the address, which lasted for over a week, he was taunted with having changed his political views since the last general election, in which he had supported Conservatives, like MacNab, John A. Macdonald and Cayley, in opposition to Reform candidates favourable to the Hincks' administration. Stung to the quick he vigorously struck back, and made a fierce attack on Macdonald, and also on Spence, the Postmaster-General. Macdonald's anger grew excessive under this assault, and in the moment of excitement he electrified the House by accusing Brown, when acting as Penitentiary Commissioner in 1848, of having falsified testimony, suborned convict witnesses, and obtaining the pardon of murderers to induce them to give false evidence. Brown at once repudiated these grave charges, declared they had not the slightest foundation in fact, and stated that he would hold the Attorney-General strictly accountable for making them. On the following day he moved for a committee of seven members to enquire into their truth. That committee sat during the session, but could not come to an unanimous decision, and finally handed to the House two separate reports. The majority report, while it did not find Brown guilty of any of the charges made against him, stated that the Penitentiary Commissioners, in compiling their report, had omitted certain evidence favourable to the defence, and that to such

extent there had been a falsification. But this was the act of the commissioners as a body and not of Brown alone, and might have resulted from an oversight or an error of judgment. "How far Mr. Brown," said the majority report, "who conducted the affairs of the commission, and in fact was secretary, also, was to blame separately from his colleagues, your committee express no opinion." The minority report completely exonerated Brown from all the charges made against him. The bitter feud which thus arose between the two Parliamentary leaders was never afterwards wholly healed. Macdonald never withdrew his charges, and Brown never wholly forgave his assailant, whose experience he made a bitter one on many a subsequent occasion.

Aside from Parliamentary matters, but few events of note, intimately affecting this country, transpired during the year. On the 12th of March, a terrible railway accident, the first of the kind which had occurred in Canada, awoke a general feeling of the most painful description. A passenger train from Toronto to Hamilton broke through a bridge over the Desjardins Canal, leading to Dundas, crashed through the solid ice beneath, and seventy people were killed. The Treaty of Paris, signed on the 1st of April, which terminated the war with Russia, was gladly hailed throughout Canada, as an assurance of peace and prosperity to the parent land. But the year had not yet terminated when war broke out between Great Britain and China, and the progress of hostilities, although so remote, had a depressing influence on the commerce of this country. The mutiny of the hitherto pampered and caressed Sepoys of the Bengal army, in British India, in the earlier part of the ensuing year, tended still further to produce a 1857. stringency in the money market, and a consequent derangement of trade, which seriously checked the progress of Canada, and paved the way for the commercial crisis which soon after ensued.

The Legislature assembled at Toronto on the 26th of February. Its proceedings were not characterised by that bitterness of party debate which had prevailed during the preceding session. A fair majority still continued to support the Ministry, and enabled it to secure the passage of several measures of law reform, now much needed, as well as an act for the codification of the statutes of Lower Canada. Much useful legislation otherwise resulted from the labours of this session, which terminated on the 10th of June, and its proceedings generally were satisfactory to the public.

On the 26th of June, a terrible catastrophe occurred in Canadian waters. A large steamboat plying between Montreal and Quebec, when on her way upwards, took fire off Cape Rouge, and speedily burned to the water's edge. Of two hundred and fifty-eight immigrants, mostly from the Scottish Highlands, who had embarked in the *Montreal*, only fifty-eight were saved, although the river at this point is scarcely a mile wide, and the total loss was estimated at two hundred and fifty souls. In the month of August, much public interest was excited by the effort, now being made for the first

time, to lay an electric cable between Ireland and Newfoundland. After four hundred miles had been submerged, the cable broke, and the project was abandoned for the time. In September a serious monetary and commercial crisis arose in the United States, which produced numerous bank and mercantile failures there, and reacted very unfavourably on Canada. This circumstance, in connection with the collapse of commercial credit which followed shortly afterwards in England, a poor harvest, and the almost total cessation of railway expenditure in this country, produced a great stagnation of trade, and caused a considerable falling off in the public revenue. This state of things, coupled with the fact that, with the single exception of the Great Western line, Government had to assume the payment of interest, amounting to \$800,000 per annum, on all the railway advances, as well as the interest on the Municipal Loan Fund debt, now reaching annually to about \$400,000, caused a serious deficit in the public exchequer. At the close of 1857 the entire income of Canada was \$5,352,794, while the total expenditure summed up to \$5,692,942. Too many costly public works had been undertaken, in the fever of excitement produced by the Railway and Loan Fund legislation of the Hincks administration; more railways had been built than were required by the necessities of the country, or than its legitimate traffic could sustain; and the reaction which commenced this year was in part the inevitable result of undue speculation. Public improvements had been made in advance of the population, the wealth, and the commerce of the country; and the increase, in the progress of time, of these elements of national greatness could alone restore the healthy equilibrium of the financial condition of the body politic.

As the year drew towards its close, Tache resigned the premiership, and John A. Macdonald became his successor. A dissolution of Parliament was now determined on, and the country was speedily wrapt in the excitement of a general election. The most strenuous exertions were made by ministers and their friends, to secure a majority in the new Assembly; while the Reform Party, vigorously led by the *Globe* newspaper, used every effort in the opposite direction. Every possible cry was raised in order to defeat the Government, and even religious issues were had recourse to during the contest. The Hincks' element in the Reform Party of Upper Canada now completely disappeared, while in the Lower Province, on the other hand, the Rouge Party, which had allied itself with Brown, met with almost total defeat. The latter result had been chiefly produced by the hostility of the French Roman Catholic clergy, who regarded the avowed republicanism of the Rouges, and the outspoken Protestantism of Brown, with almost equal dislike. Nor were the religious issues raised in Upper Canada barren of results. On the contrary, they produced a complete revolution in public sentiment in several electoral districts; and in the city of Toronto, the union of the numerous Orange body with the Reformers secured the return of Brown, who, now at the zenith of his

popularity, was also elected for the north riding of Oxford. But the principal result of this election was the creation of a new and most embarrassing public issue. The preponderance, although small in extent, secured by the Reform Party in Upper Canada, must render it necessary for ministers, if they desired to retain their portfolios, to abandon the "double-majority" principle, that is, a majority in their favour from both Upper and Lower Canada separately, as well as collectively, and deemed necessary hitherto, in order to prevent unpalatable legislation from being forced by one Province on another. This principle had, to a certain extent, been adhered to since the union in 1840, by the various administrations; and its recognition had led Mr. Baldwin to resign, in consequence of the adverse vote of Upper Canadians on his Court of Chancery policy for their Province, although sustained by a large majority of the whole House. A principle of this kind has never been entertained for a single moment by the Imperial Parliament, in which it has not at any time been deemed necessary that Ministers should have a majority of Scotch members on Scotch questions, nor of Irish members on Irish measures. Yet, however untenable the double-majority principle might be on the score of sound constitutional politics, the antagonism of race, and even of interest, rendered its exercise necessary, hitherto, to harmonious legislation. While the criminal laws of the country had gradually assumed a uniform condition, the civil law had one statute-book for Upper and another for Lower Canada; and it became necessary, therefore, to exercise the utmost care to avoid exciting the prejudices of race, and, we might also add, of creed. Hence arose the adoption of the double-majority principle, and its abandonment by the Macdonald administration led immediately to the cry of French domination on the part of the Reform Party, to the agitation for representation by population, and paved the way for the governmental dead-lock which ultimately ensued, and the only remedy for which was the Imperial Act of Confederation of 1867.

Parliament met on the 25th of February, at Toronto, and was found to be largely composed of new members, of whom sixty-five had been returned. Among these was John 1858. Sheridan Hogan, whose clever essay on Canada had been so generally read, and whose subsequent murder by a band of thieves and prostitutes at the Don Bridge, Toronto, created such a profound sensation at the time. But the most notable of the legislative novelties was unquestionably Thomas D'Arcy McGee, elected by the Irishmen of Montreal West, whose publicly-expressed desire "to have half an hour on the floor of the House with George Brown," had at length been gratified. A newspaper correspondent quaintly narrates, "that Mr. McGee took the oath of allegiance without hesitation, and subscribed it with a firm hand." The whilom compatriot of the truculent vitriol-throwing John Mitchell, and of the brilliant, though mistaken, Thomas Francis Meagher, who had moreover written such daring refrains as the "Felon flag

of England," had indeed settled down into a respectable and law-abiding Canadian citizen, and now sat in its Legislature as the advocate of Roman Catholicism, and the antidote of the Puritan George Brown, but whose general policy he was speedily found supporting, thus verifying the old adage that extremes sometimes meet.*

The election of speaker at once developed the weakness of the Opposition, which had declined to put forward a candidate of its own. Henry Smith, of Kingston, the ministerial candidate for the speakership, was elected by seventy-nine against forty-two votes; and this fact having been duly notified to the Governor-General, he came down in state, on the following day, to open the House. As befitted the occasion of a new Parliament, his speech was more lengthy than usual. It alluded to the progress of the rebellion in India, to the disturbance of commercial relations, which had distinguished the latter part of the preceding year, to the necessity of sundry improvements in the law, and to the fact "that the country had gone to the utmost limit of pecuniary aid to the Grand Trunk Railway," and against any further assistance to which a great outcry had already been raised outside, as well as in, the Legislative Assembly. The existing agitation with regard to the acquisition by Canada of the Hudson Bay Territory was also alluded to.

* Thomas D'Arcy McGee was born at Carlingford, County Louth, Ireland, in 1825 of humble parents. In 1842, when seventeen, he emigrated to the United States, at once became a journalist, and soon won considerable fame among their Roman Catholic population. In 1845 he returned to Ireland to undertake the editorial charge of *The Freeman's Journal*. But the O'Connellite policy was altogether too tame for him, and he connected himself with the band of young Irish enthusiasts, who had founded the *Nation* as their organ and at whose head stood Charles Gavan Duffy. Becoming involved in the Smith O'Brien insurrection he managed to escape, in the disguise of a priest, and fled to New York, where he commenced the publication of the "*New Nation*." It attacked the Irish hierarchy for their opposition to the Smith O'Brien fiasco, and was speedily trodden out of existence by Bishop Hughes, of New York. *McGee's American Celt*, afterwards published at Boston, did not prosper, and in 1852 he removed its publication to Buffalo, and resided there for five years, and frequently made fairly successful lecturing tours into Canada. In 1857 he removed to Montreal, and there established the *New Era*, in which he advocated the union of all the British North American Provinces. The *New Era*, however, did not live very long, and was discontinued shortly after the general elections in 1858, when McGee was returned as one of the members for Montreal. Poor McGee's besetting sin, at this period, was that of intemperance—a vice which seriously marred his career as a public lecturer, and did him much harm otherwise. The author was intimately acquainted with him, both before and after he had been turned out of the Sandfield Macdonald administration, and has a full remembrance of his genuine Irish sociable ways and very great abilities. He was naturally of a moderate Conservative turn of mind, and had he been more careful in the expression of his views in his early manhood, more temperate in his habits, and came to Canada at an earlier period, he would probably have been alive to-day, and one of its leading public men. He sowed the wind in at first attaching himself to Irishmen of extreme opinions, and reaped the whirlwind in being foully murdered, without cause, at the instigation of some of his former compatriots.

The debate on the address was at once stormy and protracted. The Opposition, led most ably by Brown, assailed the policy of the Ministry at all points, and exultingly pointed to its majority from Upper Canada as evidence of the soundness of its views, and the popularity of its position. As the session progressed, the question of representation by population, without regard to a dividing line between Upper and Lower Canada, was strongly pressed on the attention of the House, but negatived by a vote of sixty-four to fifty-two. The minority was composed of the whole Reform representatives of Upper Canada, with the single exception of John Sandfield Macdonald. Thus, the abandonment of the double-majority principle had already produced an agitation of a new and formidable character.

Foiled, however, at every other point by the skilful fencing of ministers, the Opposition at length determined to avail itself of the seat of government question in order to defeat them. And here it may be necessary to remind the reader, so that he may understand more fully the nature of this question, that after the destruction by a mob of the Parliament building in Montreal, it had been determined to have the seat of government alternately at Toronto and Quebec, in order to propitiate the representatives of both sections. This perambulating system had proved to be alike expensive and inconvenient, and during the session of the preceding year, both branches of the Legislature had agreed to a resolution asking the Queen to decide the question of a permanent seat of government,—a question that, owing to their local interests and sectional jealousies, they could not themselves agree on. Parliament had supplemented this request by passing an act appropriating the sum of \$900,000 for the erection of public buildings at such place as Her Majesty might be graciously pleased to designate. And thus the matter stood at the close of 1857.

The three years' war with the United States had taught the Imperial Government the necessity of some safe mode of communication from tide water to the Great Lakes. After various explorations, the inland route up the Ottawa was selected to a point where an affluent of that river, the Rideau, leaps down in a foaming cascade upon its turbid waters; and from thence a ship canal, connecting lakes and rivers, was to extend navigation, by a circuitous route, to the fortified post of Kingston, the Frontenac of French dominion, at the foot of Lake Ontario. In May, 1826, Lieutenant-Colonel John By, of the Royal Engineers, arrived in Canada to carry out this project, (completed in 1834,) and made his headquarters where the proposed canal was to descend to the Ottawa River, by eight locks, a deep declivity of some ninety feet in perpendicular height. The romantic beauty of this sequestered woodland spot had no counterpart in all Canada. Less than a mile above, the noble current of the Ottawa, speeding on its way from the north-west oceanwards, narrows into picturesque rapids, and then plunges down the Falls of the Chaudiere, in a cloud of spray

and mist, to chafe against its steep rocky boundaries below. Grassy dells where the parasitical wild vine clung to the umbrageous forest tree, and hills covered by the stately and solemn white pine, along which the wild deer bounded, and where the notes of the whip-poor-will re-echoed plaintively through the solitude, at intervals varied the landscape. And here it was that, under the fostering care of Colonel By, and stimulated by the expenditure of English gold, gradually arose a town, mainly peopled at first by the rough diggers of the canal, and the stalwart lumbermen, *habitant* and Anglo-Saxon, who so mercilessly hewed down the magnificent pine forests of the Ottawa, and whose carelessness so frequently produced conflagrations in the woods, still more destructive than themselves. Genuine rough "shiners," as they were termed at the time, were all these sturdy backwoodsmen, and many years elapsed before their rude impress made way for a more refined civilisation. But they were not the less its solid precursors there as well as elsewhere. Bytown, the centre of a vast lumber trade, spreading out its settlements on every side, gradually expanded into a city of some fourteen thousand inhabitants, two parts English and one part French, when it ungratefully cast from it the appropriate name derived from its founder, and selected the more euphonious Indian one of Ottawa. And this was the site wisely selected by the Queen for the permanent seat of the Canadian Government. The current of the River of the Outawas,* here about a quarter of a mile wide, separated the straggling little city from Lower Canada; and thus situated on the borders of both sections, in a locality, too, with a mixed population, the selection was a triumph to neither, while its easy accessibility by steamboat and railway, and its inland central situation, made it, of itself, a desirable point for the seat of government. Thanks to the provident foresight of Colonel By, the Crown had reserved a bold headland rising above the river, and on this the Parliament buildings of the Dominion of Canada, the finest structures of the kind on this continent, have been erected at an expense many times greater than was at first intended.

Nothing, certainly, could have been more judicious, from every point of view, than Her Majesty's gracious decision. Yet it met with little favour from those parties, who, influenced by motives of personal or local benefit, desired to set the advantage of the seat of government at Toronto or Quebec, above their sovereign's selection, or the necessities of the country. It was a weak and unwise standpoint from which to assail a Ministry, and exhibited an utter want of tact—a recklessness of ulterior consequences. A motion, that it was a cause of deep regret that Her Majesty had been advised to select Ottawa as the capital of the country was carried, on the 28th of July, by a majority of fourteen. Ministers shrewdly saw the advantage they must derive from this vote, and although it was ostensibly a censure on the Queen's judgment and decision, and

* Its correct Indian name corrupted into Ottawa.

not on them, at once determined to resign. Thus they completely identified themselves with their sovereign, and that sovereign, too, a woman; and in becoming her defenders were covered by the shadow of the public sympathy which at once encircled her. Nor were their shrewdness and tact without their prompt reward. Vexed with themselves that selfish motives had led them into a false position, the Conservatives from Upper and Lower Canada, who voted for the motion, took the first opportunity to act hostilely to the Opposition, in order to redeem their own reputation.

As the leader of the Opposition, George Brown was immediately written to by the Governor-General, offered a seat in the Executive Council, as the premier of the new administration, and requested to signify his acceptance of this offer in writing. On the following evening, his Excellency informed Brown that he would give him no pledge in reference to a dissolution of Parliament, but that any advice tendered him on this subject would at once receive his serious consideration. To a prorogation, however, he would pledge himself, provided two or three bills, which he deemed necessary for the public welfare, should be passed, and the necessary supplies secured by a vote of credit. Brown accepted these conditions, and at once proceeded to form a Cabinet, a task which he very speedily accomplished.

On the ensuing evening, William Patrick, of Prescott, announced the names of the new Ministry.* It met with scant favour at the hands of the House of Assembly. On the motion of Hector Langevin, seconded by John Beverley Robinson, of Toronto, its members declared, by a vote of seventy-one to thirty-one, that they had no confidence in the Brown administration; while the Upper Chamber made a similar declaration on a division of sixteen to eight. The ostensible reasons alleged for this action were, that the members of the new Cabinet already stood pledged to opposite principles, and had not publicly announced a programme of their ministerial policy; but the true causes were the strong dislike entertained towards Brown by the great majority of the members from Lower Canada, and the desire of others to retrace their course, as regarded their opposition to the Queen's decision, on the seat of government question. This adverse vote led the Cabinet to demand a dissolution, on the ground that the House of Assembly did not command the

* The new Ministry was composed as follows:—

UPPER CANADA.

Inspector General and Premier, George Brown; Speaker Legislative Council, James Morris; Postmaster General, M. H. Foley; Attorney General, West, J. S. Macdonald; Provincial Secretary, Oliver Mowat; Solicitor General, Dr. Connor.

LOWER CANADA.

Attorney General, East, L. T. Drummond; Commissioner of Crown Lands, A. A. Dorion; Bureau of Agriculture, M. Thibandau; Receiver General, F. Lemieux; Public Works, L. H. Holton; Solicitor General, East, M. Laberge.

confidence of the country, aside from the circumstance, that it was entitled to all the support which the Governor-General could give it. But Head, whose political leanings were evidently in another direction, declined, on several constitutional grounds, to take this step. He urged that a newly-elected House must represent the people, that the business of Parliament had not been completed, that the corruption alleged to have been practised at the recent elections would only be repeated in a new one, unless legislative enactments interposed, and that the law of election should first be altered. And a calm and dispassionate view of the case must lead to the conclusion that Head had strong grounds for the policy he avowed. The Brown Cabinet had now no course left but to resign, and that course it accordingly pursued, after it had remained in power for the brief period of two days. Head was never forgiven for his conduct at this crisis. He was accused of partiality—of leaning unconstitutionally to the Conservative Party, and from that day forward his acts were most unfavourably criticised by the Reform press, and his position rendered exceedingly unpleasant. Like so many of his predecessors, he had deeply offended one of the political parties of the country, by apparently supporting the other, and had accordingly to pay the penalty of partial unpopularity.

There are but few readers of classical English literature, who have not made the acquaintance, in one way or another, of John Galt, the friend and biographer of the poet Byron. This gentleman came to this country in 1826, as a commissioner of the Canada Land Company, and remained here for a period of three years. He left a pleasant record behind him, and founded Guelph, while the town of Galt continues to perpetuate his memory. In 1833, his son Alexander, then only a youth of seventeen summers, commenced life in the Eastern Townships, as a junior clerk, in the service of the British America Land Company. His careful Scotch habits, natural ability, and attention to his duties, won for young Galt the confidence of the company, and the lapse of twenty-two years found him the chief manager of its estates. In 1849, this self-made man was elected for the county of Sherbrooke, and in 1853 for the town of the same name, and for which he was constantly returned for many years. Of liberal and progressive views, of mild and unassuming manners, an excellent speaker, and profoundly versed in matters of trade and finance, Galt had gradually risen to a foremost place in the House, and, in the present exigency, the Governor-General turned to him, on the resignation of the Brown Cabinet, as the person best fitted to form an administration. But, being at once a Protestant and a representative of an English-speaking Lower Canadian constituency, Galt's position was one of isolation as regarded the French element in the Legislature, while his opinions were of too moderate a stamp to command the confidence of either of the political parties now struggling for supremacy in the western Province. Well aware that these causes precluded

him from becoming a successful ministerial leader, and must always compel him to occupy a subordinate position in any government, he promptly and wisely declined the proffered honour. Cartier, as the leader of the Lower Canadian majority, was next applied to by Head, and this gentleman, with the aid of John A. Macdonald, speedily succeeded in forming a new Cabinet,* in which Galt became Finance Minister.

Out of the formation of this administration a circumstance arose, which produced unmeasured censure from the Reform Party. The Independence of Parliament Act of 1857 provided, in its seventh section, that if any member of the Cabinet elected to serve in the Legislative Assembly, or Legislative Council, resigned his office, and within one month after his resignation accepted another office in the Government, he should not thereby vacate his seat. Accordingly, those members of the former Macdonald Cabinet, who now accepted office, did not go back to their constituents for re-election, and sought to comply with this law, soon after repealed, and which should never have been enacted, by a simple exchange of positions. But, whatever might have been the intention of the law, subsequent events proved that the Ministry had complied with its provisions in a legal point of view. Actions were brought in the Courts of Queen's Bench and Common Pleas, against such of them as had exchanged their offices, which, under the ruling of the judges, resulted in their favour. And while the legality of their conduct was thus established, its constitutionality was also asserted by a solemn vote of Parliament. At the same time, the members of the new administration, who had to return to their constituents for approval, were all re-elected. Not so, however, with Dorion, the Attorney-General (East) of the Brown Cabinet, who was defeated in Shefford by a large majority.

But, despite the intense bitterness of party spirit which now prevailed, the Parliamentary session of 1858 produced many useful measures. Among these was a municipal act, an act providing for the more perfect registration of electors, and defining the right of franchise, and a new customs act, which raised the rate of duty on the great majority of importations to fifteen per cent., a step rendered necessary by the deficit in the revenue. The session was closed on the 18th of August by the Governor-General, in a speech guarded in the extreme, and permitting of little adverse comment.

* This Cabinet was composed of the following gentlemen :—

UPPER CANADA.

Attorney-General, West, J. A. Macdonald ; President of Council, John Ross ; Commissioner Crown Lands, P. Vankoughnet ; Receiver-General, Geo. Sherwood ; Postmaster-General, Sidney Smith.

LOWER CANADA.

Attorney-General, G. E. Cartier ; Inspector-General, A. T. Galt ; Solicitor-General, John Rose ; Speaker Legislative Council, Belleau ; Commissioner Public Works, Sicotte ; Provincial Secretary, C. Alleyne.

It was quite evident that he realised his position precisely, and that his popularity, never very great, had been entombed in the same grave with that of so many of his predecessors.

But, whatever little excitement might have attended the closing of Parliament was, on the following day, wholly dimmed by the news that the Atlantic cable had been successfully laid. Such was indeed the case, but its infant life hardly sufficed for the transmission of Her Majesty's brief message of congratulation to President Buchanan ere it flickered to a close, and it still remained for science to bring the Old and New Worlds within speaking distance, and to enable the wonderful electric spark to travel with the thoughts of two hemispheres through the deep abyss of the Atlantic Ocean. As the year drew towards its close, the country was called upon to mourn the death of Robert Baldwin, the Nestor of true Canadian Reform, the victim of ingratitude and contumely. Two days afterwards, his brethren of the bar met at Osgoode Hall, Toronto, to pay their fitting tribute to his memory, and where the two great Macdonalds, John A. and John S., bitter opponents in political life, united to honour a man whose remembrance should always be green in the memories and hearts of the Canadian people.

Parliament met at the early date of the 29th of January, and Head's speech was more than usually suggestive. It declared that it was now necessary to carry out the statute and the Queen's decision, relative to a permanent seat of government, that the Seigniorial Tenure Commission would shortly close its labours, and that a moderate outlay beyond the appropriation of 1854 would satisfy all claims. It further stated, that the project of a union of all British North America had formed the subject of a correspondence with the Home Government, which would be laid before the House, that the commercial and financial depression had not wholly disappeared, and that it was to be hoped the exercise of a sound and rigid economy would enable Parliament to bring the expenses within the limits of the public revenue. The address, in response to this speech, was permitted to pass without much acrimonious debate. But a question, however, speedily arose which tested the position of ministers. George Brown's name was designedly left off the Committee of Public Accounts; and a motion to have it placed thereon was accepted by the Cabinet as expressing a want of confidence in its members, and was lost by a majority of seventeen. This vote had a tranquillising effect on the House, and the public business was now proceeded with in comparative quiet. The most notable measure of this session was a new customs' act, which, owing to a continued deficiency in the revenue, advanced the rate of duty on the bulk of staple importations to twenty per cent., but, at the same time, wisely made provision for a large free list of raw products, in order to stimulate local manufactures. Acts were also passed respecting the consolidated statutes of Canada and Upper Canada respectively. The work of consolidation had at length been most carefully completed, and at once proved of the greatest

value to the bench, the bar, and the magistracy of the country. The seat of government question was fully set at rest, and the public buildings at Ottawa were to be at once proceeded with, while a loyally couched and most pressing invitation was given to her Majesty, or any member of the Royal Family, to visit Canada, and open the Victoria Railway Bridge at Montreal, now at the point of completion. Towards the close of the session, some trouble was caused by the Upper Chamber refusing to adopt the Supply Bill, in consequence of its containing an item to defray the expenses of removing the government to Quebec, where it was to remain until the buildings at Ottawa were completed. But this exhibition of unusual independence in the Legislative Council was of very brief duration. More mature consideration of the matter led to calmer resolves, the Supply Bill was eventually passed precisely as it had been sent up by the Assembly, and the session closed in peace on the 4th of May.

While the United States were convulsed by the shock of Northern abolitionism with Southern slavery, caused by the insane attempt of John Brown, the small cloud like a man's hand which presaged the advancing storm, the summer sunshine of Canada remained undimmed by a single untoward event. In November, a great gathering of the leaders of the Reform Party took place at Toronto. The abandonment of the double-majority principle by ministers, and the fact that they were in a parliamentary minority as regarded Upper Canada votes, naturally led, at this convention, to a loud cry of Lower Canadian domination, and to a demand for representation by population. The conclusion was arrived at, that the union of Upper and Lower Canada had failed to realise the intentions of its promoters, that the constitution itself was defective, and that the formation of two or more local governments, with some joint authority over all, had now become a paramount necessity. The resolutions which embodied these opinions were inspired by George Brown, who thus laid the tangible basis of an agitation which ultimately led to confederation. The only other event of note which the remainder of the year produced, was the actual commencement of the Parliament buildings. On the 22nd of December, ground was broken for the foundations, and the prospect of their town becoming the seat of government, gave additional zest to the Christmas festivities of the citizens of Ottawa. The prize for which Quebec and Toronto had so fiercely contested, had fallen most unexpectedly into their hands.

As the result of the new tariff, and also of an abundant harvest, which stimulated the commerce of the country, the public revenue for 1859 had increased to \$6,248,679, while the expenditure was only \$6,099,570. The imports for the year amounted to \$33,555,161, and the exports to \$24,766,981, there being thus, as usual, a large trade balance against this country, to be made good by the expenditure in one way or another of foreign capital. Nearly all the great railway enterprises had been completed, and a total of

two thousand and ninety-three miles had now been constructed and put in operation. The public debt had largely increased, and amounted to \$54,142,044, of which the sum of \$28,607,013 was an indirect liability, representing advances on the security of the Province to railway companies, and, also, under the provisions of the Loan Fund Act, to municipalities. But none of the public debt had been constructed for the support of fleets and armies, and owed its origin almost wholly to the prosecution of great works for the development of the agricultural, mineral, and other resources of the country.

On the 28th of February, the Legislature assembled at Quebec, whither the seat of government had, in the preceding summer, been removed. After the usual routine proceedings, which embraced no feature worthy of notice, had terminated, Head laid before the Lower House a despatch from the Colonial Secretary, now the Duke of Newcastle. It announced the receipt of the joint address of both chambers to the Queen, inviting her to visit this country, and the expression of her regret, that owing to her presence being required at the seat of empire, she was unable to comply with their request. Impressed, however, with an earnest desire to testify, to the utmost of her power, her warm appreciation of the affectionate loyalty of her Canadian subjects, the Queen expressed, through her minister, the hope that his Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, would be able to attend the ceremony of opening the Victoria Bridge in her name.

The Legislature had only been a brief period in session, when the opposition proceeded to develop the policy determined on at the Toronto Reform Convention of the preceding November. Brown gave notice that he would move two resolutions; the first being to the effect, that the existing Legislative Union of Upper and Lower Canada had failed to realise the anticipations of its promoters, had resulted in a heavy debt, great political abuses, and universal dissatisfaction; and that from the antagonism developed through difference of origin, local interests, and other causes, the union in its present form could no longer be continued with advantage to the people. The second resolution set forth, that the true remedy for those evils would be found in the formation of two or more local governments, to which should be committed all matters of a sectional character, and the erection of some joint authority to dispose of the affairs common to all. Three weeks afterwards, Foley moved a vote of want of confidence in ministers, and Ouimet an amendment thereto of an opposite character. An amendment to the amendment was moved by another member of the Opposition, Laberge, which struck at the Cabinet indirectly. On this being put, it was negatived by sixty-eight to forty-four votes. A new amendment was then presented, censuring ministers, because one of them (John A. Macdonald) belonged to the Orange body, which was lost by one hundred and five to nine votes. Its bad result, however, did not deter another member from moving that the House

did not repose confidence in the administration, because it had deserted Roman Catholic interests, and especially as regarded separate school reform in Upper Canada. But this motion met with even worse success than its predecessors, and was sustained by only six votes. Ouimet's amendment, expressing confidence in ministers, was then put to the House, when the yeas were seventy, and the nays forty-four. This vote convinced the Opposition of the uselessness of further attempts to compel the resignation of the Cabinet. The public business was now quietly pushed forward, and towards the close of April the "Estimates," among which was one item of \$20,000 to defray the expenses of the anticipated visit of the Prince of Wales, were well advanced. Meanwhile a serious division had arisen in the ranks of the Opposition, many of whom were now most unwilling to follow any longer the leadership of Brown. This feeling produced a public quarrel in the House, between the latter and some of his political friends; and Campbell, the member for Rouville, implored him to retire from the leadership of a party, with which, so long as he remained at the head of it, the French-Canadians could never unite.

On the 8th of May, Brown's resolutions, in reference to the constitutional relations of Upper and Lower Canada, were taken up and finally disposed of. The first was negatived by a vote of sixty-seven to twenty-six, and the second, meeting no better fate, was lost on a division of seventy-four to thirty-two. This result evinced, in the most emphatic manner, that only a small minority of the Assembly were in favour of a federal union on the basis propounded by Brown. Yet, subsequent events very plainly demonstrated that his only error lay in being in advance of his contemporaries, and also of general public opinion. His "joint authority" scheme was the one ultimately adopted, despite the censure it met with, at the time, from the leaders of the Ministerial Party. On the 19th of May, after a loyal address of welcome to the Prince of Wales had been agreed to, a session which had been productive of no very remarkable legislation was brought to a close, and Parliament prorogued, in a brief and appropriate speech by Head, to assemble again some three months afterwards, in order to greet the arrival of the heir to the British throne.

No prospective event in Canada had ever cast such a joyous shadow before it as the now looked-for advent of the Prince of Wales. From one end of the country to the other it evoked a feeling of the most loyal enthusiasm, and people of all classes, and of all shades of politics, united most cordially to do honour to the representative of their good Queen. From every direction, along the proposed route of progress, arose the din of preparation; and city, and town, and village corporations, voted money to decorate their localities, and make fitting arrangements otherwise. At Quebec, a portion of the Parliament buildings had been handsomely fitted up for the reception of the Prince and his suite, and here, on the 21st of August, he was received in state by both Houses of

the Legislature, headed by their speakers, Narcisse Belleau, of the Council, and Henry Smith, of the Assembly ; both of whom received the honour of knighthood. The festivities having been terminated at Quebec, progress westward was resumed to Montreal, where a grand ovation awaited his Royal Highness. As the steamer *Kingston*, which carried him and his suite, entered the harbour, the batteries of St. Helen's Island thundered out a royal salute, the sailors of the vessels of war manned the yards, and made the welkin ring with cheers that were taken up by the vast multitude who lined the substantial wharves, and the city bells rang out far and wide their sonorous tones of welcome. A little farther on, the current of the noble river, still chafing angrily from its descent of the Lachine Rapids, was spanned by the Victoria Bridge, the idea of which first assumed tangible shape in the mind of a talented Canadian engineer, Thomas C. Keefer, to be elaborated and perfected by the genius of Stephenson. Stretching ten thousand feet from shore to shore, with pier openings two hundred feet in width, and rising in the centre one hundred feet above high-water mark, to permit lake steamers to pass beneath, this colossal structure stood the eighth wonder of the world. And this was the bridge now formally opened for traffic by the Prince of Wales, in the name of his august mother, after whom it was most fitly called. Next day Montreal literally ran riot with joy. A grand ball collected all that was bright and beautiful in the city to greet the heir-apparent of the sovereign, and night was turned into day by the blaze of illuminations and fireworks, that lit up the dark mountain side in the background, or flashed over the broad current of the St. Lawrence as it sped oceanward.

From Montreal the Prince of Wales proceeded to Ottawa, where, on the 1st of September, in the presence of the Duke of Newcastle, the Governor-General, many of the notabilities of Canada, and a most brilliant suite, he laid the foundation-stone of the new Parliament buildings, and subsequently shot the timber slides of the Chaudiere on the usual lumberman's crib. Proceeding up the Ottawa, to Arnprior, he afterwards crossed the country by carriage and railway to Brockville, where he arrived at night, and a most brilliant reception awaited him. The loyal little town greeted him with a grand firemen's torchlight procession, with triumphal arches, fireworks, an illumination, and bonfires among the islands in the river. Embarking on board the *Kingston*, the royal party proceeded next day westwards through the beautiful Lake of the Thousand Islands. But no landing was made either at Kingston or Belleville in consequence of the several Orange societies of these cities, insisting on receiving his Royal Highness with party flags, processions and music. Further unpleasantness, in connection with the Orange body, awaited him at Toronto, where a triumphal arch on his proposed route was decorated with its flags and emblems, beneath which he declined to pass. This raised a storm of Orange indignation against his advisers, and the Duke of Newcastle and

the Governor-General were burned in effigy on Colborne Street. The Prince's progress through the western peninsula evoked no additional demonstrations of this nature, and the most joyous welcome everywhere awaited him. He finally passed, at Windsor, out of Canada into the United States, to be exceedingly well received in all the great Northern cities which he visited, and particularly at Boston, but to have his passage southward stopped at Richmond, the gateway of the slave states, by insulting demonstrations on the part of its mob.

In December, the case of a fugitive slave of the name of Anderson, who, in making his escape from bondage in Missouri, seven years before, had killed a man who sought to arrest him, created much excitement. The hunted fugitive succeeded in reaching Canada, where, after a long residence, he was recognised by a slave-catcher from Missouri, charged with murder, and his extradition demanded under the provisions of the Ashburton Treaty. The magistrate who examined the case decided that the charge was sustained, and the Government was now applied to for Anderson's surrender. Brought before the Court of Error and Appeal at Toronto, on a writ of *habeas corpus*, Chief-Justice Robinson delivered its decision, Judge McLean alone dissenting, that Anderson should be given up. This decision created the greatest excitement throughout the country, and raised the question whether murder could have been committed by Anderson in his endeavour to escape from a state of slavery, and whether the killing of his Missouri assailant, Digges, was not an act of purely self-defence. Steps were speedily taken to bring the matter before the English Court of Queen's Bench, in which a new writ of *habeas corpus* was sued out. But before this writ could be acted upon, Anderson was set free by the Court of Common Pleas at Toronto, Chief-Justice Draper presiding, on the ground of informality in the warrant of committal. This decision terminated the proceedings against Anderson; but his case led to a revision of the Canadian act enforcing the Ashburton Treaty, and primary jurisdiction, as regarded foreign fugitives from justice, was taken from the control of ordinary magistrates, and left with judges of county courts and police justices.

Meanwhile a dark storm-cloud had been gathering over the United States, and the ultimate breaking of which exercised no small influence on the progress of Canada. Wearied at length with the domination of the slave states, the masses of the North broke away from the Democratic Party, always Southern in its instincts, and elected Abraham Lincoln, an abolitionist lawyer of Illinois, to the presidency of the Union. Great, accordingly, was the ferment at the South, the politicians of which had virtually governed the country for a long period of time. But the loss of power and emoluments of place was even of less consequence with them, than the danger to slavery which they supposed resulted from the election of Lincoln. South Carolina was the first to secede from the union, and at Charleston a small federal force in Fort Sumpter was virtu-

ally besieged as the new year came on, and an attempt to relieve it with troops and stores, by the steamship *Star of the West*, was repelled by the cannon of the insurgent state. Wild was the alarm that now spread through the Northern States, and in Maine a strong movement for annexation to Canada was made. The government of the Confederate States was speedily organised, and as spring approached, North and South were alike busily preparing for the coming struggle.

Parliament assembled at Quebec on the 16th of March. The

Governor-General's speech alluded to the abundant harvest 1861. of the preceding year, to the acknowledgment by the Queen

of the loyal manner in which her son had been received in Canada, and to the fact that it had been strongly represented to Her Majesty's Government, that a writ issued by the English Court of Queen's Bench had been served in this Province, and the expediency of preventing, by legislation, any conflict of judicial jurisdiction. Canada was jealous of its privileges and authority. The debate on the address developed a good deal of ill-feeling, relative to the unpleasant occurrences which had taken place during the visit of the Prince of Wales. It was stated that the Orangemen had been insulted in not being permitted to give a loyal welcome, after their own fashion, to his Royal Highness; that the Freemasons had been treated with disrespect, in not being allowed to lay the corner-stone of the public buildings at Ottawa, after having been invited to do so; and that indignities had also been offered to the Presbyterian and Methodist bodies, in connection with the presentation of their addresses. Amendments to the address, embodying these complainings, were, however, voted down by large majorities; and a motion by John Sandfield Macdonald, asserting that ministers should adhere to the double-majority principle, a favourite idea with him, was lost on a division of sixty-five to forty-six. A direct motion of "want of confidence" in the Cabinet was also lost by a vote of sixty-two to forty-nine; and, on the 22nd, six days of weary and profitless debating on the address were at length terminated. Still, it was quite evident that the position of ministers was becoming weaker.

After the Easter recess, a portion of the returns of the census, taken at the close of the past year, was laid before the House. These documents showed a large increase in the population of the country. In 1841 the population of Upper Canada was 465,375; in 1851, 952,061; while in 1861 it had reached 1,396,091. On the other hand, the population of Lower Canada in 1841 was 690,782; in 1851, 890,261; and in 1861 it stood at 1,110,444. It will thus be seen that the population of all Canada, at the beginning of 1861, was 2,506,755. But the rate of increase had been much more rapid in the Upper Province, and the number of its inhabitants was now 285,427 in excess of that of Lower Canada. This circumstance gave new hope to the members of the Reform Party in the House, and they eagerly turned to the question of represen-

tation by population, as the sure panacea for the evils of French-Canadian domination. They were strongly opposed by the Ministerial party, the premier making, on the 19th of April, a forcible speech in opposition to the motion embodying their views, and were again beaten. But the principle they now advocated was subsequently interwoven with the Imperial Act of Confederation, which gave nineteen new members to Upper Canada. The long debates had consumed much of the time of the Assembly, and the session drew towards its close without having added any noticeable legislation to the statute-book. On the 8th of May, Parliament was prorogued, and in a few weeks afterwards it was dissolved, and the writs issued for a new election. The contest throughout Upper Canada was most vigorously conducted on both sides, and resulted in favour of the Reform Party. But its leader, George Brown, lost much of his prestige, by being beaten in Toronto by a majority of 191, owing to the union of the Orangemen and Roman Catholics against him; while, at the same time, Cartier defeated Dorion, the Rouge leader, in Montreal East.

Meanwhile, the troops of the belligerent states were marshalling themselves on the banks of the Potomac, for the conflict which could not now be very long deferred. Westward, at the fork of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, a body of Federal troops prevented supplies from reaching the Confederate States, while, at the same time, preparations were made to blockade their ports, and so narrow their resources seaward. This course was a virtual concession of the sovereign authority of these states to levy war, and led to the declaration of Lord John Russell, that the South must now be regarded as a *de facto* power, and be accorded belligerent rights. On the 13th of May the Queen's proclamation was issued, warning all her subjects to maintain a strict neutrality, and afford aid to neither of the contending parties. On the 21st of July the battle of Bull's Run took place, and the first deep torrent of blood was shed in a fratricidal war, during the progress of which fully fifty thousand Canadians, despite the Queen's proclamation, entered the Northern army as volunteers, while comparatively few attached themselves to the forces of the Confederate States.

But, while the attention of the people of Canada was eagerly turned to the progress of the bitter civil conflict now waged in a neighbouring nation, so intimately connected with them by commercial relations, and a common language and lineage, their country peaceably reposed in the shadow of the British flag, and presented, after its election contests had terminated, but few domestic events to record. On the 28th of August, William Lyon Mackenzie's wearisome life came to a close, and the troubled spirit sank to rest. Pecuniary embarrassment had thrown a gloom over the last days of his existence. Destitute of income, with failing health, and deeply in debt, he had been living on credit, and his bills matured without time bringing the means to pay them. The confidence in the future which had lit up his path during the darkest periods of

his life failed him at last, and he ceased even to hope. There now remained for the erring man but one course open—to lie down and die, to quit a world which had no longer a solitary ray of genial sunshine for him. During his last illness, he refused all medicine, would comply with no physician's directions, and the grave soon closed over all his troubles.

In October, Sir Edmund Head ceased to be Governor-General of Canada. On the 23rd of that month, his successor, Lord Monck, arrived at Quebec, and on the following day was duly sworn in. On the same day, Head departed for Boston, *en route* for England. As already seen, he also had become unpopular with a portion of the community, and had recently been made the subject of a large amount of censure. Like his predecessor, Lord Elgin, he hastened to leave, without regret, a country which had been fatal to the reputations of so many Governors-General, who had unwisely identified themselves somewhat too closely with one or the other of its political parties. Shortly after his return to England he unsuccessfully contested the representation of Pontefract. But the Government rewarded his services by a profitable post; and he also became governor of the Hudson Bay Company, and occupied that position until his death in 1868. He left no male issue, and his baronetcy became extinct.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GOVERNMENT OF LORD MONCK.

CHARLES STANLEY MONCK was born in 1819, at Templemore, in the county of Tipperary, Ireland. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin, he was called to the Irish bar in 1841. In 1849 he succeeded to the family title and estates, and in 1852 first entered the Imperial Parliament as the member for Portsmouth, an English constituency. In 1858 he was appointed a Lord of the Treasury by the Palmerston administration, and held that office for two years.

Such was the brief record of a man whose prudent career as a Governor-General made him many friends and very few enemies, and who stood well with all political parties throughout his long term of office, during which this country passed through a most critical period of its history. He had scarcely taken the reins of government firmly in his hands, when what was known as the Trent difficulty arose between Great Britain and the United States, threatening, for a time, to involve them in war, in which Canada, had it occurred, must have acted a most important part. Captain Wilkes, of the United States steamship *Jacinto*, took by force, on the 9th of November, the Confederate Commissioners, Mason and Slidell, from the British mail steamer *Trent*, plying between Vera Cruz and Southampton, in utter defiance of the law of nations, and of the rights of a neutral power.

Hitherto, a strong sympathy for the United States had existed in Canada, and the secession of the South was regarded with little favour by the great bulk of its people; but the Trent difficulty, and the idle boastings and threats of the more unscrupulous portion of the American press, now rapidly changed the current of public sentiment, and turned it largely into indifference, or in the direction of the weaker party—the South. As the year drew towards its close, the whole country was rapidly springing to arms, in expectation of immediate hostilities. Volunteer companies were being formed in every direction, active steps taken to organise the militia force, and steamship after steamship, freighted with troops and munitions of war, arrived from the Mother Country. While the excitement produced by these occurrences culminated to its meri-

dian, Canada was thrown into the saddest mourning by the intelligence that Prince Albert, the amiable and high-minded consort of the Queen, had, on the 15th of December, expired of gastric fever. Deep indeed was the sympathy of the people of Canada for their bereaved sovereign, who had long since won their hearts by her virtuous and prudent conduct, and by the true womanly instincts of her nature. While this country still mourned the irreparable loss which the empire had sustained, the war-cloud passed away; Mason and Slidell were surrendered to the British Government, and proceeded on their way to Europe.

The beginning of the new year was not distinguished by any domestic events of importance. Parliament met at Quebec 1862. on the 21st of March, and Lord Monck came down in no small state to open its proceedings. A large portion of the inhabitants were out of doors to witness his progress, and fifteen hundred volunteers and a force of regular troops lined both sides of the streets through which he passed. The garrison guns, manned by the Royal Artillery, thundered forth their salute from Durham Terrace, far and wide, over land and water; a battery of volunteer artillery repeated the welcome elsewhere; while the hearty cheers of the dense masses of spectators hailed, in a still more acceptable fashion, the appearance of their new Governor-General. At the chamber of the Legislative Council a brilliant assemblage of military and civil dignitaries greeted his arrival, and gave additional lustre to the ancient ceremonies of the occasion.

Parliament having been opened with the due formalities, the Assembly proceeded to elect Joseph E. Turcotte as its speaker, by a majority of thirteen over the Opposition candidate, Sicotte; and that duty performed, Monck made a second visit to the House to deliver his "opening" speech. It paid a fitting tribute to the memory of the deceased Prince Consort; stated how the feeling of loyalty exhibited by the Canadian people during the recent Trent difficulty had been graciously recognised in the Queen's speech on the opening of the Imperial Parliament; and congratulated the Legislature on the abundant harvest of the preceding year, and the satisfactory condition of trade, notwithstanding the partial derangement to which it had been subjected by the civil war still raging in the United States. It further set forth that papers would be laid before it showing that the Imperial Government entertained no objection to the establishment of a system of free commercial intercourse between the different Provinces of British North America, and that during the recess a commission had sat to consider the present condition of the militia force, with a view to improving its organisation and efficiency, and the report of which would be submitted for its approval.

On Monday, the 24th, when the question of the order of the day came up in the Legislative Council, the Postmaster-General, Sidney Smith, said it was not the intention of the Government to proceed at once to the consideration of the Governor-General's speech. This

course had been determined on in consequence of the Commissioner of Crown Lands, Vankoughnet, having been appointed Chancellor of the Court of Chancery ; J. C. Morrison, Solicitor-General West, created a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas ; and John Ross, President of the Council, having resigned his office. Early in April, the vacancies in the Cabinet were filled up by Patton, member of the Upper House for the Saugeen District, John Beverly Robinson, of Toronto, and John Carling, of London.

The debate on the address was of that lengthy character, now so common in the Canadian Legislature, and displayed the discordant elements of which the two great parties in the House were composed. Reformers declared for and against representation by population, the prominent feature of the wearisome debate ; and Sidney Smith voted against his colleagues of the Government on the same question. But ministers tided it safely through the prolonged discussion, which terminated on the 5th of April, defeated the Opposition on a test vote by a majority of seventeen, and the public business was at length proceeded with. On the 7th, an address of condolence to the Queen, on the death of the Prince Consort, was agreed to in the Upper Chamber, of which Sir Allan MacNab was now the speaker, and sent down to the Assembly for its concurrence. It was at once adopted, and a joint-committee of both Houses presented it to Lord Monck, for transmission to Her Majesty.

As the session progressed, it became more and more evident that the position of the Cabinet was daily becoming weaker. Patton had been defeated on returning to his constituents for re-election, a circumstance which damaged ministers to some extent. A long term of place and power, in a constitutional system of government, of itself naturally weakens a Ministry ; and not a few gross abuses, which had arisen in some of the public departments, relative to supplies of stationery and other matters, were now used by the Opposition to enfeeble still further the position of the Cabinet. Added to these causes of dissatisfaction, the constant annual deficiency in the revenue was ascribed to the financial policy of ministers, the cry raised against whom received, as the session progressed, additional volume from the fiscal changes proposed by Galt, which found as little favour with the Conservative, as they did with the Reform, press. On the 30th of May, when the second reading of the Militia Bill, a government measure, was moved, ministers were abandoned by several of their Lower Canadian supporters, and defeated on a vote of sixty-one to fifty-four. Their resignation speedily followed, and the Assembly adjourned on the 23rd, to permit of the formation of a new administration. Three days afterwards it again assembled to learn, from Lewis Wallbridge, of Belleville, that a Cabinet* had been formed under the leadership

* This Cabinet was composed as follows :—

UPPER CANADA.

Attorney-General, J. S. Macdonald ; Solicitor-General, Adam Wilson ;

of John Sandfield Macdonald* and L. V. Sicotte. The same gentleman briefly announced the policy of the new administration to be, the restoration of the double-majority principle, in all matters locally affecting either section of the Province; the readjustment of the representation of Upper and Lower Canada respectively; an amended militia law; a revision of the tariff, so as to produce increased revenue, and afford protection to manufacturing industries; an insolvent debtors' act; a system of retrenchment in the public expenditure; the maintenance of Her Majesty's decision on the seat of government question; and an investigation into certain alleged abuses in connection with the construction of the Parliamentary buildings at Ottawa. This announcement of the proposed policy was received with a great deal of favour by all classes of the community, and the leaders of the late Cabinet now declared their intention to give ministers a fair trial, and throw no obstacles in the way of useful legislation. On the other hand, the Upper Canada section of the new administration was fiercely assailed by George Brown, in the *Globe*, for not making representation by population, without any regard to a dividing line between Upper and Lower Canada, a Cabinet question, and for having, like their predecessors, surrendered themselves to French domination.

Such was the condition of public affairs when the session terminated on the 9th of June, after the transaction of only a very limited amount of business. A short amendment to the Militia Act had rendered it much more efficient, and showed that the country was prepared to incur a larger amount of expenditure for preparation against foreign attack. The closing speech of the Governor-General was brief but courteous; and he still stood well with both parties.

The defeat of the Macdonald-Cartier administration on its Militia Bill awoke a most unpleasant feeling in England; and the cry was raised there that the Canadian people were unwilling to defend themselves, and desired to throw the burden on the Mother Country. And Lord Palmerston angrily declared, in the Imperial Par-

Postmaster-General, Foley; Receiver-General, James Morris; Minister of Finance, Howland; Commissioner of Crown Lands, William McDougall

LOWER CANADA.

Attorney-General, Sicotte; Solicitor-General, Abbott; President of the Council, McGee; Provincial Secretary, Dorion; Commissioner of Public Works, Tessier; Minister of Agriculture, Evanturel.

* John Sandfield Macdonald was born in the county of Glengarry, in 1812, and after several boyish escapades began life as clerk in a general store in the then little village of Cornwall. He subsequently became a law student, and in 1840 was called to the bar. He was a representative Roman Catholic Gael, an excellent lawyer, soon gained both money and reputation, and became the idol of the large Highland Scotch population of his native county. At the general election of 1841 he was returned to the Assembly, and soon made himself felt in Parliament. He acted with both parties at one time or another, and was, as he described himself to be, a political Ishmaelite.

liament, that the Home Government had done as much to defend the Canadians as it intended to do, and that it rested with themselves to do the remainder, or disgrace the race from whence they sprung. At a public dinner in Montreal, Monck re-echoed, in a subdued form, the warning tones of the British premier, told his hearers plainly that England alone could not protect them in the event of war with the United States, and that from among themselves must arise the chief armies of defence in the event of attack. But the Imperial premier and the Governor-General erred alike in accepting the circumstances of the downfall of an unpopular administration as the act of the people of Canada, who, in every time of peril, had invariably proved that they were not the degenerate offspring of a gallant ancestry.

The second week in August witnessed, at his residence near Hamilton, the death of Sir Allan MacNab, who had survived his Reform contemporary, William Hamilton Merritt, but a brief space. And thus the links, which bound the present to the past generation of Canada, were being sundered one by one, by the inexorable hand of time. In September Monck paid his first visit to Upper Canada, to open the Provincial Exhibition at Toronto, and increased his prestige, in no small degree, by his frank bearing and popular manners. His return to the seat of government was distinguished by the resignation of Dorion, the Provincial Secretary, on the ground that he could not support the Intercolonial Railway policy of his colleagues.

The imposition of a high rate of duty by the Canadian Parliament, had already produced, in the United States, a good deal of agitation adverse to the Reciprocity Treaty. The Legislature of the State of New York had adopted a long series of resolutions unfavourable to its renewal, which were transmitted to Congress, and there referred to the Committee on Commerce; and, as time progressed, this agitation received additional force from the heavy internal taxation entailed by the war. Towards the close of the year, Canada began to gain enormously by the operations of this treaty. The progress of hostilities was already narrowing down the resources of the Northern States, and farm stock rose to an unusually high value. As the cheapest market, Canada was now inundated with American speculators; and horse-dealers, especially, spread themselves in every direction over the country, to secure remounts for the United States cavalry and artillery. Never had the agricultural community such a market before, and farmers eagerly availed themselves of the opportunity to dispose of their surplus stock to the best advantage. In this way a very large amount of money came into their possession, which the great majority of the recipients prudently used to discharge claims against their properties, and release themselves otherwise from debt. The frugal and simple habits of a rough backwoods' population had long since disappeared in most parts of the country, ox-teams and homespun clothing were no longer prized as heretofore, and a fondness

for dress, expensive carriages, and luxurious living, had deeply plunged a large portion of the rural population into debt. To discharge obligations incurred to store-keepers, money was borrowed on mortgage, and many unfortunate and imprudent people, in this way, lost properties which it had cost a long period of hard toil to create. But, having acquired wisdom by the most bitter experience, farmers now eagerly availed themselves of this season of great prosperity to discharge every claim against them, and to bring their transactions much nearer to a general cash basis than was possible with them at any former period. The prosperous years which now followed were distinguished by an unusually small amount of litigation, and in every direction lawyers of even superior abilities could hardly make a living by their profession; while money-lenders no longer reaped the abundant harvest they had hitherto enjoyed. This gratifying condition of affairs tended also to a diminution of crime, but the volume of which had always been very limited in this country. The war had already absorbed the more unquiet spirits of the population, and the ample employment and high wages which prevailed led, in addition, to light calendars in the courts of justice.

Parliament assembled at Quebec on the 13th of February, and the Legislative Council, having elected Alexander Campbell 1863. as its speaker, in the room of the late Sir Allan MacNab, the Governor-General delivered his speech. He congratulated the chambers on the loyal spirit evinced throughout the country in the enrolment of numerous volunteer companies and the formation of drill associations, and submitted a programme for legislation, based on the previously-announced policy of the Cabinet. He added that commissioners had been appointed to inquire into the state of every branch of the public service, with a view to retrenchment and economy; and gracefully alluded to the spontaneous contributions which had flowed so freely from the Province to relieve the distress in the manufacturing districts of Great Britain, caused by the great advance in the value of raw cotton, and by the other disturbances to the usual currents of trade resulting from the American civil war.

But the policy of the Ministry, as avowed in his Excellency's speech, was by no means satisfactory to all the Reform members of the House, and Matthew Crooks Cameron moved an amendment to the address, asserting the principle of representation by population; while, from the Conservative benches, John Hillyard Cameron gave notice of a motion, which, without disturbing the existing number of members, would increase the representation of Upper Canada. The great bulk of the western Reformers, and some Conservatives, declared for the amendment, but the French-Canadians to a man voted with the Ministry, as well as John A. Macdonald, and it was lost on a vote of sixty-four to forty-two, while John Hillyard Cameron's motion fared still worse, and was negatived by a division of eighty-one to thirty-three. Ministers were safe for the time

being, but now stood on dangerous ground, and might at any adverse moment be defeated. It was quite evident that public opinion in Upper Canada was already far in advance of the double-majority expedient, and a large section of the Reform press loudly demanded the representative position which its greatly-increased population and wealth entitled that Province to fill. The lapse of time and the progress of the country had thus created a political difficulty of constantly-increasing magnitude, which a new constitutional revolution could alone remedy. Nor did Brown long remain without an opportunity to again advocate his views on this point in the Assembly. The elevation of Dr. Connor, a member of the Cabinet, to a judgeship in the Court of Queen's Bench, created a vacancy in the representation of the South Riding of Oxford, for which, early in March, Brown was returned; but for some unexplained cause a month elapsed before he took his seat in the House. Most probably he felt disinclined to embarrass ministers by pressing his peculiar views on their notice at this juncture.

The intelligence of the approaching marriage of the Prince of Wales to the beautiful daughter of the King of Denmark, softened, for a brief space, the asperities of party; and the 10th of March, announced as the wedding-day, witnessed the adjournment of the Legislative Council as a mark of respect for his Royal Highness. But this auspicious event produced only a temporary suspension of the political storm in the Assembly. Scott's separate school bill, which conceded some privileges to Roman Catholics, awoke anew the hostility of western Reformers, thirty of whom now voted against it, a circumstance that increased still further the dislike of the Lower-Canadians to co-operate with them. Nor was the statement of the Finance Minister, Howland, calculated to raise the confidence of the House in the administration. Despite the large increase of revenue taxation in the preceding session, the deficit in the public exchequer was still quite serious, and showed that on this most important point ministers had proved unequal to the redemption of their promises. John A. Macdonald now saw, with his accustomed shrewdness, that the proper time had come for adverse action, and on the 1st of May moved a direct vote of want of confidence in the administration. A vigorous debate ensued, which lasted for four days, and when a division took place the Government was defeated by a majority of five, the vote standing sixty-four for the motion, and fifty-nine against it. Ministers had now either to resign or appeal to the country. They chose the latter course, and, on the 12th of May, Monck, in a brief speech, prorogued Parliament, with a view, as he said, to its immediate dissolution.

As a preparation for the approaching election, the premier reconstructed the Cabinet to suit himself, retaining only three of his former colleagues. This was done with the view of gathering round him a larger support from the Brown section of the western Reform Party, and of propitiating the Lower Canadian Rouges. The

premier's reconstruction policy was loudly denounced as unconstitutional by the Conservative press, inasmuch as a dissolution had been granted in favour of the Macdonald-Sicotte Cabinet, and not in behalf of its successor, the Macdonald-Dorion administration.* These changes, however, proved of no great advantage to Macdonald, for if he gained slightly in one direction he lost ground in another, McGee and some others of his former supporters now going into Opposition.

Aside from the excitement caused by a general election, mid-summer produced no domestic events of importance. In the United States the army conscription, now being relentlessly enforced, caused the greatest alarm among their people, many of whom fled across the borders into Canada, while in the city of New York the dissatisfaction broke out into furious riots, which produced robberies, burnings, and much bloodshed, and were only suppressed with the utmost difficulty. The refugees from the conscription did not prove themselves by any means a desirable addition to our population. Some of them engaged in the illegal occupation of procuring Canadians to swell the ranks of the very army they had themselves declined to join; while others had recourse to still more questionable methods to obtain a living. But while the progress of the war added to the intensity of the cotton famine in the Mother Country, and produced the greatest suffering among its patient operatives, it deepened the current of Canadian prosperity, and continued to create a large market for our surplus produce.

The new Parliament assembled on the 13th of August. Ulric J. Tessier was chosen speaker of the Legislative Council; and Lewis Wallbridge, Government candidate, speaker of the Assembly, on a vote of sixty-six to fifty-eight. Monck's speech was exceedingly non-committal, and did not develop any new ideas of public policy. When the address came up for discussion, ministers were hotly assailed on the score of the recent changes in the Cabinet. In the course of the debate, the premier stated that the policy of the reconstructed Cabinet was not the same as that of its immediate predecessor. The double-majority principle was not now to be insisted on, and representation by population would be left an open question. His former colleague, Sicotte, bitterly assailed him for having thus shifted his ground, and charged him with unfair dealing towards himself in the formation of his present Cabinet; while the explanations of Foley and McGee, as to the causes of their

* The reconstructed Cabinet stood as follows:—

Attorney-General, West, J. S. Macdonald; Attorney-General, East, Antoine A. Dorion; Receiver-General, William P. Howland; Provincial Secretary, Adam J. F. Blair; Postmaster-General, Oliver Mowat; Commissioner of Crown Lands, William McDougall; Minister of Finance, Luther H. Holden; Commissioner of Public Works, M. Laframboise; President of the Council, Isidore Thibaudeau; Minister of Agriculture and Statistics, Luc L. de Saint Just; Solicitor-General, West, vacant; Solicitor General, East, L. S. Huntingdon.

compelled resignations, were also very hostile. For full fourteen days did the debate on the address drag its tedious length along; and, on the 28th, when the final division was taken, sixty-three voted for ministers and sixty against them. Foley, Sicotte, and McGee, all late colleagues of the premier, voted with the Opposition; and it was now evident that the position of the Cabinet was an excessively weak one. A discussion which ensued, on the expediency of having another removal of the seat of government to Toronto, in the interval of the completion of the public buildings at Ottawa, still further damaged ministers, who opposed the change, with western members. Nor was the annual budget submitted by the Finance Minister, very reassuring. He showed that the total expenditure for the year would be \$15,119,200, including \$4,294,000 for the redemption of the seigniorial tenure bonds, and leaving \$10,911,090 as the ordinary outlay. The gross debt of Canada, funded and floating, was estimated by the minister at \$70,000,000, and the annual interest, which the country had to pay, at \$5,563,263. The total deficit in the revenue since 1857, amounted to \$12,000,000, and he stated that some means must now be devised to produce an additional sum of \$2,000,000 annually, in order to make the public income equal to the expenditure. The financial difficulties thus developed, were not a little increased by the eagerness of the public men and press of England, to have Canada place itself in a still better position for defence.

But small as the Government majority was it held solidly together, and carried it safely through the session, which terminated on the 15th of October. To accomplish this object, however, ministers had to trim their course with the greatest care, and introduce no important measures which might provoke defeat. With a war-cloud lining the horizon, that might at any time break with disastrous force, the Southern Confederacy giving evidence of exhaustion, which must ere long leave the victors at leisure to turn their arms in this direction, and Congress authorising the President of the United States to give the necessary notice to terminate the Reciprocity Treaty, never was a strong government more required in Canada than at this juncture. The constitution was now fairly on its trial, a crisis was approaching in the affairs of this country, and how the difficulties of the situation were to be met and overcome, became a matter of no small anxiety with many thinking people.

The new year did not open at all brightly for Canada, and political matters still continued in a most unsatisfactory state. At a public dinner, given to ministers at Ottawa, McDougall, 1864. now Commissioner of Crown Lands, stated that he had abandoned representation by population, because he had found it to be impracticable, and was bitterly taken to task by the *Globe* for the expression. Brown still clung tenaciously to his opinions on this point, and had continued to hope that ministers might be induced to take the question up, until McDougall's language unde-

ceived him, and he now made no secret of his dissatisfaction and hostility. This circumstance had a damaging effect on the Cabinet, the position of which was still further weakened by an occurrence that now took place. The office of Solicitor-General West had been kept vacant, and towards the close of 1863 was accepted by Albert N. Richards, a Brockville barrister of reputation, and member for the South Riding of Leeds, who had been previously returned by a majority of one hundred and thirty-five. Early in January the writ for his presumed re-election was issued ; but great exertions being made by the Opposition, he was defeated by a majority of seventy-five, out of a total vote of two thousand six hundred and twenty-nine polled, and a Conservative returned in his stead. This was a severe blow to ministers, reduced their actual majority in the House of Assembly to one, and much speculation was now indulged in as to what course they would pursue.

The Legislature assembled at Quebec on the 19th of February. Monck's speech informed the public that he had taken steps for the better organisation of the militia force and volunteers, under the act of the preceding session ; that the period was approaching when notice might be given to terminate the Reciprocity Treaty, by either party thereto ; and that he had devoted his best attention to the great interests involved. He further stated that the Ottawa buildings had been prosecuted with much diligence during the preceding summer, and a fresh contract entered into for ocean steamship mail service. The debate on the address weakened the confidence in the Ministry of several of its supporters. The Opposition, however, did not think it advisable to move any amendment, and waited for a more favourable opportunity to assail it. A motion made by Brown, on the 14th, having reference to representation by population, still further embarrassed ministers. Sandfield MacDonald now vainly essayed to strengthen his Cabinet, and with that view made overtures to leaders of the Lower Canadian Opposition. But these being rejected, and Brown having openly stated in the House that, circumstanced as ministers were, they had better resign, they succumbed to the force of adverse circumstances, and surrendered their portfolios into the hands of the Governor-General. Blair, a member of the Upper House, and Provincial Secretary in the late administration, was now sent for by Monck to form a new Government. But this gentleman failing to succeed, Sir E. P. Tache, a Lower Canadian Conservative, was next requested to undertake the difficult task. He at first declined the proffered honour, but finally, at the solicitation of Cartier and other friends, consented to form a new administration. He succeeded, and when the House assembled on the 30th of March, Cauchon informed it that a Cabinet had been completed, with Tache, as Receiver-General and Minister of Militia, at its head. Its proposed policy was announced to be the placing of the militia force on the best possible footing, without increasing the existing expense, the maintenance of the Reciprocity Treaty, a commercial union with the lower or

seaboard Provinces, the readjustment of the canal tolls so as to secure western trade, the permanent establishment of the seat of government at Ottawa, departmental and fiscal reform, and the question of representation to remain an open one.* The House adjourned until the 3rd of May, to enable the members of the new Cabinet to complete their arrangements, and to go to their constituents for re-election. They were all again returned, after several sharp contests, with the exception of Foley, who was beaten in the North Riding of Waterloo by Bowman, a local Reformer.

But ministers, on resuming their seats, speedily realised that the Opposition was not disposed to treat either them or their policy with much forbearance. A part of the supporters of the Government had cheered themselves with the hope, that Sandfield Macdonald would at last rise superior to party, show that he was a true patriot, and relieve the constitutional strain by pursuing a moderate course. Some of his friends advised him to adopt this policy, that it was now a question between duty to his party and duty to his country; and that to overthrow the new administration might lead to a dead-lock fatal to the working of the constitution. "Did they spare us," bitterly retorted Macdonald with flashing eye, "when our overthrow was an equal menace to the constitution? No! I shall oppose them now as I have never done before; it is useless to talk to me of forbearance." And he was as good as his word. The Ministry was assailed at every point, their official programme met by scathing ridicule and condemnation, and every patriotic aspiration lay crushed out of sight by the intense bitterness of party feeling. The factious spirit of the Assembly was now thoroughly aroused, and wholly forgetful of the great public interests at stake, it appeared to be the sole aim of each of the rival parties to defeat their opponents, and secure themselves in power. On the 13th of May a motion of non-confidence in ministers, in consequence of their having advised the issuing of an "order in council" reducing the canal tolls, was moved by the Opposition. The vote stood sixty-four to sixty-two. The narrow majority of two was in favour of the Ministry, which still clung to power, although unable to initiate any important legislation, or to carry on the public business with due effect. On the 14th of June, it was again assailed by a fresh motion of want of confidence, based on a transaction which took place four years before. Galt, then Finance Minister in the Cartier-Macdonald Government, had, without the authority of Parliament, made a loan of \$100,000 to the city of Montreal, to enable it to

* The Ministry was composed as follows :—

Receiver General and Minister of Militia, Sir E. P. Tache; Attorney-General, East, Cartier; Minister of Finance, Galt; Commissioner of Public Works, Chapais; Minister of Agriculture, McGee; Solicitor-General, East, Langevin; Attorney General, West, John A. Macdonald; Commissioner of Crown Lands, Campbell; President of the Council, Buchanan; Postmaster-General, Foley; Provincial Secretary, Simpson; Solicitor-General, West, Cockburn.

redeem bonds given to the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railway Company. When a Government motion was made to go into committee of supply, Dorion moved an amendment censuring this transaction. The Ministry, although not responsible for the acts of a former Government, now expressed its determination to sustain Galt, and to share any censure that might be cast upon him. He defended himself in a speech of much plausibility and power, and although it was felt, that, even at its worst aspect, he could only be held accountable for negligence in keeping the public accounts, the Ministry was defeated by a majority of two, the vote standing sixty to fifty-eight; Rankin and Duncan, two of its supporters hitherto, going over to the Opposition.

Faction had now literally exhausted itself, the public affairs of the country were completely at a stand-still, and for the moment it seemed as if constitutional government had finally ended in total failure. Repeated changes of Cabinets had been tried, dissolutions of Parliament had been resorted to, every constitutional specific had been tested, but all alike had failed to unravel the Gordian Knot which party spirit had tied so firmly round the destinies of Canada. And the public stood aghast at this state of things; while the lovers of British constitutional government regarded the extraordinary situation with unlimited dismay. Lord Sydenham's Act of Union had already fulfilled its mission, and from the progress of events, and the bitter antagonisms of party and race, had arisen a condition of affairs which imperatively pointed to a fresh constitutional revolution, as the only solution of the difficulties that presented themselves. Nor could the double-majority principle be now resorted to, as even a temporary specific; while, on the other hand, the Lower Canadians would never agree, under existing circumstances, to concede a representative preponderance to the sister Province. Ministers found themselves in a serious dilemma, and it was a most difficult matter to determine on the best line of procedure. Party spirit ran altogether too high to permit of an attempt to win support from the ranks of the Opposition, by a coalition reconstruction of the Cabinet; and it appeared, for the moment, that in the dissolution of Parliament, and an appeal to the electorate, lay the only solution of the existing difficulty. Monck was of the same opinion, and gave ministers the necessary authority to dissolve the Assembly. But, before any steps were taken in this direction, a new and better way out of the difficulty unexpectedly presented itself. On the next day after the defeat of the Ministry, Brown had a conversation with Alexander Morris and John Henry Pope, two Conservative members of the Assembly; during which he expressed his regret for the grave crisis that had arisen, stated that it could not be overcome by an appeal to the people, and declared that an earnest effort should now be made to settle, for all time, the existing disagreement between Upper and Lower Canada. Brown was the chairman of a Parliamentary committee, appointed some time before, to take into consideration the

best means to remedy the difficulties which had arisen in conducting the Government. Its report had been made to the House on the morning of the 14th, and strongly reflected Brown's own views as to the joint and several authority scheme, which had been so frequently alluded to in the columns of the *Globe*. This report also stated, that the members of the committee had held several meetings, given careful consideration to the matter submitted to them, and were in favour of changes in the direction of a federative system, applied either to Canada alone, or to all the British North American Provinces. Brown expressed his personal willingness to co-operate with the existing, or any other, administration, in dealing promptly and firmly, in accordance with the report of the committee, with pending difficulties, and consented that his views should be communicated to the Cabinet. This proposition threw a ray of light amid the gloom that now beset the onward pathway of ministers, who, in their extremity, eagerly grasped at the only course which promised certain relief. In the "joint authority" scheme of George Brown, so frequently voted down, in one shape or another, in Parliament, and so mercilessly ridiculed, at times, by friend and foe alike, the Cabinet at last saw the only safe road out of the constitutional difficulties which had arisen. The darkness of night had at length passed away, and success dawned upon an agitation based, as matters then presented themselves, upon correct political principles, the advocacy of which had so long appeared utterly hopeless, and only worthy of being classed as the idle dream of an impracticable theorist. The accomplishment of the project must at once lead to a new Coalition Government, give the facile opportunists of the John A. Macdonald school a fresh lease of power, soften, if not wholly neutralise, the antagonism of its chief promoter, and effectually weaken the bitter Gaelic belligerency of John Sandfield Macdonald. All this was clearly seen by ministers; and no time was lost in meeting Brown's opportune advances. On the 17th, he was waited upon, in his rooms at the St. Louis Hotel, by John A. Macdonald and Galt, who informed him that they had been charged by their colleagues to ask his co-operation in strengthening the Government, with a view to settling the sectional differences existing between Upper and Lower Canada, and so as to permit of the public business being efficiently conducted. Brown replied that nothing but the extreme urgency of the existing crisis, and the hope of settling the sectional troubles of the Province forever, could, in his opinion, justify their meeting together for any political action; but he was now prepared to waive all personal considerations for the public benefit.* He thus stood the sole master of the situation, and his hour of triumph had at last come to him in the most ample manner. The man who had so deftly snatched the falling sceptre of Francis Hincks from his hand, who had constantly traversed all his plans and neutralised his

* Mackenzie's Life of George Brown, p. 88.

policy, who had been his perpetual opponent at every point, and the shafts of whose keen wit had so often transfixed his "joint authority" idea—that man was now a suppliant for his support, and in order to acquire that support stood prepared to adopt the policy he had so often covered with sarcasm, and to aid in carrying it into practical effect. And George Brown's Reform friends, so restive under his leadership, which had been little better hitherto than that of the mere agitator, and which had never led them into power, or secured for them the emoluments of place, so intensely sighed for by the Canadian professional politician, in imitation of his American cousin; who had recently essayed to stand without him and failed—these friends must now bend to him as the real master of the situation after all, and admit his line of policy to have been, all along, the true one under existing circumstances, and that which the country required. His position, at the moment, was most certainly a proud and commanding one, and its importance was fully realised by him. Nor did he now engage to give his support, in carrying out even his own especial views, without due and even urgent solicitation, and so as to emphasise that support, and make it appear still more valuable. His candle was not to be hid under a bushel, by any means. On the contrary its light must be made as conspicuous as possible, and so as to shine to his own advantage. He clearly gauged the whole situation, and was perfectly cool and cautious throughout the protracted negotiations that ensued. On the 19th a satisfactory basis of agreement was at last completed, subject to the approval of the Governor-General, and put into writing, at Brown's desire, so that there might be no future misunderstanding.* Two days afterwards a meeting of the Upper Canada members of the Opposition was held in Quebec, at which Brown's course was fully endorsed, and he was asked to continue the negotiations to a close. He was also asked to be one of the three Reform members who were to enter the Cabinet, in order to aid in carrying out the stipulated arrangements as to Confederation and otherwise.† Although very unwilling to take the latter step, he finally yielded to the solicitations of his friends, the urgency of circumstances, and the representations of John A. Macdonald, who emphatically declared that his presence in the Government was indispensable to success. It was a shrewd, yet graceful, act of flattery from his ancient opponent, and had unquestionably a molli-

* The Government are prepared to pledge themselves to bring in a measure next session for the purpose of removing existing difficulties by introducing the federal principle into Canada, coupled with such provision as will permit the Maritime Provinces and the North-West Territory to be incorporated into the same system of government. And the Government will seek, by sending representatives to the Lower Provinces and England, to secure the assent of those interests which are beyond the control of our own legislation, to such a measure as may enable all British North America to be united under a general legislature based upon the federal principle.—*Agreement with Brown.*

† Mackenzie's Life of George Brown, p. 92.

fying effect for the time being. So Brown became President of the Council, William McDougall, Provincial Secretary, and Oliver Mowat, Postmaster-General ; and John A. Macdonald, the master-spirit of the negotiations on the Conservative side, sat in the same Cabinet with the most able and bitter of all his political foes. With his usual Scotch shrewdness and tact he had skilfully used circumstances in his own behalf, showed himself to be a consummate opportunist, and laid the solid foundation of a new policy, which afterwards gave him, for many a day, a lease of that power which formed the essence of his existence. Thus a strong coalition government was formed to carry out the newly-accepted policy of Confederation, and although extreme parties, here and there, grumbled at these arrangements, the great body of the people, of all shades of opinion, thankful that the dangerous crisis had been safely passed, gladly accepted the situation, and calmly and confidently awaited the progress of events. Never before had a coalition been more opportune. It rendered the government of the country again respectable, elevated it above the accidents of faction, and enabled it to wield the administrative power with that firmness and decision, so requisite during the trying and critical period which speedily ensued. It would indeed seem as if a special Providence was controlling matters for its own wise purposes, and evoking results from the ambitions and passions of partisan leaders, directly tending to elevate this country to a position of greater eminence, and of increased usefulness among the nations. The curtain fell on the Parliamentary drama on the 30th of June. But faction, even yet, was not wholly extinct, and soon found a prominent exponent in Matthew Crooks Cameron, a Reformer, who now contested North Ontario with McDougall, and beat him by one hundred votes. The latter was not, however, left without a seat in the Legislature. He was subsequently returned by the thoughtful Scotch settlers of North Lanark, who gave him a large majority over Rosamond, a cloth manufacturer of Almonte, whose father, an Irish Conservative of the straitest school, showed his appreciation of the coalition, by voting for the new Provincial Secretary and against his own son.

Very speedily did the progress of events develop the necessity of a strong Government. Hitherto the long frontier of Canada had been wrapt in the most profound quiet ; and while this country afforded a ready and safe asylum to Southern refugees, no obstacles were thrown in the way of the North in the purchase of remounts for its cavalry, and of other supplies. Nor unless in very glaring cases, which could not possibly be overlooked, were any active steps taken to prevent recruits for its armies from passing out of Canada in no inconsiderable numbers. But this condition of affairs was now about to be very materially altered. Sorely pressed in all their coasts, without the remotest prospect of European intervention in their behalf, the Confederate authorities essayed, in the month of September, to effect a diversion in their favour from the Canadian

frontier—to menace the defenceless borders of the Northern States, and thus, if possible, to cause a war between them and Great Britain. In pursuance of this policy, two American steamboats, the *Philo Parsons* and *Island Queen*, were seized on Lake Erie by Confederate desperadoes, some of whom had been refugees in this country, with the immediate design of releasing a number of Southern prisoners, confined on Johnson's Island, and of destroying the lake shipping. But beyond the seizure of these steamboats, their partial plunder, and the great alarm occasioned for the moment, no other injury was inflicted. Scarcely, however, had the excitement which these acts produced died away when, on the 19th of October, a body of twenty-three Southern refugees made a raid on the little Vermont town of Saint Albans, close to the Canadian frontier; shot an American citizen there, robbed its banks of \$233,000 in current funds, and then hastily retreated across the border. The Canadian authorities promptly arrested fourteen of these marauders, who were committed for safe keeping to the Montreal gaol. Nevertheless, our relations with the United States were now much disturbed, and it became necessary to incur a large outlay, in policing the frontier with thirty volunteer companies, in order to prevent the recurrence of further raids of a similar character. It was also deemed expedient to pass a stringent act for the prevention of outrages on the borders, and to enable the Governor-General to order disorderly aliens to leave the Province, or, in case of their refusal to do so, to commit them to prison during pleasure.

These unpleasant circumstances, and others of a kindred character, caused the Canadian people to long earnestly for the conclusion of the war. But the re-election of Lincoln to the Presidency, in November, plainly established the fact that the Northern people had determined to prolong the struggle, until the total subjugation of the South had been accomplished. During the progress of the war, a great change had taken place in the sentiments of the Northern States. At first the preservation of the Union, without any reference to slavery, was the sole object aimed at. But rendered desperate by repeated defeat and disaster, and coming to regard slavery as the true cause of all their difficulties, its total extinction was finally aimed at; and to this task, by the re-election of Lincoln, did the Northern people apply themselves. On the other hand, the South was equally resolute in the preservation of slavery, and in founding an empire having that institution for its basis. So the struggle must be prolonged until the total defeat of one or the other of the belligerents, and it only remained for Canadians to fold their arms and look patiently on. Meanwhile, the bitter feelings provoked by the Lake Erie outrage and the Saint Albans' raid, as well as by the expression of sympathy for the South on the part of many of the Canadian journals, reacted most unfavourably on this country, and materially tended, in conjunction with other adverse causes, to the speedy abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty. The hurried and indecent discharge of the Saint Albans' raiders, by

Judge Coursol, of Montreal, in December, on the ground that they had acted under instructions from the Confederate States, and were lawful belligerents, and the illegal surrender to them of \$90,000 of stolen money, which the Government had subsequently to repay, by the police-chief of that city, still further complicated matters, and intensified the unpleasant relations now subsisting with the United States.

While these events were transpiring in this country, the project of a confederation of all the North American Provinces had attracted the attention of many of the leading minds of the Mother Country, and was very generally regarded there as the true method of removing the difficulties that now enveloped Canada, both as regarded the question of defence, looming up at this juncture into great importance, and the legislative situation. The idea of a Union between themselves had already been agitated in the Maritime Provinces, was very favourably regarded there, and during September a conference was held at Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, to arrange its conditions. It at once occurred to the astute mind of John A. Macdonald, that this circumstance could be turned to profitable account, in promoting the project of general Confederation, which he had now so much at heart. The Cabinet fell readily into his views, and eight of its members, including Brown and himself, proceeded to Charlottetown. Although having no official standing at the conference, they were at once invited to join in its discussions, a courtesy of which they promptly availed themselves, soon converted the majority of the delegates to their views, and at their suggestion an enlarged project of Confederation was readily entertained. "The Canadians descended upon us," said one of the islanders afterwards, "and before they were three days amongst us we forgot our own scheme and thought only about theirs." "This scheme of ours," wittily remarked Macdonald to a colleague, as he walked to his hotel, "like Aaron's serpent, has swallowed all the others." The Maritime delegates found it impossible to agree upon a capital for their proposed union, owing to local jealousies, and accordingly lent a more willing ear to the project of a larger scheme of federation than was at first proposed; and it was finally agreed that the convention should adjourn to a date to be fixed by the Governor-General, and then re-assemble at Quebec. From Charlottetown the Canadian ministers proceeded to Halifax, and afterwards to St. John; and their able speeches at banquets given in their honour at both cities, did much to promote the project of Confederation. Upon their return home they formally advised Monck of the great success, so far, of their mission, and recommended the appointment of an early day for the conference at Quebec. The 10th of October was accordingly decided upon, and the Lieutenant-Governors of all the Maritime Provinces duly notified of the time of meeting. It was a memorable day in the annals of this country, and the dull gray rock which so proudly rose above the quaint old city, and so solidly held the gateway to the Upper

St. Lawrence, never sentinelled more important proceedings.—Canada sent its whole ministerial Cabinet of twelve to the conference ; from Nova Scotia came five representatives, with Charles Tupper at their head ; from New Brunswick came seven delegates, with Samuel L. Tilley as their leader ; while a like number came from Prince Edward Island with John Hamilton Gray at the front. Newfoundland sent only two representatives—F. B. Carter, speaker of the Assembly, and John Ambrose Shea, the leader of the Opposition. The conference proceeded to business by electing Sir E. P. Tache, as its President, and Major Hewitt Bernard, of the staff of the Canadian Attorney-General, as its secretary. The delegates proceeded to business methodically and cautiously, the representatives of each province having a close eye to its local benefits, and seeking to place its peculiar advantages in the best possible light. Canadians pointed to their vast territorial area, their national wealth, and their important population, as their contributions to the proposed state ; while the Maritime Provinces plumed themselves on their noble harbours, their great merchant fleets, and their foreign commerce. In addition, Newfoundlanders set forth the value of their fisheries and their mines ; New Brunswickers pointed to the vigorous and growing trade they would bring into the partnership ; Nova Scotians alluded complacently to their vast coal fields ; while Prince Edward Islanders coquettishly asserted their claims to consideration, as representing the Isle of Wight of British North America. Gradually difficulties were smoothed down, local pretensions regulated, a harmonious basis of action settled upon, and resolutions adopted, on which, subsequently, the Imperial Act of Confederation was based. The conference held its sessions with closed doors, and finally ended its proceedings on the 28th of the month.

The two last months of the year present few events of importance to record. As the Indian summer drew towards its close, Oliver Mowat wearied of his Cabinet partnership, and took refuge from its worries and cares in an Upper Canadian Vice-Chancellorship, and William P. Howland, a man high in the confidence of the Reform Party, became Postmaster-General in his stead. Howland had gained wide experience in Government affairs as the Finance Minister of two Reform Cabinets, and was universally acknowledged to be a man of high character and sound judgment. His appointment to office was well received by the country at large, and the people of West York re-elected him by acclamation.

Parliament met at Quebec on the 19th of January. Monck's speech congratulated the Chambers on the "general contentment and prosperity of the people of the Province, and the continuance of the inestimable blessings of peace." He alluded also to the outrages on the American frontier, the perpetrators of which had sought refuge in Canada, rendering a detective police system necessary ; to the calling out a portion of the volunteer force and its prompt response ; and asked for larger powers to

deal with persons who violated the right of asylum in this country. The progress of Confederation was briefly yet pointedly limned out, and the Legislature informed that Her Majesty's Secretary of State was prepared to introduce a measure into the Imperial Parliament, to give effect to the Acts of Union which might be passed by the different local legislatures. It remained with the public men of British North America to say, whether the vast tract of country which they inhabited should be consolidated into a state, combining within its area all the elements of national greatness, providing for the security of its component parts, and contributing to the strength and stability of the empire; or whether the several provinces of which it was constituted, should remain in their present fragmentary and isolated condition, comparatively powerless for mutual aid, and incapable of undertaking their proper share of Imperial responsibility. Monck closed his speech by fervently praying, that in the discussion of an issue of such moment, their minds might be guided to such conclusions as would redound to the honour of their sovereign, the welfare of her subjects, and their own reputation as patriots and statesmen.

On the 23rd, the Assembly proceeded to take into consideration the address in reply, when two Lower Canadians, Dorion, of Hochelaga, and Laframboise, moved in amendment thereto, that the House did not desire to disturb existing political relations, nor to create a new nationality. Only four Upper Canadians supported this amendment, and the whole number in favour of which was but twenty-five, while sixty-four voted against it. On the 12th paragraph of the address, asserting the feasibility and desirability of union, being put to vote, there were seventy yeas and only seventeen nays, not one member of British origin being among the latter. Another division followed with like result; and the same day the address was fully concurred in. What a profound relief was this from the wearisome partisan debates, which had of late years characterised the moving of addresses! So far as Canada was concerned, Confederation was now an accomplished fact; and the subsequent long debates on the question, which distinguished this session, were mere matters of form, and designed to give members an opportunity of expressing their individual opinions relative thereto, to be recorded in a "blue book" of one thousand and thirty-two octavo pages, of little value to the historian, and no small expense to the country. The question was finally disposed of by a motion asking an Imperial measure of Confederation, which the House endorsed by a vote of ninety-one to thirty-three. On the 18th of March, the necessary business having all been completed, Parliament was prorogued.

Meanwhile, in the Maritime Provinces, the project of Confederation had already encountered serious opposition. In New Brunswick, the recent general election had resulted in the return of a majority hostile to the proposed union; Nova Scotia, also, showed a disposition to ignore the action of its delegates at the Quebec

conference ; the Legislature of Prince Edward Island passed resolutions wholly antagonistic to Confederation, and Newfoundland repudiated it altogether. Notwithstanding these discouragements the Canadian administration determined to stand firmly by its purpose, and sent Macdonald, Cartier, Brown, and Galt, to press the project of Confederation on the attention of the Home Government. The Palmerston administration gave them every assurance of the most cordial support, but stated, at the same time, that no effort would be made to coerce the Maritime Provinces into Confederation ; and that they would be left at complete liberty to accept or reject the measure as they deemed proper. An Imperial guarantee, however, of a loan to construct the Intercolonial Railway was promised, the Imperial obligation of defending every portion of the empire admitted, and the completion of the fortifications at Quebec and their necessary armament with modern artillery agreed to. The Canadian delegates, on their side, undertook to devote all their country's resources, both in men and money, to preserve the connection with the Mother Country. The cession of the North West Territories, by the Hudson's Bay Company, to Canada, was also considered, and it was agreed that steps were to be taken to ascertain the nature of the rights possessed by the company. These negotiations were conducted alike carefully and discreetly, and at their close, shortly after mid-summer, the delegates returned home, and at once applied themselves to prepare their report for submission to Parliament.

While a revolution, rendered necessary by the course of events and national progress, was thus being peacefully accomplished in Canada, in accordance with the expansive character of the *unwritten* British constitution, the dark drama of blood destined to reconstruct the *written* constitution of the United States, with slavery for ever blotted out from their escutcheon, was rapidly drawing to a close. Before Petersburg the silent and inflexible Grant still patiently marshalled his legions now waiting for the long-looked-for opportunity to crush the gallant army of Lee, whose distant rear was already threatened by the victorious forces of Sherman, sweeping down in a desolating current, forty miles in width, through the very heart of the South. In the last days of March, the western army of invasion was not two hundred miles from Richmond, and the dark shadow of final defeat was already settling down on the slave empire of the Confederate States. The sunshine of spring had no ray of hope for the Southern oligarchs, and the people of Canada watched with the most intense interest for the final catastrophe. The city of Washington now no longer feared invasion, and while the South grew weaker and weaker in the final struggle, and the perspiration of blood coursed down her limbs, as she saw the sword suspended above her head about to descend, a brilliant audience assembled in the capital, on the 14th of April, at Ford's theatre, to witness a comedy, as if in very mockery of her woe. Flag's gaily decorated the President's box, brilliant gasaliers flashed

their light on the beauty of the licentious metropolis, and a sea of delighted upturned faces in the pit met the eye from the glittering dress circle above. The curtain rises for the third act, the play pauses for a moment, there is a pistol shot, the assassin Booth leaps upon the stage with a long dagger in his hand, and shouting *Sic semper tyrannis*, the motto of the state of Virginia, disappeared at the back of the scene. A woman's wailing cry now fell painfully on the ears of the vast audience, and it was speedily ascertained that her husband, the honest and genial Abraham Lincoln, had been foully murdered, and that the second term of his presidency had already terminated. A profound thrill of horror coursed through the veins of the Canadian people, as the telegraph flashed the news of the dark deed throughout the length and breadth of the land. And public meetings were held in every direction, at which motions were passed deprecating the assassination, and expressing the most profound sympathy for the people of the Northern States. Lincoln dead; Lee defeated, crushed; Johnston surrendered; the empire of the South lay in broken fragments in the dust. Cotton was no longer king, and the fetters had fallen from the slave. What a commentary on human hopes and expectations! History had again repeated itself, and in our own times demonstrated that national sins beget national punishments, a lesson it had already so frequently taught. The upas tree of slavery, planted by British cupidity in the early days of the old Thirteen Colonies, and so lovingly watered at a later period by the United States, themselves, had blossomed and grown until its prodigious size extended over millions of human chattels, and involved commercial and political interests of the most gigantic proportions. Its branches spread over the South in all directions, while its baneful odours permeated every corner of the North, floated heavily through the warehouses and along the massive quays of Liverpool, and tainted the atmosphere of the cotton mills of Manchester. No wonder, then, that the slave nobles fancied that cotton was indeed king, and that their cause was invincible. Spurning the numerical supremacy of the North, which had at last dared to assert itself politically, in the election of the obscure Illinois lawyer, Lincoln, to the presidential chair, they rushed into war, in 1861, to found a slave empire, and thus presented, of themselves, the solution of that question of perpetual involuntary servitude, which men had so long regarded as utterly hopeless. And thus did the Wise Disposer of human events "make even the wrath of man to praise Him." The national sin had indeed brought down the national punishment. It hopelessly crushed the South, it placed a huge burden of national debt on a hitherto almost untaxed people, and Liverpool and Manchester, the great marts of its products, partook of its bitter tribulation.

From the imposing historical events transpiring in a neighbouring country, we now turn to contemplate the comparatively quiet current of Canadian affairs. Midsummer brought with it sad misfortune for the ancient city of Quebec. Its narrow streets and

frequently recurring wooden buildings, had repeatedly made it the scene of terrible fires, and on the 23rd of June a new conflagration rendered three thousand people homeless, and destroyed property to the extent of \$1,000,000. For the last time the Legislature of United Canada assembled there, on the 8th of August, to hear the report of the deputation to England relative to Confederation, and to complete the important business left unfinished at its last session. The premier, Sir E. P. Tache, had died a few days before, and Sir Narcisse Belleau, a member of the Upper House, became his successor; so the public business moved tranquilly forward. The session was an unusually short one, the large majority now wielded by ministers enabling them to push their measures through the House very quickly. Beyond the act imposing a stamp-duty on notes and bills, it developed no very novel feature in legislation, and was chiefly distinguished for the large number of private measures enacted. The despatches and papers laid before the Assembly stated the willingness of the Home Government to aid in forwarding Confederation, and that it had already instructed the British Minister at Washington, Sir Frederick Bruce, to give all practicable assistance to the Canadian Cabinet in order to procure the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, which must expire in the ensuing month of March. The death of the Imperial premier, Lord Palmerston, in October, produced no alteration as regarded Canadian affairs, and the policy of his Cabinet touching them was fully adopted by its successor. Towards the latter part of the year, the removal at length of the seat of government to Ottawa, and the rumours of a Fenian invasion from the United States, were the only events of note.

In the beginning of January, Brown resigned his seat in the Cabinet, in consequence apparently of a disagreement between his colleagues and himself, on the mode of procuring a continuance of the Reciprocity Treaty. In order to secure that most desirable result, the members of the Cabinet, with one exception, were in favour of making a good many concessions to the United States, and of accepting legislative, if treaty, reciprocity could not be procured. Brown, on the other hand, would not agree to accept legislative reciprocity, which might be terminated at any moment by a vote of Congress; and was opposed to making, what he deemed to be unnecessary concessions. Finding himself thus at issue with all his colleagues, he accordingly resigned. But as it soon became perfectly plain, that neither the American Government nor Congress would agree to a renewal of the treaty in any shape in which it could be at all accepted by Canada, many persons, among whom were the great majority of his own political friends, doubted the wisdom of Brown's resignation, and considered that he should have remained in the Cabinet until Confederation, the purpose for which he had entered it, had been fully accomplished. "I was," said he, in his explanations at the next session of Parliament, "as much in favour of a renewal of reciprocity as any member of

this House, but I wanted a fair treaty, and we should not overlook the fact, while admitting its benefits, that the treaty was attended with some disadvantages to us. I contend that we should not have gone to Washington as suitors for any terms they were pleased to give us. We were satisfied with the treaty, and the American Government should have come to us with a proposition, since they, not we, desired a change." Uncharitable people, however, asserted, and with much apparent truth, that the treaty matter was only the ostensible, but not the true cause of Brown's resignation. As a member of what was virtually a Macdonald Cabinet, and of which Belleau was little better than the figure-head, his position daily became more and more irksome, and despite his pledge to support the Ministry until Confederation was fully accomplished, he eagerly grasped at the first slender pretext for resignation which presented itself, and so escape from serving under a man he still, and as long as he lived, thoroughly disliked. Recent differences, too, with regard to the appointment of a successor to Tache had partially reopened old sores. The circumstance, also, of Galt and Howland having been despatched to Washington to negotiate relative to the renewal of reciprocity, while he had been unwisely, and, perhaps, spitefully overlooked, completed his disgust at his position, and he resented the slight at the first opportunity.* Brown announced that he left the Government with no unkind feelings towards any member of it. But this statement, however true it might be then, was not sustained by his subsequent course. It was not long before he again assumed the role of the agitator, and was once more in violent opposition to the Ministry. He had, at first, counted on causing it additional embarrassment, and thus seriously imperilling Confederation, by taking his two Reform colleagues with him. But his extreme course was disapproved of by Howland, who remained in the Cabinet, and became the leader of its Reform section. McDougall also stood firm in his support. Ferguson Blair, a leading Reformer of good reputation, became President of the Council, and was re-elected by his constituents; and Brown's sinister project of embarrassment failed for the time. His old antagonist, John A. Macdonald, had beaten and baffled him again.

As the period drew near for the termination of the Reciprocity Treaty, Canada presented a most unusual spectacle. American dealers in farm stock and produce spread themselves in every direction over the country, already largely denuded of saleable articles, and purchased everything buyable. The various international ferries were choked up continually with vast droves of cattle, sheep, and horses, as though a hostile army had harried all Canada; while the conveying capacity of the railways, in every direction, was taxed to its utmost limits to meet the needs of produce buyers at this juncture. Under the provisions of the Reciprocity Treaty, the international commerce between the United States and this country

* Mackenzie's *Life of Brown*, p. 103. Dent's *Last Forty Years*, vol. ii, p. 456.

had swelled to the enormous sum of \$70,000,000 per annum. Its termination produced a great disturbance of trade, and the New England States, now so accustomed to the cheap markets of Canada, lying almost at their doors, were largely the sufferers, and had to look elsewhere for supplies for their manufacturing population. The brewers of New York and Pennsylvania experienced the greatest inconvenience in having their supplies of Canadian barley cut off, while woollen and worsted manufacturers found it utterly impossible to replace the long staple they had hitherto drawn so abundantly from this country; and railway companies and produce merchants bewailed the loss of a profitable and growing tributary commerce. Never before were the calculations of American politicians so thoroughly at fault. They had vainly supposed that Canada could not possibly survive the loss of reciprocity, that its abrogation must hasten annexation to the United States, hoped in this way to rid themselves of an independent and lightly-taxed country, lying conterminous with their northern frontier for many hundreds of miles, and never once imagined they were about to seriously injure themselves. And, yet, it so turned out that the termination of the Reciprocity Treaty was much more detrimental to the United States than to Canada. Here its loss was much less sensibly felt than could have been supposed possible even by the most sanguine, and scarcely raised an adverse ripple on the current of our prosperity. Its operations had already swept away all surplus farm stock, trenched largely even upon necessary animals, enriched the country, and placed it in an admirable position to start forward on its own account. Instead of being tributaries and customers of the United States, the Canadians would henceforth be competitors; and the loss of reciprocity, while it greatly tended to stimulate Confederation, led the commercial men of this country to push their trade far outside its accustomed limits, and rendered the prospect of annexation infinitely more remote than it had ever been before. Nor did its loss diminish very materially, if at all, the demand for the products of the forest, one of the great staples of this country; and the immediate advance in the price of sawn timber was quite equal to the duty imposed by the United States' tariff.

The calmness with which the people of Canada regarded the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, puzzled not a little some of the leading politicians of the United States, who had so vainly fancied that it must lead them to clamour for union with themselves. But, having so totally failed in this direction, they did not hesitate to resort to more questionable means to accomplish their purpose; and to this policy, as well as to the desire to secure the Irish vote, may now be traced the countenance so openly given to the Fenian associations in many of the principal towns in the Northern States. The readiness with which military supplies of all descriptions were procured, and the large numbers of this society, which made no secret of its hostile intentions, led many Americans to indulge in

the chimerical idea that it was equal to the conquest of this country, or at least to so harass its people, that they would hasten to seek repose under the flag of the United States. Early in March the plan of Sweeny, the Fenian generalissimo, was published. It was based on a series of combined movements, and the 17th of March, St. Patrick's day, designated as the time when hostile operations would commence. The Canadian Government at once responded to the threat of invasion by calling out ten thousand volunteers—our citizen soldiers, and never was a call more promptly met. In less than twenty-four hours fourteen thousand men sprang to arms to defend their country. It was a gallant spectacle, the best possible answer to the sneers of those who would depreciate the military spirit of Canada, and raised her greatly in the estimation of the Mother Country. But the 17th of March passed away, no Fenian advance took place, and the proposed invasion exhausted itself, in the month of April, in a silly demonstration by a few badly-armed men, of the O'Mahony faction, against the New Brunswick frontier. In the middle of May, all danger having apparently passed away, several of the volunteer corps, called out for active duty, were permitted to return home.

As summer advanced, it became evident that the Fenian organisation in the United States was of much larger proportions than had been deemed possible. It was divided into two sections. One of these, led by O'Mahony and Stephens, made Ireland the sole objective point of its preparations; the other, and much the more formidable, led by Roberts and Sweeny, proposed, in the first place, to conquer Canada, and make it the base of subsequent operations against Great Britain. However chimerical this project might be, it found no small favour among public men in the United States, and both the Republican and Democratic parties, from President Johnson downwards, coquetted with the Fenian leaders, in order to secure the Irish electoral vote. Hitherto that vote had almost invariably gone to the Democratic or pro-slavery party; but the Republican leaders now boldly and shamelessly bid for it, and hoped, by a *quasi* countenance of Fenian operations, to effect their object. An indistinct idea was also entertained by them, that possibly this course might ultimately promote, in some way, the union of Canada with the United States, obliterate the Alabama claims, and gratify their dislike for Great Britain, intensified by the aid and sympathy extended by so many of its subjects to the south during the war. Under these circumstances, the Fenian leaders were permitted, almost without restraint, to make hostile preparations. Fenian circles, or societies, were numerous in all the northern cities and towns of the United States, and formed the medium through which arms and munitions of war, now so cheap and abundant, and money were collected. Aspiring politicians, and other sympathisers, contributed large sums to the invasion fund, while a number of disciplined men, discharged from the American army, without settled employment, and unfitted for the ordinary

routine of civil life by their military antecedents, were only too ready to engage in any enterprise that presented a prospect of pay and plunder. Nor were experienced leaders wanting to direct this dangerous class of men in their designs upon Canada. Sweeny, an officer of some skill, had resigned his commission in the American regular service to take the supreme control, and with him were associated a number of well-trained military men, who had held commands, either at the north or south, during the late war.

With the expectation of being joined by many presumed disaffected Canadians, the Fenian leaders, about the middle of May, commenced to make preparations, on a large scale, for a descent on this country. Three lines of operations had been determined on : one from Chicago and other western cities, on the Lake Huron coast ; another from Buffalo and Rochester, across the Niagara frontier ; and a third, and the most formidable of all, from the cities of the Atlantic sea-board, to organise in the vicinity of Ogdensburg. The force to assemble at the latter point was destined to menace Ottawa, only fifty miles distant, to capture Prescott, and operate along the exposed frontier in the direction of the Eastern Townships. But this system of combined attack was beyond the capacity of Fenian resources. It rendered necessary a simultaneous movement of their different columns of invasion, and a failure in this respect must largely tend to neutralise every prospect of ultimate success. A few gunboats on the lakes and rivers would have been invaluable at this juncture ; but, through the remissness of the Home and Colonial authorities, these had not been provided. Nor for some cause were adequate preparations adopted to resist the attack which, during the last week in May, it was quite evident would shortly be made. The city of Buffalo, situated at the foot of Lake Erie, now swarmed with Fenian bands, which had collected from all quarters. Before daylight on Friday the 1st of June, a body of these, about twelve hundred strong, under the command of General O'Neil, crossed at Blackrock, three miles down the Niagara River, at this point about half a mile wide, and established themselves unopposed on Canadian soil. Their first step was to take possession of the ruins of Fort Erie, a short distance above their point of landing, and of the depot of the Buffalo and Lake Huron Railway close by, but fortunately not before all the rolling stock had been safely removed. Beyond taking all the provisions and horses they could lay hands on, no violence was offered to the inhabitants, and in some instances guards were furnished by order of O'Neil for their special protection. During the day an American war vessel, the *Michigan*, patrolled the river with the ostensible object of preventing the crossing of reinforcements. Small boats, nevertheless, plied back and forth continually, conveying not only supplies but recruits to the Fenian camp, no hindrance of any consequence being attempted. But whatever might have been the expectations of the Fenians as to a Canadian rising in their favour, they were almost wholly disappointed. Not half a dozen of the

inhabitants joined them altogether ; and their only hope of aid lay in reinforcements from the American side of the river, which reached them during the day to the extent of some three hundred men. On Saturday morning, O'Neil made a reconnaissance in force down the Niagara, to conceal his true objective point. Then, rapidly retracing his steps, he left a guard at Fort Erie, to preserve his communication with Buffalo, and moving in the direction of the Welland Canal, for about ten miles, took up a position in an elevated woodland, termed Limeridge, where a temporary breastwork was at once constructed.

Meanwhile, the Canadian military authorities had been actively engaged in making preparations to drive this dangerous band of marauders from our soil. Volunteer corps were called out in every direction, and General Napier, commanding the Western District, instructed to adopt any measures he deemed necessary. During Friday the Queen's Own, a Toronto volunteer corps, composed of college students and other patriotic young men of that city, the 13th Hamilton Volunteers, and the York and Caledonia volunteer companies, in all not quite nine hundred strong, and commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Booker, a volunteer officer of no experience, were despatched to Port Colborne, at the Lake Erie entrance of the Welland Canal, to cover that important work. Late on Friday evening, a column of eighteen hundred troops, composed of seven hundred and fifty regulars, and the rest of volunteers, with a battery of artillery, all under the command of Colonel Peacock, took post two miles above Niagara Falls, at the classic village of Chipewewa. On Saturday morning very little was known as to the whereabouts of the enemy, no proper system of scouts having been organised. O'Neil was still supposed to be in the vicinity of Fort Erie, and the design was that Booker's force should unite with that under Peacock, and attack him there. In pursuance of this plan, Booker moved downwards from Port Colborne, at an early hour, six miles by railway and three on foot, and at nine A. M. unexpectedly encountered O'Neil's outposts at Limeridge. Had he been an officer of experience, he would have now leisurely withdrawn his force, and communicated with Peacock ; but instead of doing this, the Queen's Own were thrown forward in skirmishing order, and very quickly and gallantly drove back the advanced line of O'Neil on his main body. Had this advance been properly supported, and the whole force, new to the battle-field as it was, handled with skill, the enemy would unquestionably have been beaten ; but, just at the critical moment, an improper order to form square, produced by the sight of a few mounted Fenians, led to immediate confusion, increased by some of the advanced skirmish line getting out of ammunition, and retiring on their supports. The panic so common to raw and badly-led troops now ensued, and the whole force was speedily in full retreat. The loss of the volunteers in this action was one officer and six men killed, and four officers and nineteen men wounded, some quite dangerously. The Fenian

loss has never been correctly ascertained, as the possession of the battle-field enabled them to bury their dead without notice, but it was certainly larger than that of the volunteers.

O'Neil had not the heart to pursue his temporary advantage, and soon after the action commenced a retreat on Fort Erie. He arrived there, about two P. M., to find the post in possession of a force of seventy volunteers, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Dennis, who had meanwhile arrived in a tug-boat from Port Colborne, and captured sixty prisoners whom he stowed away in the hold of the vessel. The tug-boat had also rendered efficient service in patrolling the river. A brief action immediately ensued, which necessarily ended disastrously for the little body of volunteers, thirteen of whom were wounded, some badly, and forty made prisoners. But they fought stoutly, and inflicted a loss on the enemy of five killed, and quite a number wounded.

Worn out with marching and fighting, the Fenians began to understand that campaigning in Canada was not the holiday affair they had anticipated; and after night had set in, many of them stole down to the river, and crossed to the American shore in small boats. Meanwhile, their friends in Buffalo were making the most strenuous exertions to reinforce them; and towards midnight a tug towing two canal-boats, laden with four hundred well-armed men, and abundant supplies, left the harbour for Fort Erie, while the lower part of the city swarmed with armed sympathisers, and the American authorities were powerless to interfere. But O'Neil and his officers had already given up every hope of success, and all they now desired was to escape in safety from the attack which daylight must bring with it from Peacock's column, lying on its arms a few miles distant. A small boat carried the order from O'Neil to the officer commanding the reinforcements, to return to Buffalo, and to send the tug and canal-boats to take off his force from Fort Erie. This order reached the reinforcing party when about midway in the river, was obeyed, and shortly after one o'clock on the morning of Sunday the 3rd, the bulk of the Fenian force, to the number of fully nine hundred, without even drawing in their pickets, stole on board the boats sent for them, and were speedily on their way to the American shore. Before they could land, however, they were intercepted by the United States' armed propeller *Harrison*, compelled to surrender, and were soon anchored under the guns of the war-steamer *Michigan*. The rest of the Fenians endeavoured to cross as best they could, some even, in their extremity, pulling the planks from the wharves, and pushing out into the current upon them. Many also escaped in small boats sent over by their friends, while the remainder, who were probably about two hundred in number, hid themselves in the vicinity, or skulked off into the bush. The prisoners they had captured were all abandoned at Fort Erie, as well as most of their own dead and wounded; and when Colonel Peacock came up on Sunday morning, he found he had nothing to do beyond arresting the straggling

Fenians, still lingering in the neighbourhood, who were sent to Toronto gaol. And thus ingloriously terminated the Fenian invasion of the Niagara frontier. The New York leaders sought to conceal their chagrin at its ill success by describing it as a mere feint, designed to cover a more important attack to be made elsewhere.

During the early part of the ensuing week, the American railways leading to Ogdensburg, were freighted with large bodies of men for the attack on Prescott and subsequent advance to Ottawa. But the rapid massing of over two thousand volunteers and regulars at the menaced point, and the arrival of a British gunboat in the river, completely frustrated their projects. The Fenians now moved downwards to Malone, as if an attack on Cornwall was contemplated; but a garrison there of three thousand troops and volunteers, led them to abandon their designs against that point also. On the 5th, fully five thousand Fenians had congregated on the borders of the Eastern Townships,—a flourishing section of country, with nothing but a surveyed line between it and the United States. But their period of unrestricted action had now passed away. The President could no longer ignore the representations of the British minister at Washington, nor shut his eyes to the fact that war was being made on a friendly country from the United States, and issued a proclamation calling on the Fenians to disperse, and commit no overt acts; while General Meade, an honest and capable officer, was ordered to arrest their leaders and seize their supplies. In pursuance of this order, he speedily captured a large amount of arms and ammunition, which arrived by railway at Ogdensburg, and prevented the passage north of further reinforcements. On the 8th, however, a body of Fenians, two thousand strong, under the command of General Spear, crossed the frontier near Saint Albans, and marched three miles into the interior. There they formed a sort of camp, from whence they spread out over the country, plundering every description of property which could possibly be of any use to them. But the advance of troops against them caused their prompt retreat across the border, where Spear and other leaders were arrested by General Meade, and the masses of mischievous men rapidly dispersed, the American government granting them free conveyance home on the different railway lines. Thus terminated the Fenian invasion of the Canadian frontier. The actual injury to property it produced was not of much account, but the indirect loss sustained by this country—forty thousand volunteers being at one period under arms—was very considerable. No new Fenian attempts were, at that time, made against Canada. During the summer, gunboats guarded the lake and river approaches; and troops and volunteers stationed at every assailable point, demonstrated the folly of further efforts at invasion. Canada bewailed the death of her college youths and young men of Toronto. But their blood was not shed in vain. It speedily bore fruit; and, in connection with the gallant manner in which a great

volunteer force had sprung to arms, raised this country in the opinion of the world, and greatly stimulated the project of confederation. Deeply were the Canadians incensed at the wanton invasion of their borders, and the expense and annoyance they had been put to ; and the public voice now loudly demanded that the captured Fenians should receive the most extreme punishment the law could award them.

Meanwhile, on the 8th of June, the Legislature had assembled at Ottawa in the new Parliament buildings. In his opening speech, the Governor-General set forth, that immediately after the termination of the last session he had, under instructions from the Home Government, convened a council of trade, which included representatives from the different provinces of British North America, and the proceedings of which would be laid before them. He urged that the termination of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States rendered it necessary to seek new avenues of trade ; and stated that, with the consent of the Imperial authorities, he had sent a deputation to the West Indies and Brazil, to ascertain the best mode of developing and extending commercial relations with these countries. The Fenian attack was also alluded to by Monck, and while he deplored the loss of life it had caused, he paid a well-merited tribute to the prompt and gallant spirit evinced by the volunteer force of the country. To repress further outrages, and to enable improper persons to be summarily dealt with, he asked that the writ of *habeas corpus* be temporarily suspended. And while he congratulated the chambers on the prosperity of the country, he informed them that the revenue of the past year had been largely in excess of the estimates, and had enabled him, without inconvenience, to provide for the heavy and unlooked-for expenditure entailed by the Fenian outrages.

The abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty rendered a new tariff a necessity, and Galt now introduced a bill into the Assembly embodying the desired alterations. It reduced the duty on the great bulk of imported goods five per cent., leaving the maximum rate fifteen per cent., admitted articles which entered largely into the manufactures of the country free, and provided for the deficiency thus produced by increasing the impost on whiskey thirty cents a gallon. While this tariff was a sensible relief to importers of foreign goods, it largely stimulated the manufactures of the country ; and, with a few isolated interests excepted, gave very general satisfaction. Several other important measures became law during this session. The writ of *habeas corpus* was suspended for one year, the assessment law of Upper Canada amended, and its municipal law subjected to very important modifications, which raised the franchise in towns, and effected other improvements, that were well received by all classes. On the 3rd of July, ministers introduced resolutions into the Legislature defining the Constitutions of Upper and Lower Canada, respectively, under the proposed measure of Confederation, which

were all subsequently embodied in the Imperial Bill. These proceedings were uneasily regarded by some of the leading politicians of the United States, who strongly deprecated the creation of a united power on their northern frontier, and an attempt was now made to sow the seeds of discord, by the introduction of a bill into Congress, which provided for the admission of British North America into the American Union as four separate states, and the assumption of their public debt by the general government. This bill was read twice, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. It totally failed, however, of its object. The day for annexation had not arrived, and Banks' congressional bill, already described, was regarded by the Canadian people with the most supreme indifference and contempt, and as an insolent interference with the affairs of an independent country. Early in August Galt resigned, owing to complications which arose in connection with a school bill giving larger privileges to the Protestant minority of Lower Canada. It failed to pass, and Galt, as representing that minority, deeming it treated with injustice, unexpectedly resigned, although avowing himself still prepared to support the general policy of the Government. On the 16th of August, the Cabinet having carried all its measures with large majorities, and the public business having been fully completed, Parliament was prorogued.

Towards the close of summer a most disastrous fire occurred at Quebec, by which all of the St. Roch suburb, and also much of the St. Saviour, were burned down. Only a few buildings were left standing in a district a mile long by about half a mile wide, two thousand one hundred and nineteen houses, mostly belonging to the poorer classes, were destroyed, and over twenty thousand people left homeless. Great exertions were made in Canada for the relief of the sufferers, and large contributions were also given for the same object by the benevolent in the Mother Country. But Quebec was not at all likely to recover from this disaster, at least for some years. Its commerce had already largely declined, and the scattering of its population, which now ensued, accelerated the decay which had so surely seized upon that ancient city. The Fenian trials took place at the October term at Toronto, when many of the prisoners were discharged, the grand jury ignoring the bills against them. True bills, however, were found against a large number, several of whom were convicted and sentenced to death, but had their sentences afterwards commuted by the Queen to a period of imprisonment in the Provincial Penitentiary at Kingston. The calm and firm attitude of our courts of justice during these trials, and the punctilious observance of every form of law, constituted the best rebuke to the American politicians, from Seward downwards, who, by an indecent sympathy and interference on behalf of the criminals, pandered to their partisans with the view of securing their electoral support.

Meanwhile, the great project of Confederation continued to progress towards final consummation. In New Brunswick the Fenian raid had taught the people that union is strength; wiser counsels accordingly now prevailed, and a fresh appeal to the electorate ended in the return of a new Assembly favourable to Confederation. In Nova Scotia, the project had encountered serious opposition, but was eventually sustained in its Legislature by a considerable majority. In November, six delegates from Canada, five from Nova Scotia, and five from New Brunswick, proceeded to London, to arrange the final conditions of the Act of Union to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament. They commenced their sessions, at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on the 4th of December, and had shortly afterwards the assistance of Lord Monck in their deliberations. The Conference sat until the 24th of the month, by which time all the important details had been discussed and arranged, and all existing differences finally adjusted. Some important concessions were made to the Maritime Provinces, and modifications effected in the Union resolutions agreed to by the Quebec Conference in 1864, but all the essential features of the project, as then limned out, remained substantially unaltered. In conjunction with the law officers of the Crown, separate preliminary drafts of the Union Bill were now made by the Conference, to be afterwards amalgamated into a single harmonious measure, styled the British North America Act, which was duly introduced into the House of Lords by the Colonial Secretary, the Earl of Carnarvon, on the 7th of February. On the 19th it had its second reading; on the 22nd it passed through committee; and on the 26th was read a third time, and sent down to the Commons. It was read a second time there on the 28th of February, and after a brief yet interesting debate, the measure was agreed to without a division. It passed through committee of the whole on the 4th of March, the proposed guarantee for an Intercolonial Railway loan being alone objected to, but not pressed to a vote. On the 8th it was read a third time, and finally passed without debate. On the 12th a few judicious amendments, made by the Commons, were agreed to by the Lords; and on the 29th it received the royal assent, and became the law of the Empire. On the following day, Mr. Adderley introduced a bill into the Commons, to guarantee a loan of £3,000,000 sterling for the Intercolonial Railway, which was accepted by an overwhelming majority, and also duly passed in the House of Lords. On the 22nd of May, the work of legislation having been fully completed, and all the other arrangements made, Her Majesty was pleased to issue her royal proclamation, appointing the 1st of July as the day on which the Dominion of Canada should commence its existence, and nominating its seventy-two senators.

Lord Monck, under whose auspices the Dominion of Canada had sprung into existence, became its first Governor General, and naturally turned to John A. Macdonald, the master-spirit of the

occasion, as the most fitting person to form its first administration. He undertook the task, and formed a Coalition Cabinet which he designed should represent all classes of the community, and all shades of party feeling.* "The Confederation," he said, "is the work of the people of these provinces irrespective of old-time opinion. I do not want it to be felt by any section of the country that they have no representative in the Cabinet, and no influence in the Government. And as there are now no issues to divide parties, and as all that is required is to have in the Government the men who are best adapted to put the new machinery in motion, I desire to ask those to join me who have the confidence of, and represent the majority in, the various sections which were in favour of the adoption of Confederation, and who wished to see it satisfactorily carried out."

Monck was sworn into office by Chief Justice Draper, and immediately announced that he had received Her Majesty's instructions to confer the honour of knighthood on John A. Macdonald, and the Companionship of the Bath on Tilley, Tupper, Cartier, Galt, McDougall and Howland. Cartier considered that he should have also been knighted, refused the proffered honour, and blamed Macdonald for being overlooked. But his wounded feelings were consoled, in the ensuing year, by his being made a baronet of the United Kingdom, a higher honour than had been accorded to his distinguished colleague.†

With the swearing in of the new ministry the old state of things finally disappeared. The last official act of Confederation was now accomplished, and the compact entered into between the rival political parties of Canada, in 1864, finally and fully terminated. Another event that marked the birth-day of the Dominion was the appointment by the Federal Government of the first Lieutenant Governor of one of the United Provinces. Sir. N. F. Belleau got Quebec; and in the other three provinces the senior military

* The first Dominion Cabinet stood as follows :—

J. A. Macdonald, Premier and Minister of Justice; Alexander Campbell, Postmaster-General; A. J. Fergusson-Blair, President of the Privy Council; W. P. Howland, Minister of Inland Revenue; William McDougall, Minister of Public Works; G. E. Cartier, Minister of Militia and Defence; A. T. Galt, Minister of Finance; J. C. Chapais, Minister of Agriculture; H. L. Langevin, Secretary of State of Canada; S. L. Tilley, Minister of Customs; Peter Mitchell, Minister of Marine and Fisheries; A. G. Archibald, Secretary of State for the Provinces; Edward Kenny, Receiver-General.

† George Etienne Cartier was a native of Canada, and born in the County of Vercheres, in September 1814. In 1835 he began the practice of law in Montreal, became a great admirer of Papineau, joined the rebels in 1837, and fought under Wolfred Nelson at St. Denis. He was eventually pardoned in 1848, and elected to Parliament for his native county. In 1856 he became Provincial Secretary, and four months later Attorney General. In 1861 he defeated the great *Rouge* leader, A. A. Dorion, in Montreal. He had long been the fast friend of John A. Macdonald, and became his first Minister of Militia after Confederation.

officers were temporarily appointed until the Government could make suitable selections from the ranks of its friends. The great project had at length been finally and happily accomplished, the new Dominion had auspiciously sprung into existence, and the morning voice of a new people was now heard among the nations of the earth.

THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

The span of a single human life would fully bridge the existence of Upper Canada, or Ontario as it was now called, from the date of its Constitution in 1791 to Confederation. When the first United Empire Loyalist immigration crossed its borders, seven years before the former period, its broad expanse was one interminable wilderness, covered in every direction with dense forests, which sheltered the rich glebe from the fervid sunshine of summer, and the biting winter winds that swept down upon it from the frozen deserts towards the pole. The entire population of European descent did not then number over two thousand souls, who grouped themselves around the few military and trading posts, and in the French-Canadian settlement, on the Thames, in the western peninsula. Oppressed, as we have already seen, by military and feudal laws, and harassed by repeated wars, the progress of Lower Canada had been slow and painful; and, in 1783, after one hundred and eighty years of existence, its population had only reached to one hundred and thirteen thousand souls. The same causes, to a great extent, militated against the progress of French Nova Scotia, while New Brunswick was no older than Ontario. These four provinces formed the new Dominion of Canada, the progress in population of which may be seen from the following table:—

LOWER CANADA.				UPPER CANADA.			
1676,	-	-	9,000	1782,	-	-	10,000
1763,	-	-	65,000	1800,	-	-	50,000
1783,	-	-	113,000	1811,	-	-	77,000
1825,	-	-	450,000	1825,	-	-	158,027
1831,	-	-	511,920	1835,	-	-	336,469
1841,	-	-	690,782	1840,	-	-	427,441
1851,	-	-	890,261	1851,	-	-	952,061
1861,	-	-	1,110,444	1861,	-	-	1,396,091

NOVA SCOTIA.				NEW BRUNSWICK.			
1755,	-	-	5,000	1785,	-	-	6,000
1764,	-	-	13,000	1800,	-	-	10,000
1784,	-	-	32,000	1824,	-	-	74,176
1818,	-	-	82,053	1834,	-	-	119,457
1837,	-	-	199,906	1840,	-	-	154,000
1851,	-	-	276,117	1851,	-	-	193,800
1861,	-	-	330,857	1861,	-	-	252,047

The Census Returns of 1861, for the four Provinces, classified the several creeds of the population as follows:—

Church of Rome,	-	-	-	1,372,913	44.42
Presbyterians,	-	-	-	471,946	15.27
Church of England,	-	-	-	465,572	15.06
Methodists,	-	-	-	431,924	13.98
Baptists,	-	-	-	189,080	6.12
Lutherans,	-	-	-	29,651	.96
Congregationalists,	-	-	-	17,757	.58
All others,	-	-	-	111,718	3.61
Total,	-	-	-	3,090,561	100.

The adherents of the Church of Rome were about 85 per cent. of the whole population in Lower Canada ; 34 per cent. in New Brunswick ; 26 per cent. in Nova Scotia ; and 18 per cent. in Upper Canada.

The Presbyterians formed about 27 per cent. of the whole population in Nova Scotia ; 22 per cent. in Upper Canada ; 14 per cent. in New Brunswick ; and 4 per cent. in Lower Canada.

The adherents of the Church of England were about 22 per cent. of the whole population in Upper Canada ; 17 per cent. in New Brunswick ; 14 per cent. in Nova Scotia ; and 6 per cent. in Lower Canada.

The Wesleyan and other Methodists constituted about 25 per cent. of the whole population in Upper Canada ; 10 per cent. in Nova Scotia ; 10 per cent. in New Brunswick ; and 3 per cent. in Lower Canada.

Classified according to occupation, the adult male population of the New Dominion in 1861 stood thus :—

Farmers,	-	-	-	-	320,952
Labourers, including lumbermen,	-	-	-	-	209,909
Mechanics,	-	-	-	-	115,272
Trade and commerce,	-	-	-	-	32,619
Mariners and fishermen,	-	-	-	-	25,009
Professional men,	-	-	-	-	10,119
Miners,	-	-	-	-	1,207
Miscellaneous,	-	-	-	-	30,543
Total,	-	-	-	-	745,630

While each of the provinces furnished a fair proportion of the members in all the other classes above enumerated, the Province of Nova Scotia had a very marked pre-eminence under the head of "Mariners and Fishermen." Nova Scotia returned 12,977 of that class, or more than one-half of the total number. Lower Canada returned 8,110 ; New Brunswick, 2,765 ; and Upper Canada, 1,157.

In Upper Canada, in 1861, there were—Natives of the Province, 911,963 ; of England and Wales, 114,914 ; of Ireland, 191,431 ; of Scotland, 98,892 ; of Foreign Countries, 78,891. Total, 1,396,091.

In Lower Canada, there were—Natives of the Province, 1,017,925 ; of England and Wales, 13,821 ; of Ireland, 50,337 ; of Scotland, 13,204 ; of Foreign Countries, 16,279. Total, 1,111,566.

In New Brunswick, there were—Natives of the Province, 208,-

166 ; of England and Wales, 4,909 ; of Ireland, 30,179 ; of Scotland, 5,199 ; of Foreign Countries, 3,594. Total, 252,047.

In Nova Scotia, there were—Natives of the Province, 299,335 ; of England and Wales, 3,188 ; of Ireland, 9,313 ; of Scotland, 16,395 ; of Foreign Countries, 2,626. Total, 330,857.

Summing up these returns, the result was arrived at, that the proportion of different origins stood as follows ;—

Natives of British America,	-	-	79 per cent.
“ Ireland,	-	-	9 “
“ England and Wales,	-	-	4½ “
“ Scotland,	-	-	4½ “
“ Foreign Countries,	-	-	3 “

It will thus be seen that according to the Census Returns of 1861, the population of the four Provinces first forming the Dominion of Canada was :—

Upper Canada,	-	-	-	-	1,396,091
Lower Canada,	-	-	-	-	1,111,566
New Brunswick,	-	-	-	-	252,047
Nova Scotia,	-	-	-	-	330,857
Total,	-	-	-	-	3,090 561

GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT.

The area of the four Provinces, constituting the New Dominion, may be stated as follows ;—

					Square Miles.
Ontario,	-	-	-	-	121,260
Quebec,	-	-	-	-	210,020
New Brunswick,	-	-	-	-	27,105
Nova Scotia,	-	-	-	-	18,660
Total,	-	-	-	-	377,045

The Province of Ontario exceeds,* in its dimensions, those of Great Britain and Ireland, which are 119,924 square miles. The Province of Quebec has an area almost equal to that of France, which is 211,852 square miles. Nova Scotia is as large as the kingdom of Greece, and New Brunswick is equal in extent to Denmark and Switzerland combined.

If we add the area of Prince Edward Island, 2,100 square miles ; that of British Columbia, 200,000 square miles ; and that of the Hudson's Bay and North-West Territories, 2,750,000 square miles, we will have as the total area of the countries afterwards included in the Dominion of Canada, the enormous extent of 3,329,145 square miles—nearly three times the extent of territory embraced in the empire of China, with its four hundred

* The recent settlement of the North-Western boundary of Ontario have added largely to her dimensions.

millions of inhabitants, and greater by 400,000 square miles than the whole territory of the United States, Alaska excepted.

MARITIME RESOURCES.

As regards shipping, the Dominion of Canada took a fourth place among the maritime nations of the world. In 1865 the total value of its shipping was estimated at \$11,000,000, the number of vessels and their tonnage are shown by the following table :—

			No.	Tons.
Upper Canada,	-	-	522	85,440
Lower Canada,	-	-	1,136	144,989
Nova Scotia,	-	-	3,898	403,409
New Brunswick,	-	-	1,019	309,695
Total,	-	-	6,575	943,533

Altogether a navy of 6,575 steam and sailing vessels, 943,533 tons, and a total value of \$32,844,069.

RAILWAY STATISTICS.

Upper and Lower Canada had at the period of Confederation, 2,150 miles of railway—not including length of side tracks, double tracks, &c. The first railway constructed in Canada was from La Prairie on the St. Lawrence to St. John's on the Richelieu River. This was sixteen miles in length, was opened as a horse-railway in July, 1836,, and was first worked with locomotives in 1837. In Upper Canada, in 1834, charters were obtained for a railway from Cobourg to Rice Lake, and for another from London to Hamilton ; but the first railway actually built in Upper Canada, was between Queenston and Chippewa, being opened as a horse-railway in 1839. In 1846, the Montreal and Lachine Railway was commenced, and in November, 1857, it was opened for traffic.

The Grand Trunk had now a total length of roads constructed under its charter, with those obtained by amalgamation, of 1,377 miles. In 1845, the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Company was chartered to construct a railway to connect with the "Atlantic and St. Lawrence," an American line from Portland. The St. Lawrence and Atlantic road, commenced at Montreal, was opened as far as St. Hyacinthe, early in 1847 ; as far as Sherbrooke in August, 1852, and from Sherbrooke to the Province Line, in July, 1853. A connecting line from Richmond to Quebec was opened in November, 1854, and an extension eastward from Quebec to St. Thomas in December, 1855. A further extension eastward, as far as Riviere du Loup, was not opened till July, 1860. The line from Toronto to Montreal was opened in October, 1856, and the extension westward to Sarnia was completed in November, 1859. These roads formed the Grand Trunk property, which, with the Victoria Bridge and its approaches, had a total length of 872 miles, but, by an extension from Sarnia to Detroit, through the State of Michigan, and the amalgamation of the Buffalo and Goderich, the Montreal and

Lake Champlain, and the Montreal and Hemmingford lines it has now reached the colossal dimensions we have stated.

The first railway in Upper Canada, on which locomotives were used, was the Northern, opened from Toronto to Bradford, in June, 1853. In October of the same year, the Northern was opened as far as Barrie, and in January, 1855, as far as Collingwood, its northern terminus on Georgian Bay—a distance from Toronto of 96 miles.

The Great Western was opened from Suspension Bridge to Hamilton, in November, 1853, and from Hamilton to Windsor, opposite Detroit, in January, 1854, with branches to Toronto, Guelph, and Sarnia, subsequently constructed, and had a total length of 345 miles.

The Province of Canada owned no railroads, but it had made large advances of money on their account, especially to the Grand Trunk. The amounts due by railways to the Government were stated in the public accounts as follows :—

Grand Trunk,	-	-	-	\$23,902,403
Great Western,	-	-	-	3,727,083
Northern	-	-	-	3,504,527
Total,				\$31,134,013

The official reports issued by the auditor give the following particulars with reference to the length of Canadian railways, the cost of their construction and equipment, and their receipts in 1866 :—

	Length in miles.	Cost in dols.	Receipts in 1866. dols.
Great Western,	345	23,855,881	3,264,402
Grand Trunk,	1,377	80,704,095	6,639,260
Northern,	97	5,457,789	512,872
Brockville and Ottawa,	86½	2,602,024	111,086
Prescott and Ottawa,	54	2,008,994	104,420
Port Hope, Lindsay and Beaverton,	43	1,593,536	108,947
Port Hope and Peterboro,	13	400,000	69,565
Cobourg and Peterboro,	14	900,000	—
London and Port Stanley,	24½	1,032,850	35,490
Welland,	25½	1,622,843	106,944
Carillon and Grenville,	13	95,077	9,969
St. Lawrence and Industrie,	12	54,100	6,008
Stanstead, Shefford and Chambly,	44	1,216,000	—
Total,	2,148½	121,543,189	10,968,963

The Victoria Bridge, which is an essential part of the railway system of Canada, crosses the St. Lawrence at Montreal. It was opened for traffic on the 17th December, 1859. Its total length is 9,184 feet. The number of spans is 25 ; 24 of 242 feet ; one of 330 feet. The height from the surface of the water to the under side of the centre tube is 60 feet ; the height from the bed of the river to the top of the centre tube is 108 feet. There are 3,000,000

cubic feet of masonry in the piers of the bridge ; and its total cost was about \$7,000,000.

The Nova Scotia railways had been built and were owned by that Province. They consisted at Confederation of a trunk line from Halifax, on the Atlantic, by way of Truro, to Pictou, on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, with a branch line to Windsor, on the Bay of Fundy. The distance from Halifax to Truro is 60 miles, and from the main line to Windsor, 33 miles. The railways to Truro and Windsor were completed in 1858. The extension to Pictou, built by a Canadian engineer, Mr. Sanford Fleming, and 40 miles in length, was opened in June, 1866. The contract price for its construction was \$2,216,500. The earnings of the lines to Windsor and Truro increased from \$102,877 in 1859, to \$183,954 in 1865. The total cost of their construction was \$4,319,507.

In New Brunswick, the St. Andrews and Woodstock, or "New Brunswick and Canada" Railroad, was commenced in 1844, but was not completed till 1862. It is 88 miles in length, and was built at a cost of \$2,750,000. The Province owned stock in it, to the amount of \$240,000. The "European and North American" Railway was a public work, owned by the Province. It connects the city of St. John's, on the Bay of Fundy, with Shediac, on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and had been in operation since 1860. It is 108 miles in length, and cost \$4,747,713. The St. Stephens' Branch Railway, 18 miles in length, had also been recently opened.

At the period of Confederation the gross public debt of Canada stood at \$88,444,890, only \$62,763,212 of which were charged to the account of the Dominion. The remainder became the Provincial debts of Upper and Lower Canada respectively. The "British North America Act" provides that the Dominion of Canada shall be liable for the debts and liabilities of each province existing at the Union ; that Ontario and Quebec conjointly shall be liable for the amount by which the debt of Canada exceeds \$62,500,000, and shall pay five cent. interest thereon ; and that New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, on the other hand, shall receive five per cent. interest on the amounts by which their debts fall short of \$8,000,000 and \$7,000,000 respectively. The total debt, therefore, of which the Dominion of Canada assumed the liability, on commencing its existence, may be stated at \$77,500,000—the sum of the foregoing three amounts.

The following table shows the ordinary revenue and expenditure of each province, during the year 1865 :

	Rev.	Ex.
Canada, - -	\$10,435,259	\$11,534,691
Nova Scotia, -	1,517,306	1,470,306
New Brunswick, -	1,070,604	1,168,074
	<hr/> \$13,023,169	<hr/> \$14,173,071*

* It may be interesting to place in comparison with the above, a statement

THE VOLUNTEER FORCES.

A few years before Confederation there was not a single volunteer corps in British North America, while the militia system mainly existed on paper ; and the only available force in the event of any necessity, were the regular troops at the various garrison towns. But during the preceding six years the Canadian volunteer force had swelled to most important dimensions, while statutes had been enacted, which rendered the organisation of the "Service" Militia a matter of slight difficulty whenever such a step should be required. Several excellent military schools existed, at which cadets were thoroughly instructed in the principles of their profession, and fitted for command in the volunteer force. Every village of any importance in Ontario had its drill-shed, where the youths of the neighbourhood were trained to arms ; and in the Province of Quebec the military spirit had also been largely developed during the preceding few years. The returns supplied in 1866, stated that the volunteer force of Lower Canada consisted of 2 squadrons of cavalry and 4 separate troops ; 2 field batteries of artillery ; 1 battery and 3 battalions of garrison artillery ; 3 companies of engineers ; 6 battalions of infantry, and 52 separate companies, organised into administrative battalions ; 7 battalions of rifles and 14 separate companies—a force altogether of 10,620.

Of the Service Militia, there had been balloted 51 battalions, giving 40,545 men. The whole militia force of Lower Canada was about 170,000.

The volunteer force of Upper Canada consisted of 2 squadrons of cavalry and 8 separate troops ; 6 field batteries of artillery ; 2 battalions garrison artillery and 13 batteries ; 3 naval companies ; 14 battalions infantry and 157 separate companies ; 4 battalions rifles and 46 separate companies—a force altogether of 19,380 men. Of the Service Militia, there had been balloted in Upper Canada 61 battalions, giving 48,496 men. The whole militia force of Upper Canada was estimated, at Confederation, at 280,000.

In New Brunswick, the volunteer force consisted of 4 troops of cavalry ; 7 batteries of artillery ; 1 company of engineers ; and 21 companies of infantry—numbering altogether 1,791 men. The Service Militia numbered 35,412 men, and the "sedentary," 7,184.

of the annual revenue and expenditure of the United States, at different periods in their early history :—

		Rev.	Ex.
1792,	-	\$8,740,766	\$9,141,569
1795,	-	9,419,802	10,435,069
1800,	-	12,451,184	11 989,739
1802,	-	15,001,391	13,176,084
1804,	-	11,835,840	12,614,646
1805,	-	13,689,508	13,727,124

In only one year previous to 1805—nearly a generation after the year of independence—did the public revenues of the United States exceed the amount of annual revenue with which the Dominion of Canada started upon its career.

In Nova Scotia, there were 898 volunteers, and 59,379 "First Class" Militia, which included all ranks between 16 and 45 years of age.

By the census of 1861, it appeared that the number of men capable of bearing arms in the several provinces, between the ages of 20 and 60, was :—

Upper Canada,	-	-	-	308,955
Lower Canada,	-	-	-	225,620
Nova Scotia,	-	-	-	67,367
New Brunswick,	-	-	-	51,625
Total,	-	-	-	653,567

EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS.

But while Canada and the Maritime Provinces had made prodigious strides in other respects, their educational progress also had been very great. In 1865, there were in Upper Canada 4,303 Common Schools, attended by 383,652 pupils, of whom 204,320 were boys, and 179,332 were girls. The number of children reported as not attending any school was 42,141. Of the 4,303 Common Schools 3,595 were entirely free, and in the remaining 708 the highest fee charged was 25 cents a month. The total expenditure for Common Schools, in 1865, was \$1,355,879. There were also 152 Roman Catholic Separate Schools, with an average attendance of 8,518,—There were 104 Grammar Schools, with 5,754 pupils, and a Normal School, with two Model Schools attached, for the training of teachers. There were 260 private schools and academies, attended by 5,966 pupils, and deriving an income of \$50,899. Finally, Upper Canada, in 1865, had 16 colleges, attended by 1,820 students, and receiving an income from legislative and other sources of \$150,000, and a further sum of \$44,000 in fees.

The number of schools, and pupils, in Lower Canada, in 1865, was as follows :—

	Schools.	Pupils.
Primary,	3,479	172,733
Special	4	265
Normal,	3	219
Secondary,	210	28,613
Superior,	10	318
Total,	3,716	202,148

The numbers given under the head of "Primary," included also the Protestant Dissident Schools, of which, in 1865, there were 146, with 4,763 pupils. The "Superior" Schools, comprised the Universities and the schools of Theology, Law and Medicine. The amount raised by the municipalities in Lower Canada, in 1865, for the support of Primary Schools, was \$597,448. In 1855—ten years previously—the amount was only \$249,136.

In Nova Scotia, in 1866, there were 989 Common Schools in operation, attended by 43,771 pupils. The Provincial grant for Common School education was \$67,068, and the amount raised by the people for salaries, \$124,673. Besides the Common Schools, there were 5 County Academies in operation, attended by 1,200 pupils; 10 other Academies, with 680 pupils; and 7 Colleges; in five of these, which sent in returns, there were 24 professors, and 207 students. The total amount voted by the Legislature of Nova Scotia for educational purposes, in 1865, was \$93,263.

In New Brunswick, in 1865, the number of teachers of public schools was 826, and the number of pupils enrolled, 29,975. The amount expended by the Government on Common and Superior Schools, for the year ending 31st October, 1865, was \$91,373; and, by local districts, \$101,114. The University of New Brunswick had five professors, and an income of about \$13,000 per annum, of which the Government paid about \$9,000. The whole amount expended by the Government for education, in 1865, was \$112,940.

COMMERCE AND TRADE.

Shortly after the union of Upper and Lower Canada, the trade and commerce of these Provinces commenced to increase. Owing, however, to the unsettled state of the country caused by the rebellion, and the absence of railway communication, their volume was not very noticeable until after 1851. The following table will give the best idea of the progress made from that year :—

	Import	Duty collected.		Imports.		Exports.
1851	-	\$2,955,727	-	\$21,434,791	-	\$12,964,721
1852	-	2,956,633	-	20,286,493	-	15,307,607
1853	-	4,119,131	-	31,981,436	-	23,801,303
1854	-	4,900,769	-	40,529,325	-	23,019,190
1855	-	3,527,098	-	36,086,169	-	28,188,461
1856	-	4,510,128	-	43,584,387	-	32,047,017
1857	-	3,927,208	-	39,430,598	-	27,006,624
1858	-	3,368,157	-	29,078,527	-	23,472,609
1859	-	4,456,326	-	33,555,161	-	24,766,981
1860	-	4,756,724	-	34,441,621	-	34,631,890
1861	-	4,768,192	-	39,750,161	-	36,369,682
1862	-	4,652,748	-	45,980,939	-	33,417,128
1863*	-	5,169,173	-	41,312,206	-	40,146,129
½ of '64 to June 30,		2,660,740	-	21,406,712	-	13,179,342
1864-5	do	6,142,796	-	39,851,991	-	40,792,960
1865-6	do	7,328,146	-	53,802,319	-	56,328,380
1866-7	do	7,023,327	-	59,048,987	-	48,486,143

The classification of the imports and exports of Canada, for the year ending 30th June, 1866, stood as follows :—

* Up to 1863 the public accounts of Canada were made up to the close of the Calendar year. It was then determined to have the fiscal year end on the 30th of June.

IMPORTS.

From Great Britain,	-	-	-	\$28,994,530
“ B. N. A. Colonies,	-	-	-	857,922
“ British West Indies,	-	-	-	105,660
“ United States,	-	-	-	20,424,692
“ France,	-	-	-	1,215,090
“ Germany,	-	-	-	393,810
“ Other foreign countries,	-	-	-	1,810,615
Total,	-	-	-	\$53,802,319

EXPORTS.

To Great Britain,	-	-	-	\$12,981,641
“ B. N. A. Colonies,	-	-	-	1,571,116
“ British West Indies,	-	-	-	63,993
“ United States,	-	-	-	34,770,261
“ France,	-	-	-	116,332
“ Germany,	-	-	-	52,795
“ Other foreign countries,	-	-	-	700,714
Total,	-	-	-	\$50,256,852*

CLASSIFIED THUS :—

Products of the Mine,	-	-	-	422,570
“ Fisheries,	-	-	-	980,311
“ Forest,	-	-	-	13,846,986
Animals and their products,	-	-	-	12,682,683
Agricultural products,	-	-	-	16,651,074
Manufactures,	-	-	-	989,936
Coin and Bullion,	-	-	-	2,397,591
Other articles,	-	-	-	668,815
Vessels built at Quebec,	-	-	-	1,616,886
Total,	-	-	-	\$50,256,852
Estimated amount short returned at Inland ports,	-	-	-	4,183,692
Goods not the produce of Canada,	-	-	-	1,877,836
Grand Total,	-	-	-	\$56,328,380

In New Brunswick, the imports and exports in recent years stood thus :—

	Imports	Exports.
1863	\$7,658,462	\$4,940,781
1864	8,945,352	5,053,879
1865	7,086,595	5,534,726

*It is worthy of notice that the external trade of the United States, ten years after their independence was acknowledged by the Mother-Country, was little more than a third of the external trade of the Dominion of Canada at Confederation. In 1792, the imports into the United States were \$31,500,000, and the exports \$20,750,000 ; together, \$52,250,000.

The exports of 1865 were thus classified :—

Produce of the Mine,	-	-	-	\$293,744
Produce of the Fisheries,	-	-	-	412,127
Produce of the Forest,	-	-	-	3,643,522
Animals and their products,	-	-	-	72,651
Products of Agriculture,	-	-	-	103,610
Manufactures,	-	-	-	50,675
Other articles	-	-	-	958,397
Ships,	-	-	-	1,257,900
Total,	-	-	-	\$6,792,626

The cause of the discrepancy between the sum of these figures, and the amount of exports given in the previous table, was that the value of the ships sold in England had never been included in the official export tables.

In the Province of Nova Scotia, the imports and exports for the four years ending 1866 were as follows :—

	Imports.	Exports.
1863	\$10,201,391	\$6,546,488
1864	12,604,642	7,172,817
1865	14,331,662	8,830,693
1866	14,381,008	8,043,095

The principal exports in 1865 were :—

Fish,	-	-	-	\$3,282,016
Fish oil,	-	-	-	194,505
Coal,	-	-	-	1,253,650
Lumber,	-	-	-	776,034
Sugar,	-	-	-	588,753
Molasses,	-	-	-	380,600
Horned Cattle,	-	-	-	201,948
Butter and lard,	-	-	-	114,133

From the foregoing statistics, it will be seen that the total annual volume of the external trade may be summed up as annexed :—

	Imports.	Exports.
Canada,	\$53,802,319	\$56,328,380
Nova Scotia,	14,381,662	8,830,693
New Brunswick,	7,086,595	6,792,626
Total,	\$75,270,576	\$71,951,699

Thus the whole external trade of the Dominion of Canada, in one year, reached the large sum of \$147,222,275, which, calculating the dollar at 4s. 2d., amounts to £31,898,159 sterling.

SOCIAL CONDITION, &c.

But aside from the facts supplied by the foregoing statistical tables, there were many interesting and suggestive features to be noticed, in connection with the progress of Canada, when the Dominion sprang into existence. Now that the Seigniorial Tenure had been finally abolished, every semblance of a landed aristocracy had ceased in the ancient Province of Quebec ; and the *habitant*

farmer had at last become the full owner of the soil he tilled. But he remained the same primitive being as he was before his release from seigniorial servitude, and scarcely any change was to be observed in him. Isolated still, as he had always been, by his language, his national prejudices and his habits, he had continued in an almost stationary condition in the midst of universal progress ; and the picture of him sketched by the pen of his witty countryman, the Abbe Raynal, near the commencement of the present century, would not be by any means a bad likeness on the Dominion Day of 1867.* The priest was still the dominant authority with him. As a rule he willingly paid him tithes and reverence, at one and the same time, and in every direction the huge parish church lifted its head over all surrounding objects, and proclaimed the wealth and influence of the clerical order. The great majority of the Lower Canadians still remained a simple pastoral people, whose slender progress was completely overshadowed by that of their Anglo-Saxon neighbours at both sides of the boundary line. Quebec, which might well be termed a French-Canadian city in almost every respect, was actually retrograding in population and wealth, despite her favourable situation ; while Montreal on the other hand, where the Anglo-Canadians had acquired preponderating business interests, was rapidly expanding into a commercial capital of noble proportions, and superb architectural embellishment. The original settlement of Ontario had been effected under entirely different conditions from that of the Province of Quebec, which had assumed its ancient name under the British North America Act. No seignior had been acknowledged within Ontario, there was no lord of the manor in the whole of its wide expanse, and no landlords, apart from its towns, unless on a very limited scale. The agricultural community, as a rule, owned the fee-simple of the soil, which was only liable to a small annual tax for municipal purposes, averaging about forty cents per annum for every hundred dollars of actual value ; while in towns and cities taxes rated at from twice to four times that amount. The people then, as now, were most orderly and law-abiding, and essentially self-governed. The country magistrate was usually then, as he is still, an intelligent farmer or a village shop-keeper. The municipal councillors, who imposed taxation for township or village purposes, were drawn from the same class, which also constituted the majority of the grand jurors at the semi-annual courts of assize. A large measure of democratic equality prevailed ; and

* As recent evidence of how little change has taken place in the peculiar idiosyncrasy of the *habitant*, we append the following extract from a letter, in the newspaper *La Minerve*, of November 14th, 1891, over the signature of the Rev. Abbe Dugas :—" Among the causes which are the ruin of French-Canadians, I find the love of pleasure and of dress, intemperance, idleness, demoralization, brought on by our political system, a dislike for agriculture due perhaps to the large number of young men indiscriminately trained in the higher spheres of study, and who later on find no opening, and, being ashamed of agriculture, become idlers and a burden to society.—*Ante* page 52.

Lord Durham's Report had lost nothing of its force of application, to the condition of Ontario Canadian society, by the progress of time. Ability, in the first place, and sometimes wealth, in the second, formed the only grounds of admitted superiority ; and even these had to be asserted with no small tact and discretion, to be recognized in a community where the lines of demarcation between classes were very faintly drawn. The most elevated in condition could not well afford to disregard a neighbour, however humble, and found that an affable demeanour, and courteous manners, were indispensably necessary to a comfortable intercourse with the community in which his lot had been cast. Abundance of employment, and well-paid labour, raised even the ordinary working man, if he were at all industrious, above the accidents of want, and imparted to him a feeling of genuine independence. As a necessary consequence of this fortunate state of things, serious crime was very rare in the rural districts, where a few rustic constables sufficed to preserve order ; while assize courts were frequently held at county towns, representing an adjoining population of from fifty to eighty thousand souls, at which the criminal calendar did not contain half a dozen names, and sometimes had none whatever. At the same time, the Province of Ontario had then, as now, neither poor laws nor rural poor houses. The few destitute persons, usually representing the old and infirm, were cared for by the local township municipalities, which made special grants for their relief, as occasion might arise, and which only represented a trifling per centage of the general taxation. A public school rate, a county rate, and a rate for local purposes, continued to form the only taxes levied in all Canada.

But despite the social equality which prevailed in this country, and which permitted of only a very slight distinction between the various classes of the community, its people were no lovers of extreme democracy, and were not by any means republican in principle. They levelled down to themselves, just as they do today, but no farther. Scarcely a man could be found who advocated the exercise of the elective franchise without a property or rental qualification ; pure Radicalism was unknown ; and almost the whole community, whatever might be their party designations, were essentially Conservative in their opinions and feelings, and opposed to extreme organic changes of any description. The great majority of the agricultural population might be regarded as constituting a body of small gentlemen farmers, who possessed comfortable homes, eat and drank abundantly, dressed well, and who rode to church and market in spring waggons or carriages ; but who, at the same time, owing to the high price of labour, were obliged to aid in working their own estates. The progress of this class during the two decades preceding Confederation, in acquiring all the solid comforts, and not a few even of the luxuries of life, had been very great. Agricultural labour-saving machines had come into very general use, materially lightened their toil, and enabled farmers to

devote more time to the bettering of their farms and their homes. A vast amount of improvement, however, in the former direction, still remained to be accomplished, before the rude bush-farming of the old backwoods' generation would be entirely abandoned for the more scientific and profitable systems, now become so necessary for the greater and more secure progress of the country.

But, if the advancement of the Ontario farmer, in material prosperity, had been very great, the manufacturing development of the country had been equally rapid. Montreal had numerous manufactories of heavy hardware, rubber goods, and many other staple articles; and in the Upper Province, the woollen mills, which abounded in every direction, made the finest class of tweeds, blankets, and other fabrics of a like description, admirably adapted for the home market as well as the export trade. Hardware manufactories had also become very numerous in that Province, and produced excellent scythes, forks, spades, axles, carriage springs, locks, and a host of other articles in the same line, which a few years before had been almost entirely imported from the United States, and whither the very goods formerly purchased there, were, in several instances, now exported. In addition to the manufactories already noticed, a large number of other descriptions had, of recent years, sprung into existence all over the western country, which, as a rule, were unable to fill the orders that now crowded upon them. Water power which a short time before had rushed boisterously to waste, in the sombre shades of the primeval forest, had been utilized in every direction, and the busy hum of machinery was now heard where once the dull roar of the cataract had alone reverberated through the silent and solitary woodland.

The figures given elsewhere show that the general commerce of Canada had fully kept pace with its industrial progress. Regular lines of weekly steamships now connected it with the great seaports of Liverpool and Glasgow, and the sailing vessels of every maritime country of the Old and New Worlds traversed the waters of the St. Lawrence River. The mercantile mind of Anglo-Canada had become exceedingly active and intelligent, and vigorously laid hold of every branch of trade that promised remuneration for capital and enterprise. Toronto was no longer the dull village, once humourously styled "Muddy Little York," and had expanded into a prosperous and enterprising city of fifty thousand inhabitants. Hamilton, London, and other centres of population, were fast rising into importance, while Montreal, the commercial capital of all Canada, with a population of over one hundred and thirty thousand, was fast becoming a city of the most stately proportions, and the warehouses of which were being reconstructed in a style of architectural grandeur unsurpassed in any country—an evidence at once of excellent taste and judgment, and of great wealth. The loss of reciprocity had very little, if indeed at all, disturbed the current of Canadian progress, while it had largely stimulated the energy and enterprise of its people, led them to secure new

channels of trade, and to become the competitors of the United States merchants instead of their customers as hitherto. The flour trade of the seaboard provinces had now been firmly grasped by Canadian produce shippers, whose competition was already felt, in the West India markets, by American exporters. Thus we see, that in agriculture, in popular education, in manufactures, in commerce, a solid basis of national prosperity had already been laid ; and although for a brief space the dissatisfaction of Nova Scotia caused a slight cloud to gather above her fortunes, the morning star of the new Dominion of Canada arose on a horizon full of promise, and with the presage of a still brighter meridian.

CONSTITUTION OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

The Act of Union, or as it is legally styled, "The British North America Act, 1867," provided that the Dominion of Canada should be divided into four provinces, viz., Ontario, formerly Upper Canada, Quebec, formerly Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick ; the existing limits of each to remain undisturbed. The executive government was vested in the Queen, her representative being the Governor-General, or other chief executive officer for the time being. Section 11 of the Act constituted a Queen's Privy Council for Canada, to be chosen by the Governor-General and removable at his pleasure, to aid and advise in the government of the country. Her Majesty had then, as now, the command in chief of all military and naval forces, and the power to remove the seat of government from Ottawa. The general or Federal Parliament of Canada consisted of the Queen and Upper House, styled the Senate, and the House of Commons. The Senate was composed of seventy-two members, named in the Queen's proclamation, styled Senators: twenty-four from Ontario, twenty-four from Quebec, twelve from Nova Scotia and twelve from New Brunswick. Senators were chosen by the Crown for life, were to be subjects of Her Majesty, and to have a property qualification of \$4000 above all debts and liabilities. The senator had also to be a resident of the province for which he was appointed. Six additional persons might be added to the Senate by the Queen, but its whole number was not to exceed seventy-eight at any time. The Speaker of the Senate was appointed by the Crown.

The House of Commons consisted of one hundred and eighty-one members ; eighty-two from Ontario, sixty-five from Quebec, nineteen from Nova Scotia, and fifteen from New Brunswick. The duration of the House of Commons was fixed for five years, unless sooner dissolved by the Governor-General. Quebec was always to return at least sixty-five members, and should the ratio of increase be greater in the other provinces, as developed by the census to be taken every ten years, their parliamentary representation was to be proportionately increased. The Parliament of Canada might increase

the representation in the House of Commons, but only in the proportion fixed by the act. The qualification of its members was £500 sterling.

PROVINCIAL CONSTITUTIONS.

For each province the Governor-General appointed a Lieutenant-Governor, to hold office for five years. He was empowered to summon an Executive Council, consisting of the members of his government. The Legislature of Ontario consisted of the Lieutenant-Governor and of one Chamber only, styled the Legislative Assembly, which was composed of eighty-two members elected for four years. Property qualifications the same as for the House of Commons. The Legislature of Quebec consisted of the Lieutenant-Governor and of two Houses, styled, respectively, the Legislative Council, and the Legislative Assembly. The Legislative Council was composed of twenty-four members appointed by the Crown for life, who must have a property qualification of the same value as that of senators. The Legislative Assembly of Quebec was composed of sixty-five members, elected for four years; property qualification same as for the House of Commons.

The Constitutions of the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick remained as at the passing of the Union Act, until altered under its authority.

In order to enable the reader to understand more clearly the power accorded by the Union Act to the general or Federal Parliament, and to the local Legislatures, we annex the applying clauses of that act in full :—

DISTRIBUTION OF LEGISLATIVE POWERS.

POWERS OF THE GENERAL PARLIAMENT.

91. It shall be lawful for the Queen, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons, to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Canada, in relation to all matters not coming within the classes of subjects by this act assigned exclusively to the Legislatures of the Provinces; and for greater certainty but not so as to restrict the generality of the foregoing terms of this section, it is hereby declared that (notwithstanding anything in this act) the exclusive legislative authority of the Parliament of Canada extends to all matters coming within the classes of subjects next hereinafter enumerated; that is to say :—

- (1.) The public debt and property.
- (2.) The regulation of trade and commerce.
- (3.) The raising of money by any mode or system of taxation.
- (4.) The borrowing of money on the public credit.
- (5.) Postal service.
- (6.) The census and statistics.
- (7.) Militia, military, and naval service, and defence.
- (8.) The fixing of and providing for the salaries and allowances of civil and other officers of the Government of Canada.
- (9.) Beacons, buoys, lighthouses, and Sable Island,
- (10.) Navigation and shipping.
- (11.) Quarantine and the establishment and maintenance of marine hospitals.
- (12.) Sea-coast and inland fisheries.

(13.) Ferries between a province and any British or foreign country, or between two provinces.

(14.) Currency and coinage.

(15.) Banking, incorporation of banks, and the issue of paper money.

(16.) Savings' bank.

(17.) Weights and measures.

(18.) Bills of exchange and promissory notes.

(19.) Interest.

(20.) Legal tender.

(21.) Bankruptcy and insolvency.

(22.) Patents of invention and discovery.

(23.) Copyrights.

(24.) Indians, and lands reserved for the Indians.

(25.) Naturalisation and aliens.

(26.) Marriage and divorce.

(27.) The criminal law, except the constitution of courts of criminal jurisdiction, but including the procedure in criminal matters.

(28.) The establishment, maintenance, and management of penitentiaries.

(29.) Such classes of subjects as are expressly excepted in the enumeration of the classes of subjects by this act assigned exclusively to the Legislatures of the Provinces.

And any matter coming within any of the classes of subjects enumerated in this section shall not be deemed to come within the class of matters of a local or private nature comprised in the enumeration of the classes of subjects by this act assigned exclusively to the Legislatures of the Provinces.

EXCLUSIVE POWERS OF PROVINCIAL OR LOCAL LEGISLATURES.

92. In each Province the Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to matters coming within the classes of subjects next hereinafter enumerated, that is to say :—

(1.) The amendment from time to time, notwithstanding anything in this act, of the Constitution of the Province, except as regards the office of Lieutenant-Governor.

(2.) Direct taxation within the Province in order to the raising of a revenue for provincial purposes.

(3.) The borrowing of money on the sole credit of the Province.

(4.) The establishment and tenure of provincial offices, and the appointment and payment of provincial officers.

(5.) The management and sale of the public lands belonging to the Province, and of the timber thereon.

(6.) The establishment, maintenance, and management of public and reformatory prisons in and for the Province.

(7.) The establishment, maintenance, and management of hospitals, asylums, charities, and eleemosynary institutions in and for the Province, other than marine hospitals.

(8.) Municipal institutions in the Province.

(9.) Shop, saloon, tavern, auctioneer, and other licences, in order to the raising of a revenue for provincial, local, or municipal purposes.

(10.) Local works and undertakings other than such as are of the following classes,—

a. Lines of steam or other ships, railways, canals, telegraphs, and other works and undertakings connecting the Province with any other or others of the Provinces, or extending beyond the limits of the Province.

b. Lines of steamships between the Province and any British or foreign country.

c. Such works as, although wholly situate within the Province, are before or after their execution declared by the Parliament of Canada to be for the general advantage of Canada, or for the advantage of two or more of the Provinces.

(11.) The incorporation of companies with provincial objects.

(12.) The solemnisation of marriage in the Province.

(13.) Property and civil rights in the Province.

(14.) The administration of justice in the Province, including the constitution, maintenance, and organisation of provincial courts, both of civil and of criminal jurisdiction, and including procedure in civil matters in those courts.

(15.) The imposition of punishment by fine, penalty, or imprisonment for enforcing any law of the Province made in relation to any matter coming within any of the classes of subjects enumerated in this section.

(16.) Generally all matters of a merely local or private nature in the Province.

EDUCATION.

93. In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education, subject and according to the following provisions :—

(1.) Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law in the Province at the Union.

(2.) All the powers, privileges, and duties at the Union by law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the separate schools and school trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic subjects shall be and the same are hereby extended to the dissentient schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic subjects in Quebec.

(3.) Where in any Province a system of separate or dissentient schools exists by law at the Union, or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any act or decision of any provincial authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education.

AGRICULTURE AND IMMIGRATION.

95. In each Province the Legislature may make laws in relation to agriculture in the Province, and to immigration into the Province; and it is hereby declared that the Parliament of Canada may from time to time make laws in relation to agriculture in all or any of the Provinces; and to immigration into all or any of the Provinces; and any law of the Legislature of a Province relative to agriculture, or to immigration, shall have effect in and for the Province as long and as far only as it is not repugnant to any act of the Parliament of Canada.

REVENUES—DEBTS—ASSETS—TAXATION.

105. Unless altered by the Parliament of Canada, the salary of the Governor-General shall be £10,000 sterling money of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, payable out of the consolidated revenue fund of Canada, and the same shall form the third charge thereon.

106. Subject to the several payments by this act charged on the consolidated revenue fund of Canada, the same shall be appropriated by the Parliament of Canada for the public service.

107. All stocks, cash, bankers' balances, and securities for money belonging to each Province at the time of the Union, except as in this act mentioned, shall be the property of Canada, and shall be taken in reduction of the amount of the respective debts of the Provinces at the Union.

108. The public works and property of each Province, enumerated in the third schedule to this act, shall be the property of Canada.

109. All lands, mines, minerals, and royalties belonging to the several Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick at the Union, and all sums then due or payable for such lands, mines, minerals, or royalties, shall belong to the several Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, in which the same are situate or arise, subject to any trusts

existing in respect thereof, and to any interest other than that of the Province in the same.

110. All assets connected with such portions of the public debt of each Province as are assumed by that Province shall belong to that Province.

111. Canada shall be liable for the debts and liabilities of each Province at the Union.

112. Ontario and Quebec conjointly shall be liable to Canada for the amount (if any) by which the debt of the Province of Canada exceeds at the Union \$62,500,000, and shall be charged with interest at the rate of five per centum per annum thereon.

113. The assets enumerated in the fourth schedule to this act belonging at the Union to the Province of Canada shall be the property of Ontario and Quebec conjointly.

114. Nova Scotia shall be liable to Canada for the amount (if any) by which its public debt exceeds at the Union \$8,000,000, and shall be charged with interest at the rate of five per centum per annum thereon.

115. New Brunswick shall be liable to Canada for the amount (if any) by which its public debt exceeds at the Union \$7,000,000, and shall be charged with interest at the rate of five per centum per annum thereon.

116. In case the public debts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick do not at the Union amount to \$8,000,000 and \$7,000,000 respectively, they shall respectively receive by half-yearly payment in advance from the Government of Canada interest at five per centum per annum on the difference between the actual amounts of their respective debts and such stipulated amounts.

117. The several Provinces shall retain all their respective public property not otherwise disposed of in this act, subject to the right of Canada to assume any lands or public property required for fortifications or for the defence of the country.

118. The following sums shall be paid yearly by Canada to the several Provinces for the support of their Governments and Legislatures :—

Ontario,	-	-	-	\$80,000
Quebec,	-	-	-	70,000
Nova Scotia,	-	-	-	60,000
New Brunswick,	-	-	-	50,000
				<hr/>
				\$260,000

and an annual grant in aid of each Province shall be made, equal to 80 cents per head of the population as ascertained by the census of 1861, and in the case of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, by each subsequent decennial census until the population of each of those two Provinces amounts to 400,000 souls, at which rate such grant shall thereafter remain. Such grants shall be in full settlement of all future demand on Canada, and shall be paid half-yearly in advance to each Province; but the Government of Canada shall deduct from such grants, as against any Province, all sums chargeable as interest on the public debt of that Province in excess of the several amounts stipulated in this act.

119. New Brunswick shall receive by half-yearly payments in advance from Canada for the period of ten years from the Union an additional allowance of \$63,000 per annum; but as long as the public debt of that Province remains under \$7,000,000, a deduction equal to the interest at five per centum per annum on such deficiency shall be made from that allowance of \$63,000.

121. All articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any one of the Provinces shall, from and after the Union, be admitted free into each of the other Provinces.

122. The customs and excise laws of each Province shall, subject to the provisions of this act, continue in force until altered by the Parliament of Canada.

125. No lands or property belonging to Canada or any Province shall be liable to taxation.

CHAPTER IX.

THE GOVERNMENT OF LORD MONCK—*continued.*

THE anxieties which surrounded the birth of a new form of government, the grave responsibilities involved in putting its working machinery into successful motion, and the difficulty of solving the complex questions which must at once present themselves for consideration, should naturally induce a policy of great forbearance on the part of every true well-wisher of his country. In Ontario, public opinion was almost unanimous in favour of Confederation, and, accordingly, a very general disposition was shown to give the new Coalition Government generous treatment and a fair trial. There was no desire, as a rule, to throw obstacles in the way of the consolidation of the Dominion, nor to prevent the satisfactory development of the somewhat complex constitution which the "British North America Act" had conferred upon this country. But there was, unquestionably, one notable and much to be regretted exception to this rule. As we have already seen, George Brown, on what must be regarded as a very shallow pretext, had abandoned the ship of state, although freighted with his own peculiar policy, while still on its way to the harbour of Confederation, and the fact that it eventually safely cast anchor there, owing chiefly to the exertions of others, can only be placed in a very limited sense to his credit. But, not content with "turning back after he had put his hand to the plough," he permitted his feelings of pique at being, as he fancied, inconsiderately treated, to subordinate his sense of public duty; and that wise forbearance which the people had a right to expect at his hands, at this juncture, was not forthcoming. His sudden hostility to the Government was regarded, accordingly, with much disfavour by many of his hitherto most ardent supporters, and lowered him not a little in their estimation. His admiring biographer and personal friend, Alexander Mackenzie, tells us, "that the near approach of the day on which the new system was to be put into operation, necessarily caused some anxiety in Mr. Brown's mind;" but why or wherefore he does not say. By ordinary lovers of their country, the first of July would naturally be regarded as an auspicious day—a day of public rejoicing, as it then proved and still proves to be. And we

are further told by the same biographer, that Mr. Brown was desirous of securing joint harmonious action at the coming general election for the Dominion, and accordingly issued a call for a Convention of Reformers, at Toronto, on the 27th of June. The object of this gathering was stated to be "to adopt measures for securing the correction of abuses so long deplored by the Reform Party, and for the infusion of sound Reform principles into the daily administration of public affairs."* In answer to his summons 650 leading Reformers of Ontario assembled at Toronto, to learn very soon that the chief object in calling them together was to lay the foundation for a fresh political agitation, and to make better preparation for the approaching elections, in order to secure the return of candidates in harmony with Brown's views, and angry feelings as well, and opposed to the new Coalition Cabinet which had just sprung into existence, and which was now not to be even given the opportunity of a fair trial. The *Globe* had already condemned it in the strongest terms, as well as the conduct of Howland and McDougall† in remaining members of the Ministry after Brown had left it, and for again accepting office in the new Coalition Government. The Convention re-echoed its opinions, and passed several strong resolutions condemning the union of Reformers and Conservatives to work out the problem of Confederation. Howland and McDougall were both present, and made eloquent and forcible speeches in vindication of their course. Howland argued that a new era was about to be inaugurated, that new and greater national interests had arisen which should be considered before those of mere party, and that, in any event, the past old party lines were about to be obliterated. McDougall made a logical and powerful address in defence of the Coalition, which produced a profound effect upon the audience. But Brown's influence still remained paramount, and effectually governed its final decision. The Coalition Government was strongly condemned; and, so far as the Convention was concerned, Howland and McDougall were practically read out of the Reform Party.‡ But that Party did not, by any means, unanimously endorse this action. The general election for the House of Commons took place in the latter part of the summer, and despite the utmost exertions of the anti-

* Mackenzie's Life of George Brown, p. 112.

† William McDougall, a native Canadian, born at Toronto in 1822. He studied law in that city with James Hervey Price, a noted Reformer, and was admitted to the bar in 1847. He afterwards was connected with different newspapers, and became noted as a talented writer and forcible speaker. He first entered Parliament in 1858 as member for the riding of North Oxford, and as an extreme Reformer approved of by the *Globe*, and was a vigorous advocate of Representation by Population. He was afterwards Commissioner of Crown Lands in the Macdonald-Sicotte Cabinet, and was one of those selected by the Reform Party as a Cabinet Minister to carry out Confederation.

‡ Dent's Last Forty Years, vol 11, p. 474.

coalitionists, the people of Ontario and Quebec returned an overwhelming majority in favour of the Government. The general desire to give Confederation its honest opportunity, and that principle of fair-play so cherished by the Canadian people generally, rose superior, at this juncture, to the mere exigencies of party. Many Reformers who were wholly opposed to coalitions in principle, sturdily maintained that the new Government should have a fair trial, and absolutely refused to bow to the dictation of the Toronto Convention. So strong was this feeling, that Brown, himself, with all his personal prestige, and the support as well of the *Globe*, then as now, the great organ of popular Reform opinion, was defeated in North Ontario by a local candidate, and felt himself so seriously compromised, by his own extreme and unwise course, that he did not attempt to obtain a seat elsewhere. His defeat seriously demoralised the Opposition, depressed it in no small degree, and increased the support of the Government in several doubtful constituencies, where elections occurred at a later period. In the Province of Quebec only twelve anti-coalitionists secured election ; while in New Brunswick the Government party carried twelve seats out of fifteen. In Nova Scotia alone was the result unsatisfactory. There Joseph Howe,* one of its most influential men for many years, and an orator of great natural ability and power, took a stand exceedingly hostile to Confederation, and carried the people with him. Of the nineteen members returned for that Province, only one, Dr. Tupper, was favourable to Confederation ; and even Archibald, the Secretary of State, was badly beaten, and thus compelled to resign his seat in the Cabinet. But when the total result of the elections came to be known, it was found that the Government could command nearly three-fourths of the entire vote in the House of Commons. The result of the elections for the various local legislatures, followed similar lines to those of the Dominion, and, in Nova Scotia, the House of Assembly, was almost wholly composed of members hostile to Confederation, who clamoured loudly for the dissolution of the union. In Quebec, the first local administration, under the New *Regime*, was formed under the auspices of Piere J. O. Chaveau, a French-Canadian lawyer of good reputation, and an author of cultivated literary tastes, who for several years before had been the superintendent of education in his own Province. He continued in office until 1873. In Ontario a similar task was undertaken by

* For a quarter of a century Joseph Howe had been the leading politician of Nova Scotia, his native province, was for many years a member of its government, and had a wonderful faculty as a public speaker, in addition to being an able journalist. He had been an ardent advocate of Responsible Government, and possessed great personal influence with the people, which was afterwards seriously shaken when he became a member of the Dominion Cabinet in 1868. He became the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia on the 1st of May, 1873, and after holding that honourable position for one month died on the 1st of June.

John Sandfield Macdonald, who, of recent years, had diverged farther and farther from the extreme section of the Reform Party which still followed the leadership of George Brown, whose policy he regarded as alike unwise and disastrous to his political friends. Sandfield Macdonald had strongly opposed Confederation, but now that it was an accomplished fact stood prepared to give his support in carrying it honestly into effect, and to co-operate, in that direction, with his greater namesake. His rule was an economical and beneficent one, and lasted for over four years.

But few events of political importance marked the interval between the general election, and the meeting of Parliament. On the 4th of November Galt resigned his position as Minister of Finance, and retired from the Cabinet. He had been bitterly assailed by the *Globe* and other Opposition journals, for the bad results alleged to be produced by the Currency Act, which had been passed under his auspices during the recent session of Parliament. It was charged that this act unduly favoured the Bank of Montreal, in making it the sole medium of the issue of Provincial notes, and had pressed so adversely on the Commercial Bank as to lead to its failure, an occurrence which had caused no small loss and inconvenience to the community. Galt's explanations, subsequently made in the House of Commons, showed that this charge had no real foundation in fact. To substantiate his statements, he read a resolution, passed on the 23rd of October by the Board of Directors of the Commercial Bank, thanking him for his zealous and persevering exertions to avert the disaster which had befallen that institution. The member for Lennox and Addington, Richard Cartwright,* who was president of the Commercial Bank, corroborated Galt's explanations, and declared that its failure was alone due to the withdrawal of the confidence of its depositors, and had not been caused by the policy of the Finance Minister. His statements were supported by Luther H. Holton,† a director of the same bank. Galt finally declared that he felt confident justice would eventually be done him, not only as regards this but in other matters. But he preferred to wait for that time in an unofficial position, and no longer desired to assume the burdens of office, and be responsible for guiding the financial policy of the country. There can be no doubt, however,

* Afterwards Sir Richard Cartwright, a descendent of the Cartwright, of Kingston, alluded to in vol. 1, p. 443. Sir Richard, at this time, was a Conservative, and a strong supporter of Confederation. At a later period he quarrelled with John A. Macdonald over a Cabinet appointment, and afterwards attached himself to the Reform Party, with which he has continued to act from that day to this. He became Finance Minister in the Mackenzie Cabinet.

† A leading member of the Reform Party, and a partner in the great Montreal forwarding firm of Hooker, Holton & Co. He was an ardent free-trader in principle, and had been Finance Minister in the Sandfield Macdonald administration. He was a native of Upper Canada, but went to Montreal when a boy as a clerk to the firm in which he afterwards became a partner. He occupied a prominent position in Parliament for many years.

that Galt's bill did somewhat unfavourably affect the Commercial Bank, but the true cause of its failure was the unwise loan, by its directors, of two million dollars—half its capital—to an American railway company, on the faith of what turned out to be worthless guarantees.

The first Parliament of the Dominion assembled at Ottawa on the 7th of November. James Cockburn* was elected speaker of the House of Commons by acclamation. Joseph Edouard Cauchon, a French-Canadian lawyer, a man with a biting tongue and many enemies, who first appeared in Parliament in 1845, occupied a leading position there, and rendered important service in his native Province to the cause of Confederation, had been already appointed, by the Crown, to the speakership of the Senate. The sober atmosphere of that sedate chamber toned down his aggressiveness, and he reigned there with dignity and credit. On the 8th Monck delivered his opening speech, which was alike eloquent, sensible, and practical, and befitted, also, in other ways, the memorable occasion that produced it. The official history of Confederation was first tersely sketched, and then he told how the British North America Act had been wholly framed in the interests of the free and self-governing people of Canada. Measures, he stated, would be laid before Parliament to assimilate existing laws relating to currency, customs, excise and revenue; for establishing a uniform postal system, for the proper management and maintenance of public works, for the adoption of a well-considered system of militia organization, for a general patent law, for the naturalisation of aliens, and for the assimilation of the criminal law, and of the laws relating to bankruptcy and insolvency. This formed a formidable catalogue of prospective legislation to be achieved in a single session. But, in addition, he informed Parliament that the terms of the Act of Union had to be now complied with, by making arrangements for the immediate construction of the Intercolonial Railway, and thus give the Dominion a physical as well as a legislative connection. Elections laws had also to be framed, and Parliament had furthermore to consider the important subject of western territorial extension. And then Monck told both Houses, that during the past year the volunteers and militia had, by the liberality of the Imperial Government, been armed with breech-loading rifles; and that a gracious Providence had blessed the Dominion with an abundant harvest. "Your new nationality enters on its course," said he, in conclusion, "backed by the moral support, material aid, and most ardent good wishes of the Mother Country. Within your borders peace, security, and prosperity prevail; and I fervently pray that your aspirations may be directed to such high and patriotic objects, and that you may be inspired

* A barrister of the Town of Cobourg, and the member for West Northumberland, who had been Solicitor General in the Tache-Macdonald Cabinet. He was a Conservative, and a strong supporter of Confederation.

with such a spirit of moderation and wisdom, as will cause you to render the great work of union, which has been achieved, a blessing to yourselves and your posterity, and a fresh starting point in the moral, political, and national advancement of the people of Canada. This was indeed alike noble and eloquent language, every way befitting the important occasion that called it forth, and well-worthy to be treasured up in the memory of every lover of his country.

The address, in reply, gave rise to a long debate, which lasted for several days. When the Nova Scotian Demosthenes, Howe, rose to state why his province down by the sea was dissatisfied with Confederation, every sound was stilled, and the members eagerly listened to his eloquent declamation. But if Doctor Tupper* was no match for Howe, as regarded mere oratorical display, he pushed aside his glittering generalities, and appeals to local prejudices, with hard figures and logical statements of fact, that completely gave him the vantage ground. He emphatically denied Howe's assertion, that the issue of Confederation had been fairly put before the people of Nova Scotia, and forcibly pointed out various inconsistencies in the stand which had been taken by its Anti-Unionists. No amendment was moved to the address, and it was finally carried without a division.

During the progress of the session a warm discussion arose on the "Act to provide for the construction of the Intercolonial Railway." An amendment, moved thereto by Dorion, to the effect that the route should not be determined without the consent of Parliament, was defeated by a vote of 83 to 35, which clearly proved the great strength of the Government. The discussion on this bill, as well as on other important measures, showed that the tone of Parliamentary debate had been greatly elevated, and now rose to the dignity of the wider field in which it was exercised. The obstructive and narrow policy, which had so frequently characterised the proceedings in the old Legislatures of Canada, was entirely abandoned, long speeches were, as a rule, avoided, unless when they became absolutely necessary, and even the discontented members from Nova Scotia treated questions on their merits, and did not attempt to monopolise the debates by unduly airing the real or fancied grievances of their province. On the whole, an honest desire to fairly test the working-qualities of the new constitution was manifested; and even this circumstance, *per se*, was a great improvement on the former condition of Parliamentary proceedings. Although Galt still continued to transact the business

* Afterwards Sir Charles Tupper. He is a native Nova Scotian who abandoned medicine for politics, and soon rose to a distinguished position. He joined the Macdonald Cabinet in 1870 as President of the Privy Council, and rose from one important position to another until he became Minister of Public Works in 1878. He is now High Commissioner for Canada in England. Sir John A. Macdonald always regarded him as one of his most able lieutenants.

of the Finance Department, he persisted in his refusal to continue in office, and was eventually succeeded by John Rose,* a barrister of Montreal, and member for the Quebec constituency of Huntingdon, which now re-elected him by acclamation.

On the 4th of December, a series of resolutions, based on the 146th section of the British North America Act, which had for their object the acquisition of the North-West Territories by the Dominion, were introduced in the House of Commons by William McDougall. These resolutions were finally adopted, and formed the basis of an address to the Crown, which was at once forwarded to the Home Government. A Montreal newspaper† told its readers, "that the debate in the Commons, on this occasion, was a spirited one, and the speeches eloquent and vigorous. Mr. McDougall delivered an excellent speech in support of his resolutions, and was ably replied to by Mr. Howe, in a long and very eloquent address. The latter often convulsed the House with laughter, but the general remark was that the moral force of his arguments, which were strong, was impaired by so much levity. Mr. Howe's free and careless use of scripture language, and sometimes of the name of the Creator, in his speeches, also impairs his moral power. Those who believed him to be an earnest man, devoted to the best interests of mankind, are a good deal taken aback by finding him an easy man of the world. Mr. Tilley‡ replied to Mr. Howe, in one of the finest speeches of the session, carrying the House completely with him by his earnestness and enthusiasm. He has great command of language, and convinces all his hearers that he believes what he says."

On the 7th of December, the new Finance Minister made the annual Budget statement to the House of Commons. Short as his term of office had been, he had already mastered the complicated details of every branch of the revenue, and his speech was well-received at both sides of the House. Holton expressed his satisfaction with the lucid manner in which the Minister spread out his

* Afterwards Sir John Rose. He was a native of Scotland, and born in Aberdeenshire in 1820. On coming to Canada he resided for some time in the Eastern Townships, but eventually went to Montreal to study law, and was called to the bar in 1842. He speedily acquired the confidence of the mercantile community, and had a large legal practice. He was first elected to Parliament in 1857, and afterwards held different positions in the Government. He took chief charge of the arrangements for the Prince of Wales' visit, in 1860, and won golden opinions on all sides for the admirable manner in which he carried them out. He finally left this country to reside in London, where he became a member of a large banking firm.

† *Montreal Witness*, December 7th, 1867.

‡ Afterwards Sir Samuel Leonard Tilley, who so long occupied a foremost position in the Macdonald administration. He was Provincial Secretary in the New Brunswick Government when Confederation took place, and one of the representatives of his Province at the Quebec Conference. He strongly left his impress on the negotiations which ushered in the Dominion, and became its first Minister of Customs. He was afterwards Finance Minister, and eventually became the Governor of his own Province.

facts and figures, and Howe declared that he had listened with a great deal of pleasure to his elaborate statement. Since 1857 the deficit in the Canadian revenue had become a chronic fiscal disease, and Rose now declared that he desired to prevent this unsatisfactory state of things in the future. For the year ending June 30th, the net receipts were \$12,412,539, and the total expenditure \$12,915,973. The deficiency, however, had been mainly caused by extra expenditure connected with the new Parliament buildings, the Fenian raids, and the large amount of duties refunded under the tariff of the preceding session. The estimated expenditure of the current year was put at \$14,301,301 and the revenue at 14,475,400, leaving an anticipated surplus of \$156,099.

During the recent elections charges had been very freely made, that the Government was buying up constituencies with the "Secret Service Fund" of \$100,000, which had been set apart chiefly for the purpose of paying agents to watch Fenian operations in the United States, which were still of a threatening character. Edward Blake,* one of the new members of the House, alluded sharply to this matter during the session, and had the return of the expenditure brought down. This return showed, that subsequent to the 1st of July, which was long before the elections took place, not a dollar of this money had been paid out, and that \$58,398 of the Fund still remained unexpended. Blake had used some strong language in moving for this return, and now found himself in a somewhat uncomfortable position. Alexander Mackenzie,† after-

* Edward Blake, the eldest son of Chancellor Blake, Solicitor General in the second Baldwin-Lafontaine administration. Mr. Blake was already distinguished for his great eloquence and ability, and was then, as now, the foremost lawyer of the Ontario Equity Bar. Prior to Confederation he had taken no part in public affairs, but after its consummation the Reform Party turned to him, in hope and confidence, as a man who had all the qualities for a great leader, and elected him, for West Durham, to the House of Commons, and, for South Bruce, to the local Legislature, dual representation being then permitted. Possessed of profound legal knowledge, and an eloquent, forcible and logical debater, his party expected great things from him. But his extreme caution devoured him, he lacked the courage and nerve so necessary to the successful party leader, and his want of tact and uncongenial temperament repelled instead of attracting. He might be best described as an unknown Parliamentary quantity.

† Alexander Mackenzie was born in Perthshire, Scotland, in 1822, and served his apprenticeship there as a stone mason. In 1842 he emigrated to Canada, and settled in Kingston, where he worked at his trade, and in 1847 removed to the neighbourhood of Sarnia, where he did a small business as builder and contractor. He soon became noted for his ability, his honesty, and his strong Reform politics. He eventually, as might naturally be expected, drifted from the building trade into literature, and published a very good weekly newspaper at Sarnia in the interests of his party. In 1861 he was elected to Parliament from Lambton, and from the first, although not an eloquent, proved a ready and effective debater, with a clear head for hard facts and figures, and a great faculty for dealing with minute and complicated details. But his public vision was always a contracted one, and while an honest politician and an able man he could scarcely be called a statesman.

wards premier, while vigorously supporting his eminent friend, was much more cautious in his speech, and did not arouse so much adverse comment. On the 21st of December, Parliament adjourned for a long recess, in order that the various local Legislatures might have sufficient time to complete their sessions during the interval. On the 29th a vacancy was caused in the Ministry by the death of one of its Reform members, Fergusson Blair, President of the Privy Council.

During the recess, Joseph Howe was busily engaged, in his own Province, in agitating for the repeal of the Union. Shortly after Parliament had adjourned, a great anti-Confederation meeting was held at Halifax, at which he forcibly urged that a strong representation should be made to the Home Government, and to the people of England, against the action of the Earl of Carnarvon in forcing the British North America Act on Nova Scotia. He counselled that, in the meanwhile, peace and good order should prevail. Should the answer from the Mother Country prove unfavourable, he was not prepared to say what should be done. But, in any event, from forty days' experience at Ottawa, he felt satisfied that the union would never be acceptable to Nova Scotia, and should a hostile crisis arise he trusted that his countrymen would meet it with resolution. This menacing language was endorsed by the local Legislature, which met on the 30th of January, 1868. and had not been long in session when an address to the Queen was agreed to, praying for the repeal of so much of the British North America Act as affected Nova Scotia. This action was supplemented by the appointment of four delegates, of whom Howe was one, to proceed to England, to present the address to Her Majesty, and to urge the matter on the attention of the Imperial authorities. The Dominion Government at once determined to oppose this proceeding, and sent Tupper as its representative to England. On his arrival there the Doctor vigorously applied himself to refute the repeal arguments of Howe, and succeeded so well that the mission of the Nova Scotia delegates proved a complete failure, and they returned home with their minds made up to accept the inevitable with the best grace they could. In Nova Scotia the existing dissatisfaction was heightened by the distress which prevailed among its fishing population, owing to the recent partial failure of their chief industry. Their own government did what it could to relieve this distress, and on the 31st of January the Legislature of Quebec generously voted four thousand dollars for the same object. But, while proceedings hostile to Confederation were taking place down by the sea, the question of annexing the "Great Lone Land" of the North-West to the Dominion, had become one of serious consideration with a part of its own inhabitants. The *Winnipeg Nor'-Wester*, of the 14th of January, in alluding to this state of things, expressed a strong hope of the speedy consummation of the union project. British Columbia had also commenced to agitate for annexation to the

Dominion, and a large public meeting at Victoria passed resolutions to that effect.

Apart from mere political issues, but little occurred during the earlier part of the year to disturb the people of the Dominion. "The Silver Nuisance," as it was termed, was the principal cause of social worry. That nuisance arose from the want of a purely Canadian coinage, and the fact that a large quantity of English shillings was in circulation at the fictitious value of twenty-five cents, as well as a depreciated American silver currency. The mercantile community, especially, which took this money at par, and had afterwards to pay a discount of at least five per cent. to realise upon it, before it could make its own payments, was a heavy loser, and suffered no small inconvenience. The difficulty was eventually removed by the Dominion Government buying up all the depreciated silver coins in the country, and shipping them to England to be recoined into a purely Canadian currency. In order to provide change while this was being done, a Government twenty-five cent bill, or shin-plaster as it was jocularly termed, was issued, and proved a great convenience. These little bills still keep floating around, to a small extent, and are found very useful in many ways.

While Fenian agitation against this country had almost disappeared, it again raised its head in England and Ireland, where it led to much disorder and serious crime. In the United States, where the question of the Alabama claims continued to excite much soreness, Secretary Seward thought proper to coquet with this agitation, and openly received a Fenian deputation. Several members of Congress, at the same time, did not hesitate to give it more or less countenance, and thus win the votes, in their several districts, which the Fenian order controlled. This condition of affairs pressed so embarrassingly on the United States minister to England, Mr. Adams, that he tendered his resignation. Meanwhile, the various local Legislatures of the Dominion had applied themselves industriously to their own particular affairs. Ontario, with its single chamber, and unhampered by an expensive upper house, accomplished a large amount of important work. Among its money grants, was a payment of four thousand dollars to the widow of William Lyon Mackenzie, in full satisfaction of all his public claims. A considerate act of benevolence which passed unquestioned.

The Dominion Parliament re-assembled on the 12th of March, and promptly proceeded to business. On the 19th, a bitter debate arose on the matter of Tupper's mission to England. His appointment was condemned in the strongest terms by all the members from Nova Scotia, and declared to have been adding insult to injury. Savary, one of these members, stated "that the people of Canada knew little of the excitement that prevailed in Nova Scotia, mainly caused by the Dominion Government and its agent in England, that nothing had been done to appease the people, and

that reconciliation was now impossible. And Edward Blake instead of prudently throwing oil on the troubled waters, proceeded to give the storm fresh force, by declaring "that the legislation of the preceding session, against which he had protested, had strengthened the repeal movement, and that this last act of sending to England a man so obnoxious as Dr. Tupper, would intensify the hostile feeling already existing." For the time being it appeared as if Nova Scotia had almost made up its mind to secede by force ; but the firm attitude of the Imperial and Dominion Governments presently led to calmer counsels, and the storm gradually subsided.*

Meanwhile, as the spring wore away rumours of fresh hostile Fenian movements against our borders began to circulate ; and it was stated, on good authority, that secret depots of arms were being formed along the frontier line extending from Ogdensburg to Lake Champlain. As it was well-known, however, that the military authorities had made the most ample preparations to repel a Fenian invasion, on any part of the border, these rumours caused little or no uneasiness. While matters still remained in this condition, the public mind received a painful shock by the assassination, at the door of his boarding house, Sparks Street, Ottawa, of D'Arcy McGee, at an early hour on the morning of Tuesday, the 7th of April. As he was opening the door with his latch-key, he was fired at from behind, the bullet entering the back of his neck, passing out through his mouth, and lodging just above the key-hole. The alarm was immediately given, and McGee was found lying dead, in a pool of blood, on the sidewalk. He had evidently died instantaneously, without a groan or a struggle. It was a bright moonlight night, but still no trace of the assassin could be seen. Poor McGee ! his eloquence all hushed forever, his brilliant light suddenly and violently extinguished, lay stark and still, surrounded by several of his fellow-members of Parliament and others, who were lost in astonishment and dismay at the tragic occurrence. What had he done to deserve such a pitiable fate ? In his younger and more impulsive days he stood the avowed foe of British rule all the world over, but time and ripened experience gradually convinced him of his error, until, as Lord Mayo had recently stated in the Imperial Parliament, "he had become the most eloquent advocate of that rule that was to be found on the face of the globe." And that advocacy was unquestionably the cause of his assassination. He had changed his opinions—he had learned that British rule was a constitutional and beneficent, and not an oppressive, one ; and that here, in Canada, its flag unfurled

* Howe, when in England, had a long interview with the Colonial Secretary, then the Duke of Buckingham, who, after hearing him very patiently, quietly replied that the Union had become the settled policy of the Empire—and the Government could not, at that early day, undertake to stultify itself by reversing the deliberate and well-considered course arrived at, when it advised the Queen to sanction the British North America Act of the previous year.

itself to guard a greater degree of genuine human freedom than existed in any other part of the world. And he honestly held to the convictions of later years and more matured experience, and in their full and frank avowal had recently stood the test of a severe election contest, in the West Riding of Montreal, and won it in the teeth of the strongest opposition from Fenian and other sources; the Orangemen and other Conservatives turning out to a man to support him. McGee may have had many faults, but he had also many more virtues; and was greatly mourned by the right-minded people of the whole Dominion. Shortly after the election he had been struck down by a severe illness, from which he had scarcely recovered when Parliament met in November. His convalescence found him much changed, and altered for the better in many ways. He had become sober and religious; and affliction had transformed the rollicking Irish humourist, and inimitable story-teller, into a staid, decorous and thoughtful man. Both before and after his election, he had been frequently made the object of abusive and threatening anonymous letters. Some of these came from the United States, some from Canada, some from Ireland. He felt that he was a marked man, and had resolved that ere long he would retire from public life altogether. Meanwhile he devoted himself assiduously to his Parliamentary duties, and, on the evening preceding his murder, had made a brilliant and statesmanlike speech, in which he counselled the adoption of a pacific and conciliatory policy towards Nova Scotia. In a few brief hours afterwards he had passed the portals of eternity. A great wave of indignation stirred the public mind to its depths, as the telegraph wires flashed, over two hemispheres, the news of the assassination. McGee had become exceedingly popular in his adopted country, and the belief was very general that he had commenced the better part of his career. He was only forty-three, his intellect stood at its meridian, and in the ordinary course of nature a wealth of days still lay before him. Parliament honoured him as it best could, and on motion of the Premier, seconded by Alexander Mackenzie, adjourned until after the funeral, which took place at Montreal, at the public expense, on the 13th. It was attended by a vast concourse, over eight thousand persons being in the procession alone, while at least ten times that number lined the streets as spectators. A pension of \$1200 a year was voted to his widow, and a moderate provision also made for his children. The Dominion Government, the Quebec Government, and the City of Ottawa, offered large rewards for the arrest and conviction of the assassin. He was found next day in a Fenian named Patrick James Whelan, a working tailor, selected no doubt by his fellow-conspirators of Montreal, whence he came, to commit the foul crime of murder. After a long and patient trial he was finally convicted, mainly on circumstantial evidence, and was executed at Ottawa on the 11th of February, in the following year. It was the last public execution which took place in Canada, as an act was shortly

afterwards passed providing that the extreme penalty of the law, must, in the future, be inflicted privately within the prison walls. Shortly after McGee's murder, news arrived from Australia that his tragical death came near having its counterpart at Sydney. On the 12th of March, while at the Sailor's Home picnic, the Duke of Edinburgh was fired at with a revolver by a Fenian named O'Farrell, and seriously wounded in the back.

After a number of important measures had been passed, Parliament was prorogued on the 20th of May. On the 17th of June, John Bright moved, in the Imperial House of Commons, for a special commission to enquire into the cause of Nova Scotia's dissatisfaction with confederation. His motion found little grace with the chamber, then not quite half full, and was rejected on a vote of 183 to 96. In July, William Pearce Howland became Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, and Samuel Allan Wilmot, a leading jurist and politician of New Brunswick, was appointed to the same position in his own province. Throughout the summer the Nova Scotian question commanded the greater amount of public attention. In August Macdonald and other members of his Cabinet, attended a convention held at Halifax, with the view of reconciling conflicting interests. But although this attempt was unsuccessful, at the time, it ultimately led to important pacific results. During the autumn friendly overtures were made to Howe, a place in the Cabinet was offered him, and "better terms" than the Union Act had provided for promised to Nova Scotia. The Home Government's final answer of refusal to permit of secession had been given,* and Howe determined, as his best policy, to close with these friendly overtures. The existing difficulties, however, did not at all affect the credit of the Dominion. The four per cent. loan for the construction of the Intercolonial Railway had been promptly taken up, in London, at 105 $\frac{5}{8}$; while a purely Canadian five per cent. loan brought 109. The vigorous policy of the new Finance Minister, which had been already successful in terminating a long series of deficits in the public revenue, had also produced excellent results in other directions.

Having been very successful in carrying into effect the policy of the Home Government, touching Confederation, Monck's original term of office had been extended for two years, so that he might be fully able to complete the work he had begun. On the 14th of November, this extension had expired, and his beneficent Canadian reign came to a final close. Irishman as he was his administration had been much more fortunate, and more acceptable to the people generally, than that of either his English or Scotch immediate predecessors. Nor was that result to be ascribed to the smooth current of events, but rather to the evenness and impartiality with which he held the scales between contending politicians. Courteous to Reformers and Conservatives alike, he had never committed him-

* Buckingham's despatch to Monck, June 4th, 1868.

self to the especial policy of either one or the other, but always stood ready to promote the general interests of the country at large at every favourable opportunity. The Legislature of Ontario, which chanced to be in session at the time of his departure, voiced the public feeling by presenting him with a highly complimentary address, lauding his unexceptionable course—his impartiality, and courteous demeanour. During his term of office he had been raised to the peerage of Great Britain, by the title of Baron Monk, of Ballytrammon in the County of Wexford, Ireland. And so he departed from Canada with the best wishes of the great majority of its people; and another Irishman, Sir John Young, afterwards created Lord Lisgar, reigned in his stead, and was duly sworn into office on the 29th of December.

THE GOVERNMENT OF LORD LISGAR.

The new Governor-General was the eldest son and successor of an Irish baronet. He was a Conservative in politics, had represented the County of Cavan, Ireland, in the Imperial House of Commons for many years, and had filled various public offices of trust and emolument. He had been governor of the Ionian Islands for some time, of New South Wales for six years, and was now in his sixty-second year.

Aside from the discontent of Nova Scotia, the acquisition of the North-West was the principal matter which pressed itself on the public attention as the year drew towards its close. Meanwhile George E. Cartier, recently created a baronet, and William McDougall, were appointed a deputation to proceed to England, in order to arrange with the Home Government and the Hudsons Bay Company, the terms on which the North-West Territories would be transferred to the Dominion. Canadian tourists had been traveling through that region during the preceding summer, and their letters to the newspapers had drawn a good deal of public attention to the vast country which had so silently and so long awaited settlement, and which might be said to have hitherto been a veritable *terra incognita* to the outside world. As the new year approached, the negotiations with Nova Scotia assumed a more satisfactory and tangible form. On the 25th of January, 1869, an order in council was passed, granting that province better terms, or, in other words, paying it a sum of money to induce it to remain peaceably within the Dominion. Its public debt was now to be credited at \$19,186,756, instead of \$8,000,000 agreed on at the date of Union, and a subsidy of \$82,698 per annum granted it for ten years. Five days afterwards Howe accepted the office of President of the Privy Council, vacated by the death of Fergusson Blair one year before; a proceeding which proved most disastrous to his reputation in his own province. For the first time, in the course of his long and somewhat stormy political career, there

were some grounds for the accusation that he had sold himself and his principles to the highest bidder. The extreme Reformers of Nova Scotia scouted the better terms which had been conceded, and which they declared to be a mere bribe; and when Howe returned to his constituents for re-election, he found himself deserted by a majority of his old supporters, who now worked hard to defeat him. But his ancient foe, Dr. Tupper, rallied the Conservatives to his assistance, and to their votes he mainly owed his triumphant election, and the large majority in his favour of 320. He continued, however, to be assailed with the fiercest invective, and the obloquy now so pitilessly heaped upon him, by his former friends, did much to break his spirit, and destroy his prospects of future usefulness to the Dominion. His once great popularity had departed from him, his worries seriously shattered his health, his gibes and his jokes had no longer their wonted point and effect, and he was never the same man again.

During the month of March, resolutions in favour of entering the Dominion were passed by the Legislature of Newfoundland, and delegates proceeded to Ottawa to arrange the terms of union. But a new election in that island, which shortly afterwards occurred, returned to its Assembly a majority hostile to Confederation; and from that day to this Newfoundland has remained in its maiden condition, and of recent years has been developing the usual traditional unpleasant temper of the prolonged single state. In Prince Edward Island, also, some disposition was shown to enter the Dominion; but its people still coyly hesitated to take the final step, and no definite result was as yet arrived at. In March, news came from England that the negotiations for the acquisition of the North-West Territories were drawing towards a close, and that the labours of the Canadian Commissioners were about to terminate satisfactorily. They had taken high ground in the matter, and contended that the Hudsons Bay Company had no legal right whatever to the Red River country, which had been a part of old Canada in the days of French rule, and could not, therefore, be covered by the charter of Charles II. On the other hand, the Hudsons Bay Company put forward the most extravagant pretensions, and for a time it appeared to be impossible to come to terms with it. But, at this juncture, the Home Government stepped in as an arbitrator between the two parties, and the Colonial Minister, now Lord Granville, submitted a basis of settlement. The principal feature of his proposition was, that the Dominion should pay £300,000 sterling (equal to \$1,460,000) to the Company, for the surrender of all its rights, in every part of the North-West and British Columbia. In addition it was to get fifty thousand acre blocks of land adjoining its principal stations, and one-twentieth of all the townships surveyed for settlement, in the Fertile Belt, for the ensuing fifty years. All titles for land, given by the Company up to the 8th of March, 1869, were to be confirmed, and the Indian claims extinguished by the Dominion. The Territories were

to be conveyed to the Crown, in the first place, and then re-conveyed to Canada. The *Globe* grumbled at some of the conditions as being too exacting, but consoled itself with the reflection that the reservation of one-twentieth of the North-West lands was not by any means as bad as the Clergy Reserve of one-seventh had been in Canada. But, taken on the whole, it expressed itself as fairly satisfied with the result of the negotiations. Granville declared that if either party declined his proposition, the Imperial Government designed to submit the nature of the Hudsons Bay Company's claims to the courts for a judicial decision. This threat alarmed the Company, caused it to abate its extravagant demands, and to finally agree to the terms proposed, which were also accepted by the Canadian delegates, subject of course to the approval of Parliament. The same mail which brought the news of the fortunate termination of these important negotiations, also conveyed the gratifying intelligence that the question of the Alabama claims was to be submitted to arbitration; and that this point of dispute now promised to be speedily and satisfactorily settled. This was indeed pleasant news for Canada. It opened up the prospect of better relations with our American cousins, and might lead to compensation for the Fenian raids which they had so openly permitted, and which had cost this country so much trouble, so much money, and the loss of several valuable lives. In this direction, however, the Canadian people were fated to be disappointed.

The Dominion Parliament met on the 15th of April, and was opened by Lisgar with a brief speech. He congratulated the House on the peaceful aspect of affairs at home and abroad, and on the fortunate inauguration of Confederation under the auspices of his predecessor. The success of the mission to England, as regarded the acquisition of the North-West, was alluded to, and the statement made that all papers connected therewith would be duly laid before Parliament. He added, that in accordance with the suggestion of the Home Government, an earnest effort had been made to allay the discontent of Nova Scotia, and that the documents in the case would be submitted for consideration. Bills were to be laid before the House for the assimilation of the criminal laws, and respecting elections, bankruptcy, and patents of invention. It was also pointed out that the charters of several banks were about to expire, and that the question of banking and currency would have to be considered. This speech gave little room for adverse comment, and as the strength of the administration continued unimpaired, the address, in reply, was carried in both Houses on the following day, and they immediately settled down to regular business. The most important debate of the session, arose upon a motion made by Howe, confirming the "better terms" granted to Nova Scotia. Blake disputed the constitutionality of the grant, argued that the British North America Act had finally settled the basis of union, that the Canadian Parliament had no power to change it, and moved an amend-

ment to that effect. Mackenzie seconded this amendment in a carefully prepared speech. Their view of the question, however, was strongly opposed by ministers; and John Hillyard Cameron and Tupper made able speeches in support of Howe's motion, which was eventually carried by a vote of 96 to 57, and a bill founded thereon duly became law. A bill was also passed, confirming the arrangements made in England for the acquisition of the North-West, a vast region estimated to contain 2,300,000 square miles. In the Fertile Belt alone, which covers an area exceeding three hundred millions of acres, it is estimated that there is sufficient good land to support an agricultural population of at least twenty million souls. The bill provided that the new acquisition to the Dominion should, for the present, be designated by the general name of the North-West Territories, and enacted that their affairs should be administered by a lieutenant-governor, to be appointed by the Dominion Government, assisted by a council. All laws then in force in the Territories, and not inconsistent with the British North America Act, or the terms of admission to the union, were to remain in force until amended or repealed. This bill was regarded as a mere temporary expedient, designed to bridge over existing difficulties; and the intention was that a regular provincial government should be established at as early a date as possible. The Supply Bill provided for borrowing a sufficient sum to pay the purchase money, and to make surveys and some necessary improvements. Parliament was prorogued on the 22nd of June, after Lisgar had given his assent to forty-one public and thirty-two private acts. In July, Lieutenant Colonel Dennis was despatched to the North-West, to make surveys of townships on the Assiniboine and Red rivers, and on arrival there with his staff at once commenced operations. On the 23rd of August, Prince Arthur, the third son of the Queen, arrived at Halifax to join his regiment, and to make a tour of the older parts of the Dominion, where he met a most cordial welcome. In September, William McDougall received his appointment of Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories, and accordingly resigned his seat in the Cabinet. On the 18th of that month, at a large public meeting, held at Almonte, he took leave of his constituents, and reviewed his own course as a Minister of the Crown for the preceding two years. He also outlined the system of government which had been provided for the Territories, and stated it would be changed for a more popular form as soon as the increase of population warranted such a proceeding. He therefore deprecated the efforts of those persons, who had recently attempted to alarm the people living there as to their future form of government, and promised impartial treatment and a friendly welcome, without regard to party, creed, or nationality, to every person coming to the North-West.

In October the new Finance Minister, John Rose, wearied of the labours of his position, and resigned his portfolio. He shortly afterwards departed for England, where he had become connected

with one of its large banking houses, and where he afterwards received the honour of knighthood. His successor was Sir Francis Hincks, who had recently returned to this country, and who again found himself in a Canadian Cabinet. He was elected for North Renfrew by a majority of 113 over his opponent, a local Reformer named Findlay. Several other changes also took place in the Cabinet at this time. Christopher Dunkin, of Montreal, a lawyer of reputation, became Minister of Agriculture; Alexander Morris, of Perth, an amiable and gifted man, Minister of Inland Revenue; James C. Aikins, Registrar General; Howe, Secretary of State; and Hector Langevin, afterwards knighted, Minister of Public Works. The reconstructed Cabinet was of a more decidedly Conservative character, than its immediate predecessors. The two old parties were re-grouping themselves on new lines of action—on new political issues, and Macdonald now showed a disposition to strengthen himself, as far as possible, from the ranks of his immediate friends.

CHAPTER X.

RUPERT'S LAND FROM 1610 TO 1760. THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES FROM 1760 TO 1869.

WITH the final surrender of Canada, by the Treaty of Paris, came also the surrender of all the French possessions in the North-West. Afterwards, in the progress of time, 1763. rival British fur companies dominated over its vast expanse, and found willing henchmen in the Half-breed descendents of the *Coureurs de bois* and the *Voyageurs* of the Old *Regime*. Nor were the Indian tribes, who lorded over its boundless prairies, and who were only a few degrees less wild than the vast buffalo herds which constituted their principal means of subsistence, at all unwilling to do these companies service. Foremost among these great trading corporations stood the Hudsons Bay Company. In 1609 Henry Hudson, a distinguished English navigator, 1609. while searching for a North-West passage to India and China, sailed into the famous New York river which bears his name. In the following year he renewed his search for this passage, but this time farther to the north, in a small vessel 1610. manned with twenty-three sailors, and discovered the inland sea known as Hudsons Bay. Owing to shortness of provisions, and other untoward causes, his crew mutinied, placed him and his son, with a few of their adherents, in a small boat, and abandoned them to the mercy of the waves, and of the savages of the adjacent shore. Neither Hudson nor his companions were ever heard of afterwards, although, on their cruel treatment becoming known in England, through the speedy confession of one of the mutineers, an expedition was sent out by James I. to discover their fate. By right of Hudson's discoveries, England at once claimed the sovereignty of Hudsons Bay, and, also, of the country drained by the rivers flowing into it. This claim was promptly followed up. In 1612 James sent out Sir Thomas Button, as his commissioner, to take formal possession of Hudsons Bay, and the straits leading into it, as well as to search for Hudson. The expedition passed the ensuing winter at the mouth of the Nelson River, so called by Button after the captain of the ship in which he sailed.

In 1631, Luke Fox was sent out by Charles I. to renew the claim of England. At the Nelson River he found the cross which had been set up by Button, as an evidence of his having taken possession of the country, thrown down, and the inscription thereon defaced. Fox now renewed this inscription, and set up the cross again. In 1667 Zachary Gilham sailed into a river at the bottom of the Bay, which he called Rupert's River, in honour of the cousin of the King, Prince Rupert, who was principally interested in the expedition; built Charles Fort there, and opened a successful fur-trade with the Indians. In 1670 Prince Rupert and certain specified associates were granted a charter of incorporation by Charles II., under the name of the Hudsons Bay Company. By this charter they were invested with the absolute proprietorship, subordinate sovereignty, and exclusive traffic of an undefined country, which, under the name of Rupert's Land, comprised all the vast region that poured its waters into Hudsons Bay, or the straits leading thereto. Their rights under this instrument would cover the Nelson River, Lake Winnipeg, and the water-ways flowing into it, as well as the contiguous country, were it not that this country was already in full possession of the French. To meet unlooked for difficulties of this nature, the charter prudently provided that any actual possessions held by a Christian prince or state were exempted from its provisions. The continuous action of England, plainly showed that she never considered that Hudsons Bay, or the country on its shores, formed part of New France, and was not, therefore, covered by the terms of the Treaty of St. Germaine-en-Laye in 1632.

The Hudsons Bay Company promptly went to work, to establish itself solidly and securely in its territories. Substantial forts and trading posts were built on the Rupert and Nelson Rivers, and a governor sent out from England to take charge of them. In these operations the Company was greatly assisted by adventurers from Massachusetts and New York, who were already well-acquainted with all the details of the fur-trade; and a very profitable traffic was speedily established. The French-Canadians soon found that the new company was seriously interfering with the trade, which had hitherto so freely flowed to their posts on the Saguenay river and elsewhere, and their jealousy was aroused. For twelve years, however, the English continued, without any interruption, to develop a most lucrative traffic, and during this period three other fortified posts, known as the Albany, the Moose, and the Severn factories, were established. Their business, in the meanwhile, had continued to increase, and now interfered to such an extent with the Canadian trade, that hostile measures for its interruption were determined on at Quebec. In 1682, La Chesnaye, countenanced and actively supported by Governor La Barre, who corruptly shared the profits of the fur-trade with him, planned an expedition, but without any authority from Louis XIV. against the Hudsons Bay Company's posts. This expedition captured and

burned Fort Nelson, established rival trading posts at different points along the coast, and almost wholly ruined the Hudsons Bay Company's business for that season. In the following year, however, the French were driven out of the Bay, and the Company's forts made stronger than ever. But the struggle continued on the sea, and under the colourable pretext that the Company was unlawfully trading in Hudsons Bay, La Barre caused the 1683. seizure of one of its ships, laden with a cargo of valuable furs, while on its way homewards through the straits. The vessel was brought as a prize to Quebec, where the crew were kept prisoners for eleven months, and afterwards sent as slaves to Martinico, in the West Indies, so as to effectually prevent any of them from carrying the news of their capture to England. The mate of the vessel, however, Richard Smithsend, made his escape, finally reached London, and acquainted the Hudsons Bay Company with the loss of its ship. La Barre's recall did not end that Company's misfortunes at this period. De Denonville, his successor in the government at Quebec, in order to punish the English for the course pursued by Dongan, the governor of New York, in endeavouring to form an Indian confederacy hostile to Canada, revived the supposed French claims on Hudsons Bay. He accordingly sent a strong naval force into its waters, which, after 1687. a good deal of hard fighting, captured three of the Company's forts, three of its ships, and a large quantity of provisions, stores and merchandise. Fifty non-combatants---men, women and children, were sent to sea in a small vessel, to get to England or elsewhere as best they could, and the remainder of the garrisons were detained as prisoners. As soon as the Company's London officials became aware of these disasters, they promptly petitioned James II. for protection and redress, and also sought, by a memorial, to secure the active support of the commissioners recently appointed by the King, to make a treaty with France, in order to provide against future unauthorised hostilities in the New World, and for the amicable settlement of all boundary disputes. These documents strongly asserted England's right to Hudsons Bay by first discovery, and continual possession afterwards; and stated that the Company had traded therein for over twenty years, and had expended nearly a million of dollars (equal at least to five times that amount now in purchasing value) in building forts and factories, and in establishing a prosperous trade, which had never been disturbed until 1682. The matter was promptly taken up by the Home Government, and strong representations made to the French Court, with regard to the unauthorised aggressions, in time of peace, made by La Barre and Denonville on an English company. A lengthy correspondence ensued, in which the ministers of James had by far the best of the argument. Great pressure was brought upon the English King, by Louis XIV., to get him to consent that the French should be sharers in the Hudsons Bay fur-trade, but the Company stoutly resisted this

proceeding, and cast itself on His Majesty's royal favour and protection.* The Treaty Commissioners, at the head of whom was the Earl of Sunderland, President of the Privy Council, strongly supported the Company, as to its exclusive trade-rights in the waters of Hudsons Bay and the straits leading into it, and reported accordingly to the King, who was thus forced, not a little against his will, to disoblige his dear friend Louis, and to stand firm for the demands of his Government. With this full understanding, the Treaty was signed at Whitehall on the 11th of December. But the flight of James, and the accession of William III. to the English throne, led the French king to ignore the recent treaty, as being no longer binding on him, and left the claims of the Hudsons Bay Company in an unsatisfactory condition. By 1697. the Treaty of Ryswick, in September, all Canada was confirmed to France, but the question as to whether Hudsons Bay was a part of Canada was still left in abeyance. But whatever doubts might have prevailed on this point, were finally 1713. set at rest by the Treaty of Utrecht, which fully confirmed to England the complete sovereignty of the Hudsons Bay region ; and the Company, which had never ceased its operations, entered again into the entire and undisputed possession of its domains.

For the ensuing fifty years, the Hudsons Bay Company restricted its claims to the region fairly covered by its charter, and limited its operations to the immediate shores of Hudsons Bay, and the Albany and Churchill rivers. During this long period, it continued to regard the upper waters of the Nelson River as wholly outside its own territory, and within the North-West possessions of France. Meanwhile, the Canadian fur-traders, were exceedingly active, had taken full possession of the Assiniboine, and of both Saskatchewan rivers, and had established Fort Maurepas on Lake Winnipeg, and Fort Dauphin on Lake Manitoba. They also built Fort La Corne, at the forks of the Saskatchewan, and several other posts at favourable points for trade with the great Indian tribes of the plains, but especially with the Cree Indians, who soon became their fast friends. The Canadians found willing brides among the latter people, and from these mixed marriages, as years passed away, sprang the Half-breed race known in modern times as the *Metis*, or Mongrels. Although this new race farmed a little, and built themselves more comfortable huts than their Indian brethern possessed, they nevertheless inherited much of the latter's shiftless propensities, and loved the stirring life of the hunter infinitely better than that of the tiller of the soil. Equally with their red relations the buffalo harvest was above all others the one they liked to reap the best, and from which they drew most of their subsistence.

* See final answer of the Hudsons Bay Company to the French claims, and the report of the Treaty Commissioners, dated 11th December, 1687.

The Conquest of Canada completely altered the condition of things at the North-West, and very shortly afterwards the Hudsons Bay Company began to widen its pretensions, 1760. and to claim that its charter covered all the lakes and water-ways discharging through the Nelson River. It very soon established posts in what was formerly unchallenged French territory, and now, freed from all serious competition, it monopolised most of the trade of the whole North-West. The Indians were completely at its mercy, and their richest furs were obtained for the most trifling considerations. The Pontiac rebellion, and the War of Independence, effectually checked Canadian trading operations at the North-West for many years. But after the re-establishment of peace, occasional fur-traders and *voyageurs* again began to make their way up the great lakes, and by the Lake of the Woods, to the North-West; and now and then travellers' descriptions of some part of the "Great Lone Land" appeared in print. In 1768 Thomas Curry, of Montreal, penetrated to 1768. the old French post at Cedar Lake, near the mouth of the Saskatchewan River, and came home in the following spring with four canoes laden with the richest furs. Other adventurers followed his example, and in 1783 the North-West Company 1783. was formed, with Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher, and Simon McTavish, all Scotchmen, at its head. It speedily revived all the best conditions of the ancient fur-trade of Canada, and re-established the old lines of travel, by way of the Ottawa River to Mackinaw, and thence by Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods, to Lake Winnipeg. It at once commenced to reap a rich harvest, to the infinite disgust of the Hudsons Bay Company's officers, who established rival trading posts wherever that could be advantageously done, and a keen competition now set in, which proved of no small benefit to the Indian tribes. Some idea of the vast business transacted by the North-West Company may be gathered from the fact, that in 1797 it had in its employ- 1797. ment 50 clerks, 71 interpreters, 1120 canoe men, and 35 guides; and, at a later period, a still larger number of persons. So the fur-trade again descended upon Montreal in all its ancient glory, and brought abundant wealth in its train. Once more Lachine witnessed throngs of *voyageurs en route* for the North-West; once more the little chapel of St. Anne heard the pious vows of canoe men and their parting hymn; and were it not that Indian fleets, laden with rich furs, no longer descended the St. Lawrence, as in the Frontenac period, the new state of things was much like the old, but more prosperous and extensive. The principal post of the North-West Company was at Fort William, on Lake Superior, and from whence all its active operations were directed. There all its grand business parliaments were held; and on occasions of great importance, as many as 1200 persons connected with the Company, composed of its principal chiefs, its clerks, its factors, and others who also shared in its profits, as well as its

mere servants, the *voyageurs*, trappers and canoe men, have assembled to hold high council, and to determine on future operations. The heads of the Company travelled upwards from Montreal in feudal state, attended by a retinue of boatmen and servants. They were mostly Scotchmen, and the partner-clerks of the concern nearly all belonged to the same nationality. From Fort William, the operations of the Company spread out like a fan over all the North-West. In order to further its objects, and connect its servants more closely with the Indian population, mixed marriages were much encouraged, and a new Half-breed race, English, Scotch and Irish, gradually began to make its appearance, and formed a social element distinct from the French-Canadian *Metis*. But the North-West Company did not limit its operations wholly to the fur-trade, and encouraged its agents to make explorations of unknown regions whenever it could be conveniently done.

1789. In 1789 one of these agents, Alexander Mackenzie, afterwards knighted for his discoveries, travelled down the noble river that still bears his name, from its source in Great Slave Lake to the Arctic Sea; and four years afterwards was the first white man to cross the Rocky Mountains and Cascade Range to the Pacific Ocean.*

Such was the condition of affairs, at the North-West, when the present century made its appearance, and during its first decade no change of any importance took place. The unhappy condition of the peasant of the Scottish Highlands, had, at this period, begun to attract much attention. After the rebellion of 1745, the old ties of clanship had been effectually broken up, and from being the feudal retainer, and acknowledged relation, however distant, of the lord of the soil, he had dwindled down to the impoverished cottar, who eked out a wretched subsistence from the product of his little patch of mountain land, and of his daily labour. Thomas Douglas, fifth Earl of Selkirk, a noble philanthropist, felt deep compassion for the poverty of his countrymen, and took practical steps, in many ways, for their relief. In pamphlets, and articles in the newspapers of the day, he had strongly advocated emigration to the colonies, as the best means of relief for the congested Scottish districts. But he showed his sympathy for the poor cottar in a still more practical form. In 1803, he transferred, mainly under his personal supervision, 800 Highlanders from their native moors, on his own and some adjoining estates, to comfortable homes in Prince Edward Island, where their descendants now form a numerous and substantial yeomanry. In the following year, he opened a correspondence with the government of Upper Canada, then administered by Major General Hunter, with the view of settling a colony in some part of that Province. From some

* Mackenzie's voyages from Montreal, through North America, to the Frozen and Pacific Ocean, with maps, 2 vol., 1802. The author is indebted to this work for the greater part of his account of the North-West Company and its operations.

untoward cause, however, his proposals were not favourably entertained by the Executive Council, and his benevolent project had to be abandoned. But he was not discouraged, and began to look around for some other suitable fields for colonisation. At length it struck him, that in the North-West Territories of the Hudsons Bay Company, a good location for a new colony might be found. He and his family were already interested in that Company, and in order to enable him to carry out his purpose more effectually, he now made additional purchases until he had acquired nearly a third of its entire stock. After mature consideration, he determined to establish his colony on the Red River, near its junction with the Assiniboine. A fort and settlement there would form an admirable centre for trade, and the nucleus of a prosperous people, as the soil in the neighbourhood was said to be very fertile.

A meeting, accordingly, of the Court of Proprietors of the 1810. Hudsons Bay Company was convened at its offices in London, to which the Earl submitted his project. It met with a good deal of opposition, but chiefly from members of the North-West Company, who had recently become owners of stock in the older concern, but who desired to preserve the trade of the more southern rivers still in their own hands; and feared that a settlement, like that proposed by Selkirk, would seriously injure it. But his proposal was eventually agreed to by a large majority, and he was granted ten million acres of land, in the neighbourhood of Red River, on which to found his settlement; all the expenses connected with which he agreed to bear. The prospectus of the new venture was at once issued; and offers of free grants of farms and other advantages made to desirable emigrants. These offers were accepted by some seventy Highland cottars and a few west of Ireland people, who sailed for Hudsons Bay in the summer of 1811. After passing the ensuing winter at Fort 1811. Nelson, they reached the Red River in the spring of the following year, with Miles Macdonell, formerly a captain 1812. in Simcoe's Queens Rangers, as their governor. The site fixed for the centre of the settlement of Kildonan, as it was first called, was near the confluence of the Assiniboine with the Red River, where the city of Winnipeg now stands. And here, in the autumn, houses were built, a mill erected, and other steps taken to found a successful colony in the wilderness; to give a better protection to which Fort Douglas, which presently arose, was armed with a few light guns. The land, as had been expected, proved to be exceedingly fertile and easy of cultivation, and by September, 1814, the colony had grown to two hundred 1814. settlers, who had now a fair prospect before them of success in life. As yet, however, Kildonan had not become self-supporting. Some good root crops were raised, but as horses and oxen were still unprocurable for the purpose of cultivation, but little grain was grown. Game was very scarce, owing to the Indians having been rendered hostile by the sinister influence of the North-West

Company's officials, who regarded the new colony with the utmost dislike, owing chiefly to its being planted in a district which they considered as particularly within their own sphere of influence, and beyond the legitimate domain of the Hudsons Bay Company. These officials presently commenced to harass the colonists in every possible way, with the view of breaking up the settlement altogether: and the Indians were repeatedly urged to assail it, but without success. The red men were more compassionate to the poor settlers than their own brethren, who were entirely overcome by their unholy greed for gain. Two Highlanders, Duncan Cameron and Alexander McDonnell, were the leaders in the plots formed to

injure their countrymen, several of whom were now persuaded to desert to the enemy. In the following year the governor of the colony, Miles Macdonell, was arrested on a trumped-up charge of having feloniously taken a quantity of provisions, belonging to the North-West Company, and sent to Montreal for trial. He was detained there under one pretence or another for a long period. During his absence the infant colony was subjected to the most wanton outrages, of one kind or another. The Metis frequently fired upon the settlers, houses were broken open and pillaged, the workmen in the fields made prisoners, and their few horses and cattle stolen. Finally, the colonists were ordered to abandon their homes, or remain there at the peril of their lives. In June sixty settlers fled for safety to Norway House, the Hudsons Bay post at the northern end of Lake Winnipeg. Shortly afterwards a number of clerks and retainers of the North-West Company proceeded to the settlement, burned down the greater part of its outlying buildings, and carried off 134 settlers to Fort William, from whence they made their way to Upper Canada.

Meanwhile, Selkirk had been apprised of the hostility of the North-West Company towards his colony, and proceeded to Canada, in order to aid it from that direction. He had already been corresponding with the Canadian authorities, for the purpose of obtaining military protection for his colony, but without success. The North-West Company had acquired great influence both in Upper and Lower Canada, and was thus enabled to neutralise all executive action adverse to its own interests. Selkirk was speedily made aware of the ruin of his colony, but he still turned with hope to the band of fugitives, who had fled up Lake Winnipeg, as the nucleus for a new Kildonan. Encouraged by the Hudsons Bay Company's officials, these fugitives, accompanied by a number of recent immigrants, had already returned to the Red River, and were soon busily engaged in rebuilding their homes and planting crops. Miles Macdonell, however, was still held a prisoner at Montreal, despite all Selkirk's efforts for his release, but his place was ably supplied by Caleb Robertson, a Hudsons Bay Company's officer, an able and resolute man. Fort Gibraltar, a North-West Company's post, was only a little distance from Kildonan, and

Duncan Cameron, its commander, soon commenced to disturb and harass the restored settlement. Robertson retaliated by capturing Fort Gibraltar by surprise, and without loss of life, and recovered three field pieces and several stand of arms, which had formerly been taken from Fort Douglas without permission. Cameron was made prisoner, and only released on a solemn promise of future good behaviour. But, wholly ignoring this pledge, he again, in the following spring, maliciously applied himself to dis- 1816. turb Kildonan, and was again made a prisoner by Robertson, who this time confined him at Fort Nelson. In May, Robert Semple, who had recently been appointed chief governor of all the Hudsons Bay Company's factories at the North-West, arrived at Kildonan on a tour of inspection, and found matters in a better condition than he had expected.

Meanwhile, a storm was gathering which not only threatened the existence of the little colony on the Red River, but also the business of the Hudsons Bay Company. The news of the re-establishment of Kildonan, and the capture of Cameron, presently reached Canada; and preparations were promptly made for the advance of a hostile expedition from Fort William. At the same time, orders were despatched to the various North-West Company's posts, to wage direct and bitter war, at every opportunity, on the Hudsons Bay Company's traders. While descending the Qu'Appelle River, with a boat load of furs and supplies, the servants of the latter Company were suddenly attacked and made prisoners by a body of Metis and French-Canadians, led by a Scotchman named Cuthbert Grant, on the ground that they were intruders in that part of the country. Although the North-West Company was merely a trading corporation, without royal license or colourable claim of any kind to the soil, its officers now asserted that they were there by right of prior discovery and possession, and that the Hudsons Bay Company had no legal claim to that part of the North-West, which had been so long held by the French against it. The Metis took the same view of the matter, and regarded the colonists at Red River as merely unauthorised intruders.

Not satisfied with the seizure of the Hudsons Bay Company's goods on the Qu'Appelle River, and the destruction of one of its regular posts on its waters, Alexander McDonell, who directed these operations, determined on attacking the Red River settlement, and organised a force of sixty-five Metis and Canadians for that purpose. This force, led by Grant, suddenly made its appearance, on the afternoon of the 19th of June, in the neighbourhood of Fort Douglas, and the guard in its watch-tower presently gave the alarm that the Half-breeds were coming. Governor Semple, with twenty-seven men, went out of the fort to protect the settlers, and soon encountered the hostile party painted and dressed like Indian warriors. An action immediately ensued, in which Grant was the first assailant, and which ended in the slaughter of Semple and twenty of his party, several of whom were scalped and other-

wise disfigured, after the usual manner of savage warfare. No quarter was given, and the wounded, among whom was Semple, with the exception of two men, were all murdered. The surrender of Fort Douglas was afterwards demanded, with the threat that its feeble garrison would all be massacred if any defence were made. Grant finally agreed, that if the fort and all public property were given up, the settlers would be permitted to depart, and have a safe escort to Lake Winnipeg. An eye-witness of the whole barbarous affair, from first to last, describes, in his narrative,* the terrible scene of distress and sorrow that met his eye within the fort, when he went there to announce the only terms that Grant would concede. The newly-made widows, the children and other relations of the unfortunate men so recently slain, were lamenting the dead, in all the horrors of the wildest grief and despair, and trembling for the safety of the survivors. The unhappy settlers had once more to accept the inevitable, and abandon, a second time, the humble, yet comfortable, homes they had made for themselves in the wilderness with so much toil and privation. Two days later was witnessed the inexpressibly sad departure of the fugitive colonists for the Hudsons Bay Company's post, at Norway House; and the first civilised community of the North-West had been violently and barbarously trodden out of existence. And this was the terrible fate which a wealthy company, mainly composed of Scotchmen, deliberately, and "with malice aforethought," inflicted upon their poor Highland brethren. History has no sadder or more cruel fratricidal spectacle to record. Throughout all these wicked proceedings, the North-West Company found willing tools in the Metis population, who even then had begun to cherish the idea that the country belonged to themselves and their Indian relations, and so regarded with dislike its settlement by another people.

We have already seen, that the influence of the North-West Company was too powerful even for Selkirk, and that, earl and Douglas as he was, he could not induce the governing oligarchy of either Upper or Lower Canada to do him justice, and give lawful protection to the struggling young colony of poor Scotchmen on the Red River. Possessed of great energy and resolution, he now determined to take its protection solely into his own hands, and engaged one hundred soldiers of two Swiss regiments, recently disbanded in Canada, to join its fortunes, and take a share in its defence. After arming and clothing these men at his own expense, he started for Red River, accompanied by a body-guard of one sergeant and six soldiers, all the help that the Upper Canada Government would give him. As under an Imperial statute Canada had now criminal jurisdiction in the North-West, Selkirk, before his departure, very wisely had himself appointed a magistrate. While traversing Lake Superior he encountered Miles

* Vide narrative of John Pritchard, 1817.

Macdonell, who gave him full details of the recent massacre at Kildonan, and the destruction of the settlement. This was a terrible blow to the Earl's hopes and prospects, but his sterling courage—the courage of his ancient race—rose superior to the disastrous news, and he at once determined to push forward. On the 12th of August the expedition arrived safely at Fort William. There, held as prisoners, Selkirk found several of the principal men of the Red River settlement. They were promptly released upon his demand, and their depositions establishing, as he considered, the connection of several of the chief officers of the North-West Company with the massacre at Fort Douglas, he caused them to be arrested, and sent under an escort to Toronto for trial. The expedition afterwards spent the winter at Fort William, and in the spring proceeded to Red River, which was 1817. reached the last days of June. The refugees at Norway House were now recalled. Kildonan arose once more from ruin, and the title to its soil was more fully secured, from the Indians, by purchase and treaty. Surveys were made, bridges and roads constructed, and matters generally now gave assurance of a better state of things.

After Selkirk had duly provided for the future maintenance of his colony, he passed down the Mississippi River, visited Washington and New York, and finally returned to Upper 1818. Canada in order to watch the trials of the persons charged with aiding and abetting the massacre at Fort Douglas. These trials took place at Toronto, and created great excitement at the time. But Selkirk had failed to capture Cutbert Grant, or indeed any of the men, so far as it could be proved, who were actually engaged in the murder of Semple and his party, and the evidence was declared to be insufficient to convict the prisoners arrested at Fort William with the crime. Their complete acquittal was the result. While Upper Canadians generally sympathised with the unfortunate people at Red River, the Family Compact, as a rule, took sides with the accused, who mainly belonged to themselves, and did everything possible to secure their acquittal, and screen them from any punishment afterwards. Even Doctor Strachan, the Rector of York, took up his pen in their behalf, and wrote a pamphlet abusing Selkirk for his efforts to establish the Red River Colony, and condemning the prosecutions he had set on foot.* The result of these trials tended to bring the administration of justice into still further disrepute with the people at large, who felt that fair play had been withheld. Selkirk was roundly abused and villified, in every possible way, by the North-West Company's officials and their numerous partisans, and worried otherwise at every opportunity. Seriously injured in health by these annoyances, and the great disappointments and troubles he had already suffered, Selkirk shook off the dust of his feet against Canada, and

* Gourlay vol. 3, p. 200.

returned home to die in April 1820. But, although the cruel slayers of Semple and his people escaped wholly unwhipt of justice, in the courts of Upper Canada, a higher court decreed that they should not go unpunished, even in this world. It is recorded that twenty-six of their number met with violent deaths,* and the damning taint of their foul crime clung to the North-West Company until it wholly disappeared from public view, and clings to its memories still. Meanwhile grievous misfortune continued to follow the hapless Red River Colony. Encouraged by the measures taken by Selkirk, during the preceding year, for their protection and benefit, many who had determined to desert it altogether again returned, restored their ruined habitations, and put in a good crop. Fortune at last seemed to smile upon their efforts. A pleasant summer presently made its appearance, and its genial rains and warm sunshine stimulated a luxuriant vegetation, and the poor settlers' hearts were gladdened with the prospect of an abundant harvest. But their expectations were fated to end in bitter disappointment. Late on an afternoon, in the last week of July, the sun was suddenly obscured by a vast cloud of grasshoppers, which fell noiselessly upon the earth like a shower of snow; and, in a single night, almost everything green had disappeared. It was a terrible calamity, and, following so quickly upon their other misfortunes, left the poor people of Kildonan in a sad condition of despair and privation.

When the full news of the Red River massacre reached England it awoke a storm of public indignation, intensified by the abortive attempt afterwards made to punish those connected with the crime, and the contumely heaped upon the Earl of Selkirk. The whole matter was speedily brought up in Parliament, and led to long debates there. The North-West Company, a powerful and wealthy corporation, with influential resident partners in England, did its best to win public opinion to its side, but without much success. On the other hand, the Hudsons Bay Company was much more anxious to establish, under its charter, the legality of its now disputed claims in the North-West, and to further its own trading

interests there, than to support Selkirk and his Red River Colony. His philanthropy was of small account with that corporation, when balanced against the pecuniary interests of its stockholders; and its greatest anxiety now was to use the Red River massacre as the lever to drive its great rival from the field, and thus secure a monopoly of the coveted fur-trade of the North-West. Under these circumstances, Parliament now felt itself in a somewhat difficult position; and, so far as it was concerned, the matter ended then in a special committee of enquiry 1819. His philanthropy was of small account with that corporation, when balanced against the pecuniary interests of its stockholders; and its greatest anxiety now was to use the Red River massacre as the lever to drive its great rival from the field, and thus secure a monopoly of the coveted fur-trade of the North-West. Under these circumstances, Parliament now felt itself in a somewhat difficult position; and, so far as it was concerned, the matter ended then in a special committee of enquiry 1820. and a blue book. The death of Selkirk, however, not a little altered the relative conditions of the question at issue, and the Home Government now stepped in, and authoritatively

* *Vide* Ross' History of the Red River settlement.

mediated between the rival companies. The final result was an amalgamation between the two, under the name of the older corporation, and the separate existence of the North-West Company came to an end. The capital of the new concern was two million of dollars, divided into one hundred shares, sixty of which were to go to the English partners, and the remainder to those in this country. As the result of the amalgamation, the stock at once rose to a premium, and the fur-trade, freed from a disastrous rivalry, again became exceedingly profitable. The new state of things soon produced most beneficial results in other directions. The rule of the Hudson's Bay Company had always been a just and prudent one, and its laws prohibited liquor as a medium of traffic with the native populations. During the period of strife, the North-West Company declined to follow this wise regulation, and the officers of the older company had, accordingly, at times, to bow to the exigencies of trade, and imitate the pernicious example of its rival. The introduction of intoxicating liquors into the North-West was again strictly prohibited; a procedure which proved of the greatest advantage to its people, both materially and morally, and greatly added to the products of the chase. At the same time, steps were taken to conserve the fur-trade; and hunting out of season, so destructive to wild animals, was strictly forbidden, and the purchase of skins during the close period refused.

But, if the now unopposed authority of the Hudson's Bay Company had its advantages, it had its disadvantages also. Its pretensions to a monopoly of the fur-trade from Labrador to British Columbia—from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean—had been endorsed by the Imperial Parliament, and it speedily set its face against immigration, as being injurious to its own special interests. Little, therefore, was done to promote the prosperity of the Red River Colony, which was now left very much to its own devices, and to shift for itself as best it could. The Selkirk family did something occasionally for the benefit of their estate, in the hope that one day it would repay them for the large outlay it had involved, but the Company gave itself as little trouble as possible about it. As the result of this state of things, the colony, in process of time, was wholly thrown upon its own resources. But, although crippled in its progress by the duty levied on imported goods by the Hudson's Bay Company, and other restrictions, some progress was made, and an era of better farming now set in. Gradually the people drew closer to one another for mutual help and comfort, and the little Colony eventually consolidated itself about the forks of the Red River and the Assiniboine. The French-Canadians clustered around St. Boniface, close to the Scotch settlement, while the Metis and other Half-breeds established themselves permanently at White Horse Plains, a little way up the Assiniboine. For a time matters progressed harmoniously; but religious prejudices and race feeling gradually crept in, and two

parties presently arose. The Scotch drew to one side, and the French-Canadians and the Metis to the other. Scarcely had 1826. the social re-adjustment of the Colony taken place, when the autumn of the year brought upon it a most extraordinary and unusual disaster, in the shape of a vast army of field mice, which devoured everything in the fields and barns. The desolation caused by this new plague was as wide-spread as it was terrible, and small game of all kinds fled before it. Winter presently set in with great severity, and even the buffalo was driven by the fierceness of the cold, and the biting blizzard storms, beyond the hunter's reach. Famine in its direst form soon appeared; thirty-three people perished with hunger and cold, and those who survived had to devour their horses, their dogs, their hides, and, in some cases, even their shoes, to sustain life. To add to their other miseries, the greater part of the winter was unusually severe, even for these northern regions. The cold was excessive for a long period, and the snow deep. But the sunshine of spring, instead of coming to gladden the hearts of the suffering and wretched people, brought with it a new and fearful calamity. A sudden thaw came on, the deep snow-drifts turned quickly into water, and the swollen coulees, in every direction, poured their torrents into the Red River and the Assiniboine, which presently overflowed their banks, and deluged the adjoining plains to a depth of fifteen feet or more. The whole country was converted into a vast lake, over which boats plied in full sail, reminding one of the Nile or the Indus. The waters did not abate until the middle of June, when the dry land at last began to appear. The distress which followed this calamitous flood was very great. But the genial summer days brought gleams of fresh hope to the hearts of the afflicted people, and they thanked God for the warm sunshine, and took fresh courage. A new Governor, George Simpson, a worthy Scotchman, knighted in the progress of time by his sovereign for his eminent public services, did much for the Colony at this disastrous period, and lived to rule it afterwards for full forty years.

In 1835, a new state of things arose at Red River. The Selkirk family disposed of all their interest to the Hudsons Bay 1835. Company for \$420,000, the total sum which it had cost to found and sustain the Colony from its first settlement. Local district courts, with a recorder at their head, were now established for the administration of criminal and civil justice, and a code of laws framed for their guidance. During the greater part of the preceding decade, no new calamity of a serious character had befallen the settlement, which slowly but steadily increased, until it had spread out far beyond its original limits. It was now deemed advisable to establish a more popular form of government than had hitherto prevailed, and accordingly the Council of Assiniboia was organised. It consisted of the Governor and several members chosen from the principal inhabitants of the different settlements, extending for fifty miles around Fort Garry. All the remaining

vast domains of the North-West, continued under the despotic, although paternal, rule of the Hudsons Bay Company. It jealously excluded all rival influences from its dominions, but, at the same time, greatly promoted the welfare of the various Indian tribes by its just and humane policy towards them, and by its continued prohibition of the sale or manufacture of intoxicating liquors within its jurisdiction.

The change of government, at Red River, had not come a moment too soon. Puffed up by an extravagant idea of their own importance, the Metis, in recent years, had become exceedingly troublesome, and frequently evinced a disposition, by a show of force, to coerce the authorities, although committing no actual outrage. They were still virtually a community of hunters, and only cultivated the soil to a very limited extent, and mainly relied on the products of the chase for a living. The Scotch formed the bulk of the agricultural population at this period; but with them, as with the *habitant* Canadian farmer of the Old *Régime*, the great want was a market for their surplus produce; and although their barns, at times, were full to overflowing, owing to a bountiful harvest, they could scarcely command a dollar for the most necessary household expenses. The Colony was an oasis in the vast wilderness, out of touch almost with the rest of the world, and frequently presented the paradoxical spectacle of mingled wealth and want—of great abundance of goods in one direction, and of great privation in another. Gradually, however, matters assumed a brighter appearance. From 1846 to 1848, owing to anticipated difficulties with the United States, a wing of the 6th Regiment of foot was stationed at Red River, and the expenditure thus produced was of the greatest advantage to its farming community. For a number of years afterwards, a corps of enrolled pensioners protected the Colony. During the excitement caused by the Indian wars just across the border, a company of Royal Canadian Rifles was stationed at Fort Garry, and in 1857. its presence formed an important factor in the preservation of the peace for the ensuing four years. The Sioux 1862. massacres in Minnesota, and the flight of these Indians over the border, disturbed the Colony for a time, but the peaceable conduct of the fugitives gradually removed all cause for alarm.

In 1859 the population of the Red River settlement had increased to some eight thousand souls, and a weekly newspaper, *The Nor'-Wester*, now made its appearance to advocate its interests, and tell the outside world that the village of Winnipeg had been ushered into existence. But light from other sources, beside the columns of the local journal, now began to be thrown upon the "Great Lone Land." Its vast solitudes were at length penetrated by one book-making traveller after another, who gave their acquired experience to the outside world, and the cloud of mystery and ignorance began to arise from the *terra incognita* of the New World. "In 1862," said one of these travellers, "we found, in the

Red River colonists, a very heterogeneous community of about 8000 souls—Englishmen, Irishmen, Scotchmen, Anglo-Canadians, French-Canadians, Half-breeds, and Indians. Nearly the whole population, with the exception of a few store-keepers, live by the Hudsons Bay Company, and that Company is king! The Company makes the laws, buys the products of the chase and of the farm, supplying in return the other necessities of life.” And, then, the great fertility of the soil is told about, and how forty million acres of the richest land in the world, fully capable of sustaining a population of twenty million souls, owing to their isolated position and the difficulties put in the way of settlement, were left utterly neglected and useless except for the support of a few Indian tribes, and the servants of the reigning Company. During the decade following 1858, the Colony gradually increased, and when its transfer to Canada took place, its population, exclusive of Indians, was estimated at twelve thousand souls, three hundred of whom were residents of the village of Winnipeg,* now chiefly composed of a long straggling street lying parallel with the river. At one end of this street, Fort Garry formed the principal feature.

The Government returns for 1890 give the total Indian population of all the Dominion as 122,585, of which 25,743 are natives of Manitoba and the North-West Territories.† This return has evidently been very carefully prepared, and must approximate very closely to the true number. And as there has been very little if any diminution in the Indian tribes since Confederation, these figures may safely be taken as representing their population at that date. Regarded ethnologically, the Indians of the North-West may be said to represent four distinct groups. The chief of these are the Crees, an Algonquin stock. Then follow the Assiniboines or Stonies, sprung from the same Sioux family which dominated Minnesota. The Blackfeet Indians include the Sarcees, Bloods and Piegiens. The Chippewayans come fourth in relative importance. All the other tribes, by whatever name they are called, may be said to belong to some one of these four groups, but all alike

* Lovell's Gazetteer for 1881, p. 442.

† Annual Report of Department of Indian Affairs for 1890, p. 245.

The Canadian Indian tribes are distributed as follows :—

Ontario.....	17,776
Quebec.....	13,599
Nova Scotia.....	2,107
New Brunswick.....	1,569
Prince Edward Island.....	321
Manitoba and North-West Territories.....	25,743
Peace River District	2,038
Athabaska District	8,000
McKenzie District	7,000
Eastern Rupert's Land	4,016
Labrador, Canadian Interior	1,000
Arctic Coast	4,000
British Columbia	35,416
Total.....	122,585

possessing the usual generic Indian characteristics, and all closely resembling one another in colour, form, and feature. When the North-West was first discovered by the French-Canadians, and for many years afterwards, the Indian population was much larger than it is now. But contact with the white man there, as well as elsewhere, soon led to the gradual decline of the native tribes. The rivalry of the North-West Company and Hudsons Bay Company, which led to the introduction of liquor into the country, accelerated this decline; and Mackenzie tells us of the disastrous consequences of the drinking, carousing and quarrelling, which, during this period, frequently took place among the traders and Indians. Fierce battles occasionally occurred, as the result of this state of things; and, in 1780, the Crees of the Saskatchewan region evinced a strong disposition to drive the traders altogether out of their country. But, at this critical juncture, the small-pox attacked the Indians with the utmost virulence, and its pestilential breath swept whole tribes out of existence. This calamity so effectually broke the spirit of the survivors, that the traders were left undisturbed.*

With the French-Canadian traders, in the North-West, went the missionary priest. At first he was usually of the Jesuit fraternity, but the decline of that order and its final suppression led to his being replaced by the Sulpitians, by the Oblat fathers, by others. Mackenzie speaks slightly of their want of success in civilising the Indians, mainly owing, no doubt, to the nomad and unsettled habits of the latter. The first permanent representative of the Roman Catholic church, at Red River, was Father Provencher, who came there in 1818, and was created a bishop four years afterwards. On his death, in 1853, he was succeeded by Alexandre Antonin Tache, the present Archbishop. Boniface, just across the Red River from Winnipeg, became the seat of the Bishopric. Here a good church was built, and convents and educational institutions established as early as 1844. Surrounded by a fine farming country, a flourishing village soon grew up under the auspices of this ecclesiastical centre of Roman Catholicism in the North-West. About 1816 the Anglican church at Red River was represented solely by the Hudsons Bay Company's chaplain. In 1820, Archdeacon Cochrane was appointed permanently to the district, and in 1849 became the first Bishop of Rupert's Land. Up to 1852 the Presbyterians remained in communion with the Church of England, but in that year they became a separate congregation, some three hundred in number, under the Rev. John Black, a minister of their own denomination. The Methodist body had already its missionary representatives at several points, but not until 1868 did it establish a regular congregation at Winnipeg.*

* Sir Alexander Mackenzies voyages, &c., vol. i, pp. 13, 14.

† Mercer Adam's Canadian North-West, pp. 183—185.

CHAPTER XI.

GOVERNMENT OF LORD LISGAR—*continued.* THE FIRST RIEL REBELLION, 1869.

WE have already seen that William McDougall had been appointed Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories. His appointment, however, was not to take effect until after the formal transfer of these Territories to the Dominion, an event then expected to occur on the 1st of October. But owing to a temporary difficulty, caused by the non-payment of the purchase money at the time stipulated, the transfer was postponed until the 1st of December. Meanwhile, no small dissatisfaction had arisen in the Red River settlement, at the summary manner in which the arrangements for handing it over to the Dominion had been accomplished. The people asserted that their feelings and wishes should have been first considered, and that, in any event, the old form of administering the public affairs of the Colony by a governor and council should have been abandoned, and a popular form of government at once established. Colonel Dennis and his party of surveyors, found this feeling very prevalent, not only among the Metis and French-Canadian settlers, but also among those of British origin as well. He promptly made the authorities at Ottawa aware of this fact; and, at the same time, drew their attention to the necessity of more fully extinguishing the Indian title to the soil by treaty. As the survey progressed the Metis objected to having lines run upon the lands occupied by them without their consent; and, in some cases, asserted that they were the true owners of the country by virtue of their Indian descent. A good many of them, too, had squatted upon lands, for which they had never received any legal title either from the Selkirks or the Hudsons Bay Company, and now feared that the Dominion Government would, accordingly, challenge their right of possession. To add to the difficulties of the situation, Joseph Howe, who had recently paid a visit to the settlement, and heard the story of the people's grievances, had indoctrinated them with the Nova Scotian idea of getting better terms. His suggestions, coming as they did from a member of the Dominion Cabinet, made the colonists

more resolute in insisting on what they deemed to be their rights, and still further complicated matters. All these circumstances, of themselves, rendered the situation one of no small difficulty ; but below the visible flow of events another and stronger current was at work, and rendered matters still more complex. A covert aspiration for race ascendancy, that ancient, and existing, curse of Canada, was again seeking particular advantages. The French-Canadian element of the older provinces, was now exceedingly anxious that a new Quebec should arise in the North-West ; and for the better accomplishment of its purpose covertly aided, in one form or another, the existing agitation. On the other hand, the English-speaking element, of the same provinces, was determined that the North-West should be left perfectly free to carve out its own future fortunes as it deemed proper. The little community at Red River strongly reflected these antagonistic elements, and speedily became a hot-bed of confusion and intrigue. The Canadian party, a small but influential one, was naturally greatly elated at the transfer of the country to the Dominion, and gave no small umbrage, at times, to others, by their boastful aggressiveness.—The purely American element in the colony, slyly fed the existing dissatisfaction, and pointed to annexation as the sovereign balm for every woe. The Fenians saw, in the existing confusion of opinion and feeling, the opportunity to pay back a part at least of the old score of fancied Anglo-Saxon oppression. In addition to the seething caldron of discontent thus produced, there was the silent dissatisfaction of the Hudsons Bay Company's officers, at the final departure of all their ancient glories of wide empire and unbounded authority ; and they, accordingly, evinced little disposition to smooth over existing difficulties, or to promote a new order of things, which relegated them to the condition of mere subjects in a land where they had so long ruled as sovereigns.

As the summer wore away, the agitation gradually began to assume form and method, and especially so in the case of the Metis, whose passions and prejudices had now become thoroughly inflamed. Alike volatile and ignorant, they were easily worked upon by designing persons, among whom were some of their own priests, recent immigrants from old France ; and presently assumed their former attitude of insolent aggressiveness, and determined to resist the transfer of the country until all their claims, real or imaginary, had been complied with. In short, they now proposed to bully the Dominion into a recognition of their demands, whether they were right or wrong, precisely as they had so often bullied the Hudsons Bay Company's authorities before ; and full of their own fancied importance anticipated an equally tame submission.—As a last resort, their clergy were asked, at this juncture, to use their great influence with their people for the preservation of peace and good order. But they were also dissatisfied with the current of public affairs, saw some advantage to themselves in permitting matters to take their own course, and refused to inter-

fere. A leader was all the Metis now needed to enable them to carry out their determined purposes of resistance ; and he very soon made his appearance, at the prompting of some of his clerical friends, in Louis Riel, a relative and protege of Archbishop Tache. His father, Jean Baptiste Riel, had some Indian as well as Irish blood in his veins ; and, in 1849, had headed an insurrection against the Hudsons Bay Company, rescued a prisoner from its officers, and finally became so powerful that it was deemed the better way to purchase his favour by substantial benefits. He was thus placed in a position to send his son Louis, in 1863, to the Jesuits' College, at Montreal, to be educated for the priesthood.— But the youth shrunk from its celibate life, and, instead, presently applied himself to the study of law in the office of Laflamme, a leading Montreal barrister of that period. But, from one cause or another, his progress in acquiring legal knowledge was not by any means a success, and he returned to the North-West a rather moody and disappointed young man, full of Byronic fancies of not being duly comprehended, but with the strong and aggressive religious aspirations which might be expected from his Jesuit training. His intellectual personality had made but little impression on his Montreal associates, who regarded him as a very ordinary person, and who, by-and-by, heard with wonder, that he had suddenly sprang into fame as the leader of the rebellious Metis of the Red River valley. But, in assuming that position, Riel was casuist enough to proclaim, that the Metis were not in rebellion against the Queen, but were, as the natural owners of the soil, bound to resist invasion by a government, which desired to take over their territory, in pursuance of an agreement with a trading company to which their consent was not asked, and in which their rights of property and self-control were entirely neglected. He, however, illogically ignored the fact, that the transfer was to be made under the full authority and consent of the Queen, the unquestionably lawful sovereign of the country by right of conquest, of treaty, and of long possession ; and that, in reality, he was rebelling against her as well as against the Dominion. Riel's relationship to Archbishop Tache, as well as the circumstance that although not quite a Half-breed, himself, he had several Half breed relations, materially added to his influence with the Metis, who soon learned to look up to him with confidence.

Early in autumn, the rebellion began by the organisation of a provisional government for the North-West, which entirely ignored the authority of the Hudsons Bay Company. At the head of this government the Metis placed John Bruce, a man of Scotch descent, as president ; Riel was appointed Secretary of State ; W. B. O'Donohoe, an Irish-American Fenian, Secretary of the Treasury ; and Ambrose Lepine, a French-Canadian, Adjutant General. While all this was being done, the Hudsons Bay Company's officials, the only representatives of the Crown on the spot, quietly looked on, and permitted the treasonable conspiracy to gather

force and consistence without making any seasonable effort to check it. The first official act of the Provisional Government, was to notify Dennis to discontinue surveying, and also to leave the south side of the Assiniboine, an order which he deemed it best to comply with. It next proceeded to seize the books and papers of the Council of Assiniboia, and establish the seat of government in rooms above the Hudsons Bay Company's offices in Fort Garry.* On the 30th of October, Lieutenant-Governor McDougall, who, with his family and several of his official staff, had travelled by way of St. Paul, arrived at Pembina, a small hamlet and Hudsons Bay Company's post, two miles within the boundary line, and sixty-three miles from Winnipeg. While on his way, McDougall had heard rumours of the discontent at Red River, but never supposed he would encounter an armed opposition. On his arrival at Pembina, he was accordingly much surprised at being served with a notice, written in French, and signed by John Bruce, as president, and by Louis Riel, as secretary, of the Provisional Government, ordering him not to enter the territory. This notice was dated on the 21st of the month, and had been subsequently held by the persons who had served it upon him, and who had been waiting for his arrival for several days. He at once sent a letter to Ottawa, advising the authorities there of the situation, and afterwards despatched a messenger to open communication with the Hudsons Bay Company's Governor, McTavish, at Fort Garry. But this messenger had only proceeded a few miles on his way, when he was arrested, and sent back to Pembina in charge of an escort. On the ensuing day, the 2nd of November, an armed body of fourteen horsemen, rode up to the hostelry where McDougall was stopping, and notified him that he must leave the country by nine o'clock next morning. At the appointed hour the demonstrations made against him were so hostile in their character, that he at once retreated across the border, and took refuge in the United States. Shortly after these occurrences had transpired, Riel took full possession of Fort Garry, on the pretence of protecting it from danger, garrisoned it with a force of sixty men, whom he rationed from the Company's stores, and placed armed guards at the gateways. He sturdily held his ground in the fort, despite the remonstrances of the officials of the Company, and despite, also, the formal proclamation of McTavish, issued on the 16th, denouncing all the illegal proceedings that had taken place, and prohibiting their continuance in the future.

On learning the true state of affairs at Red River, the Dominion Government did not feel disposed to accept the transfer of a country in a state of insurrection, and notified the Home Government to that effect. McDougall, however, acting on the erroneous impression that the transfer had been fully and legally completed, issued from his refuge in the United States, a short distance over

* Correspondence of *Montreal Herald*, November 20th, 1869.

the line, a proclamation commanding the insurgents to peaceably disperse, and return to their homes, and threatening the penalties of the law in case of disobedience. He also issued a commission to Colonel Dennis, authorising him to raise a force to put down the insurrection. That official, however, found himself unable to accomplish anything of importance in this direction; and eventually, after an abortive attempt to coerce the insurgents, quitted the country in disgust. On the 18th of December McDougall, finding his commission to be of no practical value, and his authority still set at complete defiance, commenced his return journey to Canada, greatly disappointed at the unpleasant and false position in which he now found himself. He was, in point of fact, a Governor without anything to govern, and had issued proclamations to a people over whom he had no legal control whatever. The Queen still remained the lawful sovereign of Rupert's Land and the North-West; and the Hudsons Bay Company, and not the Dominion, remained her sole representative there.

Meanwhile the insurgents, now in undisputed possession of Fort Garry, and completely masters of the situation, had determined on another important forward step. A proclamation was issued by the Provisional Government for a national convention, to which the British inhabitants were invited to send delegates. To this the latter agreed, in the hope that some peaceable settlement of existing differences might be arrived at. The convention assembled at the Winnipeg courthouse on the 16th of November. On the side of the insurgents Riel was the principal speaker, while James Ross spoke for the settlers of British origin, and presented his view of the situation very clearly and forcibly. No definite conclusion, however, was arrived at, and the convention adjourned to the 22nd, in order to permit the superior court to hold its session. When it again resumed its sittings, the British speedily found that they were regarded as of small account; and that, in point of fact, their presence was solely allowed with the view of giving an appearance of unanimity to the proceedings. On the 24th a Bill of Rights was agreed to, despite the strong opposition of several of the British delegates, all of whom now returned to their homes, and left Riel and his immediate associates to unmask, undisturbed, their ulterior designs, and to unfurl more openly the flag of rebellion. The Provisional Government was confirmed in power, the absolute control thereby of Fort Garry asserted, and the authority of Governor McTavish, who was now seriously ill, set completely at defiance. The rebellion against the Crown now became open and undisguised.

The first seriously aggressive act of the Provisional Government was to seize several of the loyal inhabitants, who had placed themselves under the leadership of Dennis, and incarcerate them at Fort Garry as political prisoners, and to inaugurate, otherwise, a system of terrorism, with the view of holding its opponents more fully in check. Meanwhile, it was careful to pay some regard to the forms of lawful government, and published its edicts in the

official organ, the *New Nation*, recently established in succession to the *Nor'-Wester*. Its members thus placed themselves in a position to open a correspondence with the Dominion Government, to awaken some sympathy for their political demands, to make use of the influence of the church on their behalf, and to give a colourable claim to the free use of the Hudsons Bay Company's stores. On the 8th of December a proclamation, signed by John Bruce and countersigned by Riel, was issued, setting forth the Bill of Rights. This document recited, that, contrary to the laws of nations, and without authority from the people, their country had been transferred to the Dominion. Under these circumstances the proclamation wholly repudiated the authority of Canada, and stated that a Provisional Government had been formed for Rupert's Land and the North-West, which stood prepared to treat with the Dominion. There can be little doubt, that, in drafting this document, Riel had been aided by some Jesuit priests, who had come to St. Boniface direct from France, and who had also countenanced the opposition to McDougall from the first. One of these priests had a military band organised in his parish to head the insurgent Metis, whom he also presented with a flag.* But, unlike their brethren from over the sea, it does not appear that the French-Canadian priests at the North-West, while they no doubt sympathised with the Metis, were guilty of any overt acts.

As the year drew towards a close, Riel's influence increased, and he now became the acknowledged military and civil leader of the insurrection. In addition to Fort Garry, he had possessed himself of Pembina and two other fortified posts of the Hudsons Bay Company. On the 7th of December he made prisoners of Dr. John Shultz and a number of other loyalists, who were holding a meeting, imprisoned them at Fort Garry, and fed them with pemican† and water. During the following January, however, the Doctor made his escape, and, in conjunction with other Canadians, speedily succeeded in organising a considerable force for the release of the remaining captives. Riel, taken by surprise, quailed before this demand, and sooner than fight released his prisoners, but expressed his determination to recapture Shultz, who no doubt escaped a tragical fate by fleeing to Ontario. Meanwhile, the Dominion authorities had sent to the North-West a special commission, composed of Colonel de Salaberry, Vicar General Thibault, and Donald A. Smith, chief agent of the Hudsons Bay Company at Montreal, to enquire into the causes of the insurrection, and to explain to the people the liberal intentions of the Government. Riel permitted the commissioners to travel to Winnipeg, but, at the same time, kept them under strict surveillance. A public meeting was held, on the 19th and 20th of January, to hear what they had to say, and to learn their instructions.

* Correspondence *Toronto Telegram*, 8th January 1870.

† A dried preparation of Buffalo meat.

Two priests, Fathers Mahrey and Richot, were present at this meeting, and made brief addresses in support of the Metis' claims. But, as regarded the pacification of the insurrection, the commissioners found themselves wholly unable to accomplish anything of importance. Riel firmly held his ground, refused to abate his pretensions, and made up his mind to display his determination and authority before the commissioners by the execution of Major Boulton, a Canadian militia officer, who had recently organised a body of loyalists, with the object of overturning the Provisional Government, and was suddenly captured at their head. For this act of hostility he had been tried by court martial, and sentenced to be shot—a sentence that would have been carried into execution but for the timely intercession and influence of Commissioner Smith, who had, however, no small difficulty in saving the life of the condemned man.

Early in February a convention, composed of forty delegates, assembled at Winnipeg, to formulate an amended Bill of Rights setting forth the conditions on which union with the Dominion would be accepted. This Bill was submitted to Smith, who promised to forward it to the Dominion Government. But, despite these somewhat pacific proceedings, arrests of Canadian and other loyalists, among whom were Governor McTavish and his physician, Dr. Cowan, were still made. Owing to his continued illness, however, McTavish was not sent to prison, but permitted to occupy a room in his own house, where he was guarded by four armed insurgents. Bannatyne, the postmaster of Winnipeg, was also arrested, and placed in prison. Meanwhile, owing to the prevailing excitement, the Half-breeds had neglected the chase, had not, therefore, laid up the usual winter supply of game, and the distress became so prevalent that many had either to steal or starve. A period of serious crime now made its appearance, and caused no little alarm in the colony.

The Dominion Government was naturally anxious to settle the Red River difficulty without loss of life, and seriously bethought it of the best course to pursue, in order to accomplish this purpose. It was well understood what a great influence over the Metis was exercised by the Roman Catholic clergy, and a strong effort was made to induce them to aid in pacifying their flocks, and putting down the insurrection. But, as several of them had already committed themselves in favour of the Metis' pretensions, they now, one and all, absolutely refused to interfere. Having thus failed completely with the lower clergy, it was accordingly determined to bring the superior authority of Archbishop Tache into operation. He was then attending the Ecumenical Council at Rome, and Langevin, Minister of Public Works, was instructed to communicate with him by cable, and request him to return home in order to discipline his insurgent flock—clerical and lay. The Archbishop at once took in the full extent of the situation, and promptly responded. He left Rome on the 13th of January, arrived at Ottawa on the 9th of

February, and had an immediate conference with the Governor General and some of the principal members of the Cabinet.* He was authorised to assure the insurgents of the kindly intentions of both the Imperial and Dominion Governments,† and to offer them an amnesty, in the name of the Crown, for all past offences. In addition to his official instructions in writing, under date of the 16th of February, from Howe, Secretary of State, Sir John A. Macdonald added, on the same day, a private letter‡ to the Archbishop, one paragraph of which stated, "that should the question arise as to the consumption of stores, or goods belonging to the Hudsons Bay Company, by the insurgents, you are authorised to inform the leaders, that if the Company's government is restored, not only will there be a general amnesty granted, but in case the Company should claim payment for such stores, that the Canadian Government will stand between the insurgents and all harm." The reader will bear in mind, that all these proceedings took place about the middle of February, bore solely upon past occurrences, or on purely existing conditions at the time, and had no reference whatever to future outrages. Shortly after receiving his instructions the Archbishop proceeded to Red River, and arrived at St. Boniface on the 9th of March.

Meanwhile, Bruce had been set aside by the vote of a body of delegates, and Riel chosen as President in his stead. The authority and general influence of Riel with his countrymen, both French-Canadian and Metis, had now reached its zenith, and his mere word had become a law with them. As yet he had committed no criminal act which might seriously compromise him with the Imperial Government, and the amnesty about to be offered him would competely cover all his insurrectionary proceedings. Had he fully realised his position, and pursued a moderate course, there can be very little doubt that he would have long occupied a leading position at the North-West, and continued to stand high in the good opinion at least of his own people. But, alike arrogant and short-sighted, he had not the wisdom to discern the direction in which his true advantage lay, and his naturally tyrannical and cruel nature was now about to make a pitfall in his path, into which he presently stumbled. Thomas Scott, a native of the Province of Ontario, and a staunch Canadian by birth and feeling, was among the prisoners made by Riel, at Dr. Shultz's house, on the 7th of the preceding December. He lay in confinement with the other prisoners at Fort Garry for several weeks, but eventually, on a fearfully cold night, made good his escape with several companions. He was recaptured with Boulton, on the 17th of February, and again

* Vide Dominion Blue Book for 1870.

† Granville to Lisgar January 8th 1870. See also the correspondence between the Governor of the Hudsons Bay Company and Sir F. Rogers of the Colonial Office.

‡ Blue Book for 1870, p. 19.

became a prisoner at Fort Garry. Scott, unfortunately for himself, was outspoken and imprudent in his language, frequently denounced Riel and his supporters in no measured terms, and it was accordingly very soon determined to cut short his freedom of speech and his life at one and the same time. Consumed with rage, and bent on a barbarous and cowardly revenge, Riel ordered a court-martial of his own selection, of which he appointed his adjutant general, Lepine, the president, to assemble for Scott's summary trial. The court accordingly met on the 3rd of March. Its proceedings were conducted without the slightest regard to the ordinary forms, or principles, of justice. The unfortunate prisoner was left in utter ignorance of the offence with which he stood charged, allowed no counsel to defend him, nor the aid of even an interpreter. For him, accordingly, the proceedings, in the fullest sense of the term, were conducted in an unknown tongue, and he could only vaguely guess at their purport. Riel appeared in the three-fold character of prosecutor, witness, and judge, and did his utmost to influence the court against the prisoner. The trial lasted for two hours. Scott was found guilty and condemned to suffer death, only one member of the court voting against its decision, so well had it been packed beforehand by Riel. The doomed man was then told the nature of his sentence, that his fate was irrevocable, that he would be shot next morning at ten o'clock, and that, in the meantime, he could have the services of any clergyman he desired. He sent for the Rev. George Young, the Winnipeg Methodist minister, who continued with him up to the last moment.

The news of the approaching tragedy quickly spread through the neighbourhood, and even reached the Roman Catholic priests at St. Boniface, who at last saw the error they had committed in promoting the ascendancy of Riel, and now sent a deputation to plead for mercy to the doomed man, but without avail. The president's feeling of dignity had been wounded by the free speech of Scott, the darkest and most venomous passions of his vindictive nature were thoroughly aroused, and he accordingly ignored the pitiful pleadings of even his own father-confessor. The Methodist minister afterwards waited upon Riel, pathetically told him that the unfortunate young man was unfit to die, could not realise that he was about to be shot, and earnestly pleaded that his life might be spared, and that he should not be hurried before his Maker in his sins. But Riel was inexorable, and turned a deaf ear to every plea for mercy, and would only agree to a reprieve for two brief hours. Noontide speedily drew near; and when poor Scott found at last that there was indeed no hope for him, and that his young life was about to be suddenly and cruelly blotted out for ever, he asked permission to say farewell to those friends who had shared the hardships of his prison. It was granted. He bade his comrades, several of whom were now drowned in tears, a last good-bye, and as he then turned to leave them forever said sadly, "this is a cold-blooded murder." In a few minutes more he was led outside

the fort, blindfolded, and his hands tied behind his back. He was then directed to kneel down, the order to fire was given to the six insurgent executioners by Lepine, and three balls entered Scott's body. But he was not yet slain, and, while lying prostrate on the ground, one of the firing party discharged a revolver close to his head to end his struggles. The body was then thrust into a rude coffin, and conveyed within the fort. The subsequent disposition of the body has never been ascertained. Riel refused to deliver it either to the Bishop of Rupert's Land, or to the Methodist clergyman, both of whom desired to give it Christian burial.*

Five days after this tragedy had taken place, Archbishop Tache arrived at Red River; and, although at once made acquainted with all its details, proceeded to recognise the Provisional Government, entered into negotiations with Riel, and, in the name of the Canadian Government, promised him complete amnesty for all the offences he had committed, including even the murder of Scott. It is scarcely necessary to say, that the written instructions given him at Ottawa, twenty-one days before, could not possibly cover a grave crime of this description. But, in any event, as the Dominion had as yet no sovereign rights in the North-West, having declined to accept the transfer of a country in active insurrection, the Crown alone had the power to grant amnesty for criminal offences committed therein. With the clear fact before him that Scott's murder had altered the conditions of the existing rebellion, and given it a greatly aggravated form, the plain duty of the Archbishop was to await fresh instructions from Ottawa, as his original instructions could not now possibly cover the case. His hasty conduct, accordingly, lays him open to the grave charge, that having become well-aware that Riel had been merely the agent, at the first, of some of his own clergy, in carrying out their special objects, he was most anxious to shield him from the consequences of all his acts—even the murder of Scott, and to accomplish that purpose stood prepared to compromise the Dominion Government, and to abuse the confidence it had reposed in him. There was much contention afterwards touching this matter. The Archbishop stated positively that a full amnesty to Riel had been explicitly promised by the Governor General, Sir John A. Macdonald, and Sir George E. Cartier, all of whom unequivocally and publicly denied that they had made any promise of the kind. But, even supposing that they did promise an amnesty which was beyond their authority, they could not possibly design that it should include a murder which had not yet been committed. The written instructions from Howe, Secretary of State, and the Macdonald letter to the Archbishop, present the clearest evidence of the amnesty intentions of the Government, which cannot be construed for a moment as covering the murder of Scott. And when to this

* For most of the details of the murder of Thomas Scott the author is indebted to Riel's own organ at the time, the "New Nation."

written testimony is added the positive denials of the Cabinet members concerned, the conclusion cannot fail to be arrived at, that the Archbishop had no authority for his promise to Riel, as regarded the murder of Scott, and that his statement to that effect cannot be accepted.* But clear as the documentary and oral evidence was on the side of the Government, it was seriously compromised by the action of the Archbishop, and had to get out of the difficulty as best it could, without, if possible, seriously damaging itself with the public, on the one hand, or, with the Roman Catholic hierarchy on the other—a difficult task.

It is almost impossible to describe the wild storm of mingled indignation and sorrow, that swept over the great Province of Ontario, when the news was spread abroad, that one of its sons had been put to death for loyalty to his sovereign, and for the indiscreet use of his birthright—the freedom of speech. The ostensible plea that he was found in arms against the Provisional Government could not be regarded for a moment as the true cause of the murder, and would equally apply to a number of other prisoners. Public meetings were held in the principal cities and towns of Ontario; and also in the Protestant centres in Quebec, at which strong resolutions were passed, calling upon the Government to send an expedition to Red River, in order to restore the authority of the Crown, and asking that it refuse to receive Judge Black, Father Richot, and a person named Scott, who had been sent as commissioners by Riel's government to negotiate at Ottawa. But while this wave of indignation was sweeping over Ontario, a wave of another kind had reached the Province of Quebec. There a very considerable part of the French-Canadian press unhesitatingly took up the cause of Riel, evinced no scruples about palliating the murder of Scott, and the old race struggle was revived with the most intense bitterness. Lemay, librarian to the local Legislature, published in one of the newspapers a poem, in twenty-two stanzas, in which Riel was declared to be the kingly voice of the French-Canadian people, and blasphemously likened him to Christ as a righteous man, whose blood was now demanded by a new mob of Pharasaical fanatics. The Quebec *Chronicle*, which published the translation of this poem, declared that Lemay would never dared to have given his wretched doggerel to the world, had he not been sustained by his superior officers.

When the news of the recent occurrences reached England, the feeling of indignation was very general. Presently intelligence was flashed through the Atlantic cable, that the Crown was determined to assert its authority at Red River, and that a military expedition, composed chiefly of Canadian volunteers with a few hundred regulars added, was to be promptly organised for that

* Vide Dominion Blue Book for 1870, for all the statements and counter-statements, and the direct and positive contradictions given to Archbishop Tache's assertions.

purpose. Its command was to be given to Lieutenant-Colonel Wolseley, a young man of thirty-seven, who had already served with much credit in China, in the Crimea, in India during the Sepoy mutiny, and in Canada, and who was afterwards to win so many laurels in Egypt and elsewhere. The expeditionary force was over 1200 strong, composed of some 400 of the 60th Rifles, a small body of artillery, and 700 Canadian volunteers. It left Toronto on the 25th of May, but several weeks were spent before Thunder Bay, at the head of Lake Superior, was gained. From thence a distance of some five hundred miles to Winnipeg had to be traversed by land and water. But the expedition had been admirably organised, was led with consummate skill and perseverance, and, after no small fatigue and some hardship otherwise, Fort Garry was sighted on the 24th of August. The secret of the near approach of the expedition had been well-kept, but Riel and his government had still sufficient time for flight, made their escape across the frontier, and the rebellion was at an end. The troops at once entered Fort Garry, hoisted the Union Jack, and gave three ringing cheers for the Queen, which were heartily joined in by the small body of Winnipeggers who were present. The authority of the sovereign was again supreme at Red River, and anarchy was at an end.

Although Archbishop Tache had, as we have already seen, shown himself anxious to shield Riel for his part in the slaying of Scott, he very soon applied himself to weaken his authority, and prevent further serious over-acts. Under his influence, Riel had pronounced himself as being opposed to Fenianism and annexation, and temporarily suppressed the *New Nation*, conducted by an American, for its tendency in the latter direction. Several of the more extreme annexationists, finding themselves thus unexpectedly discredited, loudly declared they had been grossly deceived, and left the country in disgust. During the last days of March all the prisoners at Fort Garry had been released, and the British flag again hoisted and saluted by cannon. Shortly after the Archbishop's return, he had told his people from the pulpit, that he deeply regretted their conduct in robbing and murdering as they had done; and that while they were right in keeping out McDougall, until their interests were properly considered, their course afterwards was altogether wrong. The church was crowded to the door, not only by its usual congregation, but also by Protestants from Winnipeg, most anxious, at this juncture, to hear what the Archbishop had to say. Many of the Metis wept bitterly, and Riel, consequential and defiant at first, finally hung down his head abashed and ashamed. The Archbishop told his hearers plainly that the Canadian authorities must come in, as that was what the country required. He was now completely master of the situation; and from that day forward matters began to assume a more orderly and improved complexion. But not content with effectually subduing his laity, the Archbishop also applied himself

to discipline his clergy for having promoted disorder during his absence ; and Pere Lestane, the priest left in charge when he went to Rome, was very soon sent elsewhere, while other offending fathers were scattered in distant missions. Matters had not quieted down a moment too soon. It had been an exceedingly severe winter, in which little fishing and hunting could be done, and numbers of Indians, in a state of great destitution, now began to invade the Colony ; while, from the same cause, not a little want prevailed among the more improvident of the Metis. The Archbishop pacified the Indians by presents of food and blankets ; and confronted other difficulties, as they arose, with no small vigour and tact. The improved condition of affairs which his prudent and vigorous policy produced lasted through the summer months, and few events of any importance arose until the arrival of Wolseley's expedition.

Meanwhile, the Dominion Parliament had assembled on the 15th of February. The Governor General's speech had been carefully prepared, with the view of provoking the least possible amount of hostile discussion. He alluded to the abundant harvest of the preceding year, the productiveness of the fisheries in the past season, and to the increase of the trade and wealth of the Dominion. He then briefly touched upon the Red River rebellion, and stated that the temporary act for the government of the North-West being about to expire, a new measure would be submitted. Preparations had also to be made for taking the census in the ensuing year. After a spirited debate on the address, during which Galt, who had recently been knighted, declared his opposition to the Government ; while Mackenzie and Blake condemned the recent construction of the Cabinet, as being too Conservative in its character, it was finally agreed to. Early in April, a hot discussion arose relative to the murder of Scott, during which Mackenzie condemned it in the strongest language, and declared that the delegates sent from Red River should not be received, as their authority emanated from the same source as had authorised the commission of that crime, Macdonald contended, on the other hand, that the delegates had been appointed by the people at large, and stated that he was prepared to hear what they had to say ; and that Judge Black, who was one of the delegates, was certainly not implicated in Scott's murder. But the Premier's soothing language did not at all allay the excitement ; and informations were laid against two of the delegates, Scott and Father Richot, as being accessories to the murder, and they were accordingly arrested on arrival at Ottawa, but very soon discharged for want of proof. On the 2nd of May, Macdonald introduced an act to provide for the government of the Province of Manitoba. It was to have a Lieutenant Governor, a Cabinet, a Legislative Council consisting of seven members, and an Assembly of twenty-four. The Province having no public debt, interest at five per cent. per annum on \$472,000 was to be allowed it, as well as a

yearly subsidy of \$30,000, and eighty cents per head annually on a population of 17,000 souls, exclusive of Indians. All ungranted lands were vested in the Crown for Dominion purposes, and 1,400,000 acres were appropriated for Half-breed families. Manitoba was to be admitted to the Dominion, on the same day as Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory. Its Lieutenant Governor, aided by a council of eleven members, was also to have authority over all the unorganised portion of the North-West. On the 11th of May, the stipulated price of £300,000 sterling was paid over to the Hudsons Bay Company, and the transfer of its territories to the Imperial Government finally completed, to be re-transferred to the Dominion on the 23rd of June. George Adams Archibald, of Nova Scotia, became the first Lieutenant Governor, and entered upon his duties in the following September. During the progress of the session, the position of the Cabinet became weakened by its tariff policy. As there was now no prospect of the renewal of reciprocity with the United States, a Government bill was introduced providing for retaliatory measures. The Opposition took strong exception to this bill, on the ground that while it afforded no real protection to our own industries, it would needlessly irritate the American people, and several of the Government's supporters hitherto now voted against it. Ministerial matters were further complicated by the poor health of the Premier, who was frequently unable to discharge his duties, and towards the close of the session was prostrated by a serious attack of sickness. Parliament was prorogued on the 12th of May, when thirty-nine public and twenty private acts were assented to by the Governor General.

As summer approached, rumors began to circulate that the Fenians were again about to attack Canada, and designed to intercept the expedition under Wolseley. It was also stated, that western Ontario would be invaded by a strong Fenian force from Chicago. It soon became apparent, however, that the true point of attack would be somewhere along the exposed frontier line of the Eastern Townships, from Huntingdon downwards for about sixty miles. During the preceding winter, large stores of arms and ammunition, and a battery of light field artillery, had been secretly accumulated in the neighbourhood of Malone, in Northern New York, and Saint Albans, in Vermont, by the Fenian leaders, at the head of whom was O'Neil who had led the abortive campaign from Buffalo four years before. Frequent boasting had been very generally indulged in recently by these men, who declared that the conquest of Canada was about to be accomplished at last. On the 24th of May, news was received by our military authorities, that bodies of armed Fenians were moving towards the frontier from Saint Albans and its neighbourhood, under the command of a Colonel Donnelly of Massachusetts; and that a similar movement had also commenced from the direction of Malone. Major General Lindsay, a very capable officer, now commanding in Canada, took

prompt steps to repel the threatened attacks. At five o'clock, on the afternoon of the 24th, a strong force of volunteers proceeded by railway from Montreal to St. Johns ; while another force was concentrated at Cornwall, to repel the attack from Malone. Meanwhile, Captain Westover, who had some time before organised a small independent company of twenty frontier guards, took possession of Pigeon Hill, an exceedingly strong natural position which had been garrisoned by the Fenians during their former raid in 1866, and which, to judge by their movements at Franklin Centre, a little way over the border in Vermont, they were now bent on re-occupying. During the ensuing night, Westover was so fortunate as to capture two Fenian scouts, a circumstance which delayed the advance of the enemy's main body. Early next morning he was reinforced by a company of volunteers from Montreal, bringing up the total force for the defence of Pigeon Hill to 90 men. The Fenians crossed the frontier about noon, but on finding themselves immediately under a sharp fire, they hurriedly retreated, leaving one of their killed behind, but carrying off the rest of their dead and wounded. About sunset the Westover Guards undertook to bring in the body of the slain Fenian, but, on going down into the valley where it lay, were fired upon from buildings on the American side of the line. They at once made a charge, and not only drove the enemy from their cover, but captured a light field piece, which had been fired at them as they advanced on the run, and hauled it to Canadian soil without having sustained any loss, so poor was the aim of the Fenians. Shortly after daylight next morning a strong body of the enemy, neatly uniformed and well-equipped, made a fresh movement to obtain possession of Pigeon Hill, which was now garrisoned by 600 volunteers under Lieut. Col. Osborne Smith, and soon found themselves under such a sharp rifle fire, that they immediately retreated with a loss of six killed and some twenty wounded, several of whom afterwards died. Shortly after the action, O'Neil, who commanded, was arrested by a United States' marshal, and taken off the battle field.

The movement from Malone proved quite as disastrous for the Fenians as that from Saint Albans. Moving parallel with Trout River, which, rising near Malone, falls into the Chateauguay at Huntingdon, the enemy's column, two thousand strong, crossed the line, and advanced into Canada, for some two miles, under the leadership of Star, Gleason and others. About eight a. m. on the 25th, it was learned by our military authorities, that the Fenians were entrenching themselves near Holbrook's Corners, and a detachment of the Rifle Brigade, including Prince Arthur's company, and 400 volunteers, were promptly moved forward to dislodge them. This was quickly accomplished with little or no loss ; and the Fenians wildly fled for their lives across the border, throwing away their arms and accoutrements, and everything else that burdened them, to facilitate their escape. And, in this summary fashion, ingloriously ended the second Fenian invasion of Canada.

By the 27th, the American authorities had commenced to effectually bestir themselves to preserve the peace. United States' troops appeared at the threatened points of attack, and arrested the leaders of the movement, while free transport was given to the rank and file who desired to return to their homes, of which most of them at once availed themselves. The American farmers living on the roads along which the Fenian columns of attack had moved, made a rich harvest out of the abandoned arms and stores, of which a large supply had been accumulated. "The Fenian raid into Canada," said an American newspaper, the *Baltimore Gazette*, has come very quickly to a disastrous end. The invaders, who crossed the borders with such vain-glorious words, ran at the first sound of conflict, like sheep before a wolf; and the commander-in-chief was picked up by the officers of justice, in the midst of his army, and ignominiously trotted off to gaol in a hack. * * * * If it was the business of England to have prevented a single unarmed ship from leaving her ports to destroy the commerce of the Northern States, was it not equally the duty of this government to have prevented the invasion of English territory from this country. In the one case, an unarmed ship, of doubtful ownership, leaves port, and, in the other, an armed organisation, whose movements and purposes have been talked of for months, is occupied for days in concentrating forces at different points upon the borders of Canada, and then marches in full panoply of war across the frontier." This statement tersely covers the whole case. While England paid twice over for the Alabama losses, the United States have never been magnanimous or honest enough to pay a single dollar to Canada for the losses caused by the Fenian raids, so openly organised by their own citizens within their territories.

After the excitement connected with the Fenian raids had subsided, the summer current of Canadian life moved uneventfully and tranquilly onward. On the 21st of June, the politician who afterwards blossomed into Sir Charles Tupper, and more recently into our High Commissioner in England, became a member of the Cabinet, and President of the Privy Council. The Doctor was re-elected by acclamation for Cumberland; and from that day to this has been one of the representative men of the Dominion. As the summer drew towards a close, the Imperial troops were all withdrawn from Canada, with the exception of the garrisons at Halifax and Quebec, and all the other fortresses were handed over to the Dominion. In the following spring, the garrison at Quebec was also withdrawn. This was a virtual acknowledgement of Canadian independence; and a very practical way of illustrating the language of the Gladstone administration, to the effect, that we should now learn to take care of ourselves. While the Home Government was thus engaged in carrying out its new policy of colonial economy, fresh difficulties arose with the United States. Although the Reciprocity Treaty had been fully completed and ended, and the provisions of the Treaty of 1818 thus revived, the

American fishermen showed themselves exceedingly averse to forego the privileges they had so recently enjoyed. British and Canadian cruisers were accordingly placed on the coast to protect our fisheries, and the capture of several of the poaching craft produced much ill-feeling at Washington, which found a partial vent in President Grant's annual message to Congress. But while these domestic difficulties attracted some attention from the Canadian people, the great point of interest for them, as well as for the rest of the world at this period, was the terrible struggle between France and Prussia, which so speedily led to the downfall of Napoleon III., to the capture of Paris, to the forfeiture of Alsace and Lorraine, and to the armed peace, so fatal to the industrial life of Europe, which has since existed.

Although the stand taken by the Canadian authorities for the protection of our fisheries was a firm one, it was, nevertheless, alike moderate and prudent in its character, and left the United States Government no just cause for complaint. Instead of enforcing the exclusion of foreign vessels to a distance of three miles beyond a line drawn from headland to headland; as laid down, with sufficient plainness, in the original convention between Great Britain and the United States, our Government temporarily accepted the construction of the Treaty of 1818 admitted by American jurists themselves, and only prevented fishing within three miles from land.* It turned out, however, that the best fishing grounds lay within the three mile limit, and hence the poaching in the previous

* It is much to be regretted that the Treaty of Washington, which effected a settlement of so many questions which had been in controversy between Great Britain and the United States, in some of which Canada was deeply interested, should not have made a final adjustment of the fishery question, which has now been a subject of controversy between the two nations for a period of about seventy four years, or since the treaty of Ghent in 1818. A brief extract from that treaty will present the case in dispute as fully as can be desired :

“And the United States hereby renounce forever any liberty heretofore enjoyed, or claimed, by the inhabitants thereof, to take dry or cure fish on or within three marine miles of any of the coasts, bays, creeks, or harbours of His Britannic Majesty's dominions in America, not included within the above-mentioned limits; provided, however, that the American fishermen shall be permitted to enter such bays or harbours for the purpose of shelter, and of repairing damages therein, of purchasing wood and of obtaining water, and for no other purpose whatever.”

The treaty containing the foregoing agreement has never been abrogated, and Canada has always claimed its enforcement. It has long been a subject of complaint by the United States that such stringent provisions were stipulated for, but it ought to be borne in mind that in the same treaty the citizens of the United States obtained the right forever—

“to take fish of every kind in that part of the Southern Coast of Newfoundland, which extends from Cape Ray to the Rameau Islands, in the Western and Northern Coast of Newfoundland, from the said Cape Ray to the Quirpon Islands, on the shores of the Magdalen Islands, and also from Mount Joli on the Southern Coast of Labrador to and through the straits of Belle-Isle and thence northwardly indefinitely along the Coast,”

season, and the frequent confiscations of American fishing craft. Under these circumstances, the Washington Government was easily induced to agree that the Fisheries Disputes, the 1871. famous Alabama claims, the question of the navigation of the St. Lawrence and Welland Canals, and of the boundary line between the United States and British Columbia, should now be finally settled by a commission. Since 1859 the Island of San Juan, near the coast of Vancouver Island, had been jointly occupied by Great Britain and the United States, and its true ownership was at last to be determined. The five American commissioners, with Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, at their head, were appointed on the 10th of February. Five days afterwards, the British commissioners were selected. They were Earl de Grey, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Edward Thornton, Sir John A. Macdonald, and Montague Bernard, Professor of International Law at Oxford. The Commission held its first meeting, at Washington, on the 27th of February. It continued its sessions until the 8th of May, when a final agreement, known as the "Treaty of Washington," was concluded and signed. On the 24th it was ratified by the United States Senate, and on the 17th of June, by the British Government. It made provision for the settlement of the Alabama claims by a board of arbitration, whose sittings were to be held at Geneva, in Switzerland. The San Juan matter was left to the decision of the Emperor of Germany, who, in October, 1872, gave judgment in favour of the United States. The free navigation of the St. Lawrence and of our Canals was guaranteed to the vessels of the United States, and that of Lake Michigan to British subjects, as well as the right of transporting goods in bond over American railways. But, while making all due provision for the settlement of their own losses, resulting from the Alabama's capture of their ships, the American commissioners absolutely refused to consider the still stronger cognate claim of the Dominion, for losses caused by the Fenian raids. As usual, however, the special interests of Canada were lightly regarded when balanced against Imperial considerations. Gladstone's administration was too feverishly anxious to conciliate the United States, to permit our just claims for damages to stand in the way; and Sir John A. Macdonald was at once out-voted in the commission. Under these circumstances, Canadians naturally regarded the treaty with no small disfavour; but they had to submit, however unwillingly, to the inevitable; and, after much adverse discussion, the clauses affecting this country were finally ratified by the Dominion Parliament. The Imperial Government evinced its appreciation of this proceeding by guaranteeing a large Canadian loan for various public purposes.

The Federal Parliament met on the 15th of February. In his opening speech Lisgar alluded to the Fenian raids of the preceding year, to the gallantry with which the Volunteer Force had sprung to arms to defend their country, to the successful manner in which

the new Province of Manitoba had entered upon its career of peace and prosperity, and to the fact that the Legislature of British Columbia had passed an address to Her Majesty, praying for admission into the Dominion. The budget speech of Hincks showed a very satisfactory condition of the finances, and a surplus for the preceding year of nearly a quarter million dollars. During the session, an address to the Queen, in favour of admitting British Columbia into the Dominion, was agreed to; a proceeding which was afterwards duly sanctioned by an Imperial Order in Council of the 16th of May. Among the measures passed during the session, was one providing for a uniform currency in the Dominion, which proved a great boon to the people. All the necessary business was transacted with expedition, the Government still commanding a good working majority in the Commons. Parliament was prorogued on the 14th of April, when thirty public and twenty-eight private bills were assented to.

The decennial census, taken during April, showed the population of Ontario to be 1,629,842, of Quebec 1,190,505, of Nova Scotia 387,800, of New Brunswick 285,777. With Manitoba added, the total population of the Dominion now stood at three and-a-half millions. The increase, since the preceding census, had been relatively much greater in Ontario than in the other provinces. But, even in Ontario, the result was somewhat disappointing, and chiefly owing to the steady exodus into the United States, where wider fields for enterprise and employment had led numbers of Canadians to make their homes. Towards the close of April, the New Brunswick Legislature passed a free school bill, which abolished all state support to any educational institutions aside from public schools. The Roman Catholic element in the Province strongly opposed this measure, but without avail; and it has stood unchanged from that day to this. Four days afterwards, on May 3rd, the same Legislature asked the Dominion Government for "better terms;" thus imitating the example of Nova Scotia. On the 17th of the month, both its chambers unanimously passed resolutions, condemning the Treaty of Washington. On the 5th of July, British Columbia formally entered the Dominion. Its population was estimated at 60,000, exclusive of Indians. It was allowed three representatives in the Senate, six in the House of Commons, an annual subsidy of \$35,000, and the usual eighty cents per head per annum for its population. The Dominion also undertook to begin within two years from the date of union, the construction of a railway to connect British Columbia with the older provinces of the Dominion, the work upon which was to be commenced simultaneously at both ends of the line, and to be completed within ten years. Joseph W. Trutch was appointed Lieutenant Governor of the new province.

Shortly after the capture of Fort Garry, Wolseley had returned with the regular troops to Canada, and the Volunteer part of his

force was left behind to preserve the peace. In the ensuing year the greater part of this force was disbanded, and only two companies, of forty men each, were retained to garrison Fort Garry, and one or two other posts. Encouraged by this state of affairs, the Fenian general, O'Neil, who does not appear to have grown much wiser by his previous want of success, in conjunction with O'Donohoe and some other former associates of Riel, now determined to make a raid upon Manitoba. On the 5th of October a Fenian band, some fifty strong, crossed the frontier, and took possession of the Hudsons Bay Company's fort at Pembina. They were promptly followed by a company of United States infantry, which arrested O'Neil and O'Donohoe, as well as a part of their men, marched them back over the boundary line, and placed them in custody. The remainder of the invaders, who had managed to elude capture by the United States troops, retreated over the border as soon as they could safely do so. In this ridiculous manner terminated the final Fenian effort for the conquest of Canada. When this affair was entirely at an end, Riel, who had some time before returned to his home near St. Boniface, and who, as well as Lepine, had remained undisturbed by the authorities, offered his services, as well as those of his friends, the Metis, to repel the invaders. Lieutenant-Governor Archibald, who appears to have been a very timid man, and needlessly alarmed at this juncture, owing to having such a small body of troops to support him, deemed it advisable to accept this offer, reviewed the force which had been assembled by Riel and Lepine, and was craftily led to promise that the latter should not be arrested for their past offences.* Archibald, some time afterwards, in a despatch to the Canadian Government, endeavoured to justify his timid and unwise course, by stating, that "if the Dominion had at this moment a province to defend, and not one to conquer, they owe it to the policy of forbearance. If I had driven the French Half-breeds into the hands of the enemy, O'Donohoe would have been joined by all the population between the Assiniboine and the frontier, Fort Garry would have passed into the hands of an armed mob, and the English settlers north of the Assiniboine would have suffered horrors it makes one shudder to contemplate."† When the reader recollects that O'Donohoe was all this time in the safe custody of the United States authorities, that the loyal settlers were armed, and formed the majority of the population, that there was no occasion to molest the Half-breeds in any shape, and that the garrison of Fort Garry could be strengthened in a few hours so as to be safe from attack, unless by a well-appointed force provided with artillery, the Archibald contemplated "horrors" are shorn of all

* Archibald to Sir John A. Macdonald, 9th October, 1871. In his reply to this despatch, on the 18th of the same month, the Premier expressed his disapprobation of the Lieutenant-Governor's course. See Blue Book for 1871.

† Dominion Blue Book for 1871, p. 147.

their terrific aspect, and descend into the region of the positively ridiculous. His weak and timid conduct, in making promises, entirely in excess of his authority, to Riel and Lepine, created fresh embarrassment for the general Government, already so badly compromised by the amnesty pledges of Archbishop Tache. The Cabinet had now become seriously divided on the propriety of punishing the murderers of Scott. Cartier, and its other French-Canadian members, were in favour of a general amnesty ; a course strongly opposed by several of their colleagues, who maintained that at least Riel and Lepine should be punished for their offences. The result of these dissensions was, that no definite line of policy could be determined on without leading to the resignation of some of the ministers ; and the Premier had, therefore, to fold his hands in patience, and quietly await the progress of events. The feeling, accordingly, gradually got abroad, that the Government, as a whole, was indisposed to order the arrest of Riel and Lepine, who were now living at their usual places of abode in Manitoba ; and great indignation arose throughout the whole length and breadth of Ontario, as well as in the Maritime Provinces. This feeling told strongly against the Sandfield Macdonald local government, as well as the circumstance that some railway subsidies had recently been paid by it without due Parliamentary authority. When the newly-elected Assembly met, in December, the Opposition in the chamber, now ably led by Blake and Mackenzie, used this state of things to the best possible advantage for themselves, and the Sandfield Macdonald administration was defeated, by the narrow majority of one, on a direct want of confidence motion, the vote standing 37 to 36. As eight constituencies, however, were vacant, owing to election protests, and the government expected support from most of these, it declined to resign, although greatly weakened by the desertion of one of its members (Wood) who went over to the Opposition. A fresh motion of want of confidence was accordingly moved by Blake, with the result that a majority of seventeen voted in its favour ; and Macdonald had now no course open but resignation.* A new government was at once formed by the Reform Party, in which Edward Blake became President of the Council and Premier, and Alexander Mackenzie Treasurer. From that day to this the Conservative Party has constantly formed the minority in the single legislative chamber of Ontario. The new government took prompt and decisive action in the case 1872. of Scott. Shortly after the new year it offered, with the full concurrence of the Legislature, a reward of \$5,000 for the arrest of his murderers ; and declared that a determined effort for their capture and punishment would now be made. In order to prevent this result, which must be exceedingly embarrassing to the Dominion Government, owing to its tacit endorsement

* John Sandfield Macdonald did not long survive his defeat. He died at his home in Cornwall on the 1st of June, 1872, in the sixtieth year of his age.

of Lieutenant-Governor Archibald's policy, and the attitude of its French-Canadian supporters, the Premier resorted to an underhand and very questionable proceeding. He sent one thousand dollars, taken from the secret service fund, to Archbishop Tache, to be paid to Riel and Lepine for the purpose of inducing them to leave the country. But they at once realised their position of advantage, and refused to relieve the Government of embarrassment, by their voluntary exile, unless more money was forthcoming. To meet this new difficulty, Lieutenant-Governor Archibald borrowed \$3000 from the Hudsons Bay Company's agent at Fort Garry, which he handed to Archbishop Tache, who now used part of this money to bribe Riel and Lepine to retire for the present into the United States.* In his evidence, afterwards, before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to enquire into this and other matters, Sir John A. Macdonald stated, that his reason for sending Riel out of the country arose from the apprehension of a new Fenian invasion; whereas Archibald emphatically declared that there was then no danger of any such invasion; and, as a matter of fact, there was none. In its final report the Special Committee declared "that the First Minister of the Dominion had used the secret service money for the purpose of secreting from justice, and preventing the trial, of one who was accused of treason and murder."† These facts did not become fully known to the public until three years afterwards, when they clearly revealed the painful Janus-faced secret history connected with the failure to prosecute the slayers of Scott, and how largely the Macdonald Cabinet of that day was responsible for defeating the ends of justice, owing to the exigencies of state policy, and the desire to cling to office. That crooked policy, proved, in the progress of time, its own Nemesis in many ways; leading eventually, as it did, to the second Riel rebellion, and to the large loss of life and public treasure which then took place. The Reform leaders mercilessly used their advantage, in the matter, to reduce Macdonald in public estimation. It was a righteous punishment in his case. How they vindicated their position and their promises in the premises, when the opportunity came to them for their full redemption, will appear hereafter.

The Dominion Parliament assembled on the 11th of April. Lisgar's opening speech contained little worthy of serious comment. It announced the auspicious recovery of the Prince of Wales from a well-nigh fatal illness, and how the Queen designed to join with her people in a public thanksgiving for the mercies of Providence.

* Riel afterwards claimed that the whole of this money should have been paid over to him and Lepine, and that no part of it should have been retained by the Archbishop. What was done with the balance of the money has not appeared. See evidence on Riel's final trial, and, also, Blue Book of despatches regarding the commutation of Lepine's sentence, 1875, p. 25.

† See papers laid before the Senate and House of Commons by Lord Dufferin, Feb. 8th, 1875, for fuller information touching these matters.

As the session progressed, there was a hot debate over the Treaty of Washington, during which Blake gave a scathing review of its Canadian provisions, which were, however, eventually agreed to. A motion was made by Costigan, of Victoria, to the effect, that an address to the Governor General be agreed on, praying that the New Brunswick School Act should be disallowed. But Lisgar, on the advice of his Minister of Justice, Sir John A. Macdonald, had already allowed the Bill, as being entirely within the powers of the local Legislature. So the House refused to interfere, and Costigan's motion was defeated. It afterwards, however, softened its refusal, by agreeing to an expression of regret, that the School Act was unsatisfactory to a portion of the people of New Brunswick, and hoping that it would be modified by its Legislature during its next session. And there the matter rested, and still rests.

Among the bills passed during the session, were two incorporating the Canada Pacific and the Inter-Oceanic Railway Companies, each having a capital of ten million dollars. These rival companies were separately empowered to enter into a contract with the Government for building the Canadian Pacific Railway, in accordance with the act providing for its construction.* Parliament was prorogued on the 14th of June, and eight days afterwards, the Governor-General bade adieu to Canada. During his term of office he had been raised to the peerage as Baron Lisgar, of Lisgar, in the County of Cavan, Ireland. His career in this country had not been so brilliant as that of some of his predecessors, but it was a happier and more satisfactory one, so far as he was personally concerned. He wisely held aloof from party entanglements of every description, kept well within the constitutional limits of his position, quietly and conscientiously performed his appointed duties, without needless exaggeration or pretension, and was fully satisfied to be merely regarded as the faithful representative of his sovereign. So he departed, from this country, with the respect and good-wishes of all its people, and left calm and restful memories behind him.

* Assented to June 14th, 1872 ; and being 35 Vic., chap. 71, which see for full information on this head.

CHAPTER XII.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DUFFERIN.

THE new Governor-General, the fifth Baron Dufferin and Clandeboyne in the peerage of Ireland, was born at Florence in 1826; educated at Eton and Oxford, and upon the death of his father, in 1841, succeeded to the family titles and estates. His mother was a Sheridan, a grand-daughter of the author of the "Rivals," and transmitted to her son no inconsiderable share of the abilities which had distinguished her family. In politics Dufferin was a Whig of the moderate school, and his ability and usefulness met with an early recognition from his party. In 1850 he was created a peer of the realm, thus acquired a seat in the House of Lords, and afterwards filled several diplomatic positions with credit to himself and benefit to his country. He was for some years Under-Secretary of State for India; later on, Under-Secretary to the War Department and Paymaster-General of the army. In 1871 he was created an earl, and was appointed Governor-General of Canada on the 22nd of May, 1872. He set out a few days afterwards for this country, and arrived at Quebec on the 25th of June.

Early in July, Alexander Morris, Minister of Inland Revenue, resigned his portfolio, and was appointed Chief Justice of Manitoba, to afterwards become its Lieutenant-Governor. He was succeeded by Tupper, who had been President of the Council, a position now given to John O'Connor, an Irish Roman Catholic, who was taken into the Cabinet as the representative of his section of the public. On the 15th of July, the five years' life of the first Parliament of Canada having expired, by effluxion of time, it was dissolved by proclamation, and writs issued for a general election. A bitter struggle ensued. The Reform Party had again become cohesive, and, in its new and reconstructed form, made a sharp fight along the whole line, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Great efforts were made to defeat the Government, especially in Ontario, where its failure to punish the murderers of Scott now told so strongly against it, that its losses were quite serious. The Washington Treaty, and the inability to secure compensation for

the Fenian raids, formed another ground of offence to the electorate. During the contest, the project of a Transcontinental Railway was denounced, on the ground, that it must lead to national bankruptcy; while, at the same time, the Opposition strenuously declared, that its construction within the ten years' limit was a physical impossibility. The Premier was returned for his old constituency of Kingston, by a majority of 132, but Hincks was defeated in South Brant, to find a seat afterwards in Vancouver. While Ontario gave a majority against the Government, the latter also lost strength in Quebec, mainly owing to the fact that it had not sufficiently bowed to its dominant race, by proclaiming a complete amnesty to the Red River insurgents, Riel and Lepine included. Its trimming policy, in this direction, was exceedingly distasteful to the Roman Catholic hierarchy, who also condemned the Government for not having advised the Governor-General to disallow the New Brunswick School Bill. This state of things conclusively proved the great difficulty of reconciling conflicting interests, so diverse in their character. A political Maelstrom had arisen, from the old race and creed conflict, with its Scylla on the one hand and its Charybdis on the other, and the Cabinet was being ground between the upper and nether millstones. Sir George E. Cartier fell before the storm, was defeated in Montreal East, and forced to accept a seat for the distant, and comparatively unimportant, constituency of Provencher, in Manitoba. But, if the Government lost ground in the central provinces, it made solid gains at both extremities of the Dominion. British Columbia and Manitoba did not elect a single member of the Opposition; Nova Scotia, now thoroughly reconciled to the Dominion, only returned one Reform member; while in New Brunswick several additional seats were won by Conservatives. On the whole, the Government found itself sustained by a fair working majority, and had every prospect of another five years' lease of power, should no dangerous storms appear on the political horizon in the meantime.

The later summer months passed away without producing any events of note. In October the government of Ontario was re-constructed. Following the example of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, its Legislature, at its last session, had passed an act abolishing dual representation—that is, representation in its own chamber and the House of Commons at one and the same time. Blake and Mackenzie had now, accordingly, to determine for which Parliament they would sit. They chose the House of Commons as the wider field, and surrendered their positions in the local government. Oliver Mowat, who, in 1864, had retired from parliamentary life to the bench, now resigned his elevated position, re-entered the political arena, and, in the interests of the Reform Party, became Premier of Ontario. He has made a safe leader for that party from that day to this. While professing progressive ideas and liberal principles, he has gradually, but surely, built up a form of government so despotic in its essence, and so centralising in its

operations, that the whole patronage of the Province, in every department of the public service, down to the humblest bailiff of the Division Court, is directly controlled by his government. That patronage has been autocratically administered for the sole benefit of his own party, which enjoys all its honours and emoluments, with very few, if indeed any, exceptions. As a body the Conservatives of Ontario are now practically excluded from every position of public honour and profit in the gift of its administration, are virtually disfranchised, may be said to have no voice in their own government; and during the long Mowat reign have had to carry themselves humbly in their deep "valley of humiliation." But, if the Mowat reign has been an autocratic one, and has had its authority largely sustained by the countenance and support of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, it has, outside the administration of patronage, been an honest one, and free from those foul scandals that have, at intervals, disgraced the Dominion and Quebec Governments, and so frequently brought the blush of shame to the brow of every true Canadian. It should not be forgotten, however, that this administration of the affairs of a great and intelligent Province for the sole benefit of one class of citizens, of one political party, is opposed to every vital principle of popular liberty, is turning the dial-hand of progressive political science backwards, and, in its extreme narrowness of vision, lowers the standard of public morals, and is corrupting in its general tendencies. At the same time, it compels the whole body of taxpayers to pay for the sustenance of one class of persons, the policy, precisely, of the old Family Compact, which the Reform Party so long struggled to overthrow; and illustrates, on Canadian soil, the corrupting and demoralising principle, embodied in the cardinal doctrine of Andrew Jackson, "that to the victor belongs the spoils"—A doctrine that has wrought so much moral ruin in the United States. A great party, professing to be patriotic and progressive, and in full touch with the better and purer political ethics of the age, should not stoop to the administration of government on narrow and sectional lines, should be guided by nobler and more generous sentiments, and should endeavour to educate the people to attain a higher moral and political plane than they now occupy. If the Reform Government of Ontario were to take an elevated position of this nature, not only would it still be sustained by the people, but it would have a vast influence in lifting up the moral tone of the whole Dominion from its present unsatisfactory condition.

As the year drew towards a close, the corrupting tendencies of professional political life in Canada received a pointed illustration. The many dreams of the more ambitious portion of the French-Canadian people, had at length been fully realised by the advent of the Dominion. The vast Province of Quebec had now become their heritage, in the fullest and widest sense; and its revenues and its patronage were at their disposal. Under the Old *Régime*, the

restoration of which they had so often ardently longed for, they were the mere serfs of an absent despot, and they dare not move a finger, in any public capacity, nor even tax themselves for the most simple municipal purpose, without his permission. But now, under the benign rule of an alien sovereign, they had risen to the highest standard of a free people, their country had become their safe possession, they were at liberty to carve out their own fortunes as best they could, and they had every opportunity for the untrammelled exercise of public purity, and of the most exalted patriotism. Let us briefly examine how they commenced the practice of these commendable national virtues. Joseph Edouard Cauchon was at one time a great admirer and supporter of the Lafontaine-Baldwin administration, but afterwards drifted into the Bleu ranks, and, in 1855, became the Commissioner of Crown Lands in a coalition government. In 1857 he resigned his position, and for a time attached himself to the Reform Opposition, but, in 1860, cast in his fortunes with the Cartier-Macdonald Liberal Conservative Party. In 1867, as we have already seen, he was appointed speaker of the Senate, afterwards held that office for five years, and sat, at the same time, in the Quebec Legislature for the County of Montmorency. In 1872 he resigned his speakership, and, at the general elections, was returned to the House of Commons for Quebec Centre. Meanwhile, Joly, the Rouge leader in the local Legislature of Quebec, had become cognizant of certain facts to Cauchon's disadvantage, and had moved for a Parliamentary committee of investigation. It was proved before that committee, that Cauchon had expended large sums of money to sustain the Chaveau administration, in order to obtain for a firm, in which he was secretly interested, the renewal of a very profitable supply contract. To avoid expulsion, he resigned his seat in the Assembly, but his constituents so lightly regarded his corrupt conduct that they again re-elected him. From that day to this Cauchon has had numerous imitators in his native province, public corruption now permeates every grade of politicians there, from the highest to the lowest, and the moral sense of the electorate is hopelessly blunted. The souls of the Bigots and Cadets of the corrupt reign of Louis XV. have transmigrated into new forms, and a worse system of public plunder, than even they ever dreamed of, has been inaugurated in our own times. Such is the sorrowful result of party government in the Province of Quebec, and such is the manner in which its public men display their unfitness to administer the government of the wide domain into the possession of which they have entered.*

* As one proof of the low tone of morals in the Province of Quebec, the prevalence of lotteries ostensibly for public or charitable purposes, despite a stringent Dominion law against them, may be cited. The gambling spirit so injurious to the morals of the people during the *Old Regime* has recently revived, and a daily paper of December 15, 1891, complains that Montreal will soon have the reputation of a second Monte Carlo. "Another great

The new year brought with it further changes in the Dominion Cabinet. Chapais surrendered his portfolio as Receiver General, and was succeeded by Theodore Robitaille ; Hincks 1873. ceased to be Finance Minister, and had Tilley for his successor ; and Tupper became Minister of Customs. The new Parliament assembled on the 5th of March. Cockburn was re-selected speaker of the House of Commons without opposition, and Joseph Olivier Chaveau, a Quebec barrister and Queen's counsel, was appointed to the speakership of the Senate. The Governor-General's speech was delivered on the following day, and contained little which could lead to discussion. It announced that he had, on the 8th of February, caused a charter to be issued to a body of Canadian capitalists, at whose head was Sir Hugh Allan, the great steamship owner of Montreal, for the construction of the Pacific Railway. The address, in reply, was agreed to without a division ; and the House at once settled down to business. The session was fruitful of several important measures. Prince Edward Island was at last admitted into the Union. Its population was 94,021, and its debt \$4,701,050, just \$50 for each inhabitant. An annual sum was to be allowed by the Dominion for the extinction of the claims of its original great landed proprietors, as well as a yearly subsidy of \$30,000, and eighty cents per head per annum for its population. It was an excellent bargain for the sorely-burdened little island. A bill was passed for re-arranging the Provincial Subsidies under the Union Act. The joint debt of Ontario and Quebec was now placed at \$73,006,088, instead of \$62,500,000 as before. Other provinces were, or had been, similarly benefited, and a large addition thus made to the Dominion debt. Another act was passed, which raised the sessional allowance of members of Parliament from \$600 to \$1000, and also increased the salaries of the Ministers from \$5000 to \$7000 per annum, with \$1000 additional to the Premier. The yearly salaries of the

public lottery has been started," it says, for the corruption of the people. So as to make gambling as easy as possible, and appear as harmless as possible, the tickets are to be sold at ten cents." The following news item of December 16th, 1891, shows how this gambling fever operates :—

" Persons passing along St. James street east, this forenoon, could not help noticing the unusual excitement around the doors of a lottery office. The fortnightly drawing was in progress. Hundreds of men, women and boys jostled each other and filled the offices from back to front, until the crowd jammed up even the entrance to the place, and many stood on the sidewalk vainly endeavouring to catch the voice of the man shouting out the numbers as they were taken from the wheel. Excitement was visible on every face and old gray-haired men eagerly scanned their tickets in the hope of having the corresponding number of the stray prize tickets taken out. The crowd became so great that it pressed against the office fixtures so hard that several large panes of glass were broken. Never before in Canada has been seen so large a gathering of people frenzied with the passion of gambling and absorbed with the hope of getting money for which they have not toiled. It was a pitiful and a painful sight, and one to cause grave doubts in the mind of a patriot for the future of a country where such a state of things prevails."

Lieutenant-Governors of Ontario and Quebec were raised to \$10,000, and those of the Lieutenant-Governors of all the other provinces, to \$9000. An act was also passed providing for the administration of justice in the North-West Territories, and for the establishment of a "Mounted Police Force." On the first of April the Finance Minister made his budget speech, and announced that the surplus revenue for the preceding fiscal year had amounted to the large sum of \$3,125,345.

But the occurrence that, above all others, makes this session of Parliament a memorable one in the annals of this country, was what is still known as the "Pacific Railway Scandal." In order that its history may be thoroughly understood, it becomes necessary to state that, in 1872, the Dominion Parliament had passed an act providing for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The preamble of that act recited the agreement with British Columbia to secure the commencement of this railway within two years from the date of union, and its completion within ten years from the same period. The line was to be built and worked by one company, having a capital of at least ten million dollars, ten per cent. of which was to be deposited with the Receiver General, by way of security, before the final conclusion of the agreement. The Dominion aid to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, was to consist of fifty million acres of land in the Provinces of Manitoba and British Columbia, and in the North-West Territories, to be laid out in alternate blocks of twenty miles in depth on each side of the line, and thirty million dollars in cash, to be paid, from time to time, as the work proceeded.* Valuing the land, at that date, at one dollar per acre, the total grant would be equivalent to eighty million dollars, which is a much smaller sum than this transcontinental highway eventually cost the Dominion. With the view of obtaining the contract to build this railway, in accordance with the provisions of the Act alluded to, two companies were incorporated during the same session, with a capital of ten million dollars each. One of these, the Inter-Oceanic Company, of Toronto, was formed by a large number of Canadians of good commercial standing, twenty-five of whom constituted a board of provisional directors, whose president was Senator D. L. Macpherson.† The second, was the Canada Pacific Railway Company, of Montreal, which had eighteen Canadians as its incorporated members and provisional directors, at the head of whom stood Sir Hugh Allan.‡ Shortly after the prorogation of Parliament, in the same year, an unsuccessful effort was made by Allan to have these two companies amalgamated, in accordance with the provisions of their acts of incorporation, he to be appointed president of the new company. The principal reason

* *Vide* 35 Vic., chap. 71, sections 1 to 4.

† *Vide* 35 Vic., chap. 72.

‡ *Vide* 35 Vic., chap. 73.

afterwards given by Macpherson, for the failure of this negotiation, was that the Canada Pacific Company had not abandoned its American connection.* It appears, that during the summer of 1871, secret negotiations had been entered into between 1871. Allan and some American capitalists, for the purpose of acquiring the contract for building the Canadian Pacific Railway, and that the Canada Pacific Railway Company had been incorporated with the view to advance the special interests of these capitalists. The greater part of the stock of this company had been allotted to them, and had they got hold of the contract Canadians would have very little influence in the control of their great national highway to the Pacific Ocean. The first agreement, made between Allan and his American associates, was executed in New York on December 23rd, 1871; and the supplementary, or second contract, on the 28th of March in the following 1872. year.† In order to carry out their project more effectually, \$50,000 were placed to the bank credit of Allan by the American members of the company.‡ Despite, however, the secrecy of these preliminary proceedings, it gradually leaked out that the Canada Pacific Railway Company was virtually an American concern, that Allan was little better than the agent of the foreign shareholders, that the Canadian names in the act of incorporation formed a mere screen to conceal these shareholders from the public view. The hostility of the Opposition press was at once aroused, and it was declared, that the American capitalists concerned, were not interesting themselves in the proposed construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway on its own merits, but for the sinister purpose of making it tributary to their greater interests in the Northern Pacific Railway of the United States. A strong public feeling against the admission of Americans, into what was very properly considered a national enterprise, was thus produced; and it was generally held that it should only be controlled by Canadians or other subjects of the Crown. The House of Commons reflected this feeling very strongly, and towards the close of the session, of 1872, it became evident that Parliament would not sanction any scheme for the construction of the great national highway, which would place it under American control. In deference to this feeling, the Premier now sought to induce the rival companies to amalgamate, and form one strong Canadian corporation, but without success. Several difficulties stood in the way, and especially that of the presidency, which both Allan and Macpherson were alike anxious to obtain, and the amalgamation, accordingly, could not be effected. It was now determined to form a new company altogether, entirely Canadian in its character, and, for this purpose,

* See evidence of Macpherson in Report of Royal Commissioners; Blue Book, 1873, p. 24.

† Report of Royal Commissioners; Blue Book, 1873, p. 210.

‡ Ibid, p. 213.

the Government opened negotiations with Allan. Some existing differences between the latter and Cartier at first stood in the way, but these were eventually smoothed over, and a good understanding arrived at. The history of the private negotiations that afterwards ensued between them, owing to the death of Cartier, rests upon Allan's testimony alone. It seems to be tolerably certain, however, from the evidence given before the Royal Commission, that while no corrupt agreement was formally arrived at, it was tacitly understood that the Government would so favour Allan in the matter of the Pacific Railway contract, that he could well afford, for his own sake, to subscribe very liberally to the ministerial election fund. According to his own evidence, Allan waited on Cartier, on the 30th of July, and was then told, that owing to the opposition to the Pacific Railway project, which it was so desirable to overcome, his contribution towards election expenses should amount to at least \$100,000. His payments, however, for this purpose finally reached to \$162,600, of which \$85,000 went to Cartier's own election committee, \$45,000 to the Premier, personally, and \$32,600 to Langevin.* In a note to Allan, dated on the evening immediately after the interview, Cartier asked him for \$110,000, to assist the ministerial election fund; and stated, "that any amount which you or your company shall advance for that purpose shall be recouped to you." As the contribution asked for could only be recouped at the expense of the public, in some way, the corrupt intention of the bargain becomes clearly apparent. On the 31st of January, the Privy Council, after expressing its regret that the two rival railway companies could not amalgamate, recommended that negotiations should be entered into with a new company which had recently been formed, with Sir Hugh Allan at its head. Five days afterwards a charter, for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, was granted to this company.

As might naturally be expected, the success of Allan and his new company, in obtaining the coveted contract, awoke no small amount of jealous feeling, and a good deal of indignation as well. The Inter-Oceanic Company represented a large number of very influential people, who felt, that although they had refused to amalgamate with the Canada Pacific, despite the pressure of the Government, the Allan Company had, nevertheless, been somehow unduly favoured at their expense. But they had no tangible grounds for serious complaint, and had, per force, to submit to the inevitable. The American associates of Allan, who, as we have already seen, were the principal stockholders in the Canada Pacific Company, were not by any means so easily appeased. They declared that he had dealt most unfairly by them, and had given them a great amount of trouble which had produced no beneficial

* Sir Hugh Allan's evidence, in Report of Royal Commission, Blue Book for 1873, pp. 136, 137.

result, so far as they were concerned. Nor did Allan's offer, to recoup them for the money they had advanced, by any means satisfy them. George Washington McMullen, a Chicago banker and broker, but a Canadian by birth, who had been the principal agent in negotiating between the other American capitalists and Allan, and a subscriber for a million and-a-half dollars' worth of the Canada Pacific stock, felt especially indignant. He saw, or fancied he saw, at least, great profits to himself in the construction and subsequent control of a Canadian trans-continental railway, and having, as the especial agent of the Canada Pacific Railway Company, received a large number of very compromising letters from Allan, now threatened to expose him unless he were well reimbursed for all his expenditure and loss of time. Towards the latter part of February he was, accordingly, paid twenty thousand dollars for the surrender of these letters, and it was agreed to also pay him a further sum of seventeen thousand five hundred dollars, if certain other stipulations were fully complied with, but as these were not afterwards fulfilled the latter amount was forfeited.* In this condition stood the affairs of the Canadian Pacific Railway, when Parliament assembled. Beyond vague rumours, however, that the granting of the charter to Allan and his company had been attended with some improper proceedings, there was nothing known by the public, as to the true nature of the disreputable transactions that lay beneath the surface. There was soon, however, to be a rude, awakening in this direction. On the 2nd of April, Lucius Seth Huntington, a barrister of Montreal, and the member for Shefford—a leader on the Opposition side of the House, arose in his place, and moved a resolution to the effect, that he had been credibly informed the Government was aware of the original negotiations between Sir Hugh Allan and certain American capitalists, that the contract for building the Canadian Pacific Railway was given to Allan and his friends, on the full understanding that he should advance large sums of money for the purpose of aiding ministers and their supporters in the recent elections, that part of the money so advanced was supplied by these American capitalists to Allan, under an agreement with him, and that a committee of seven members be appointed to enquire into the whole matter. For a few moments the House was lost in amazement at the nature of these charges, which appeared to be at once so extravagant and incredible. Little, however, was said at either side, and when the first shock of surprise had terminated, a division was called for, and the motion, which was regarded as a "want of confidence" one, was rejected by a vote of 107 to 76. But the Premier, who had remained silent while Huntington read his

* For fuller information as to all these occurrences, the reader is referred to the Report of the Royal Commission, in Blue Book for 1873, to the despatch of Lord Dufferin to the Colonial Secretary, dated August 18th, 1873, and to the papers laid before the House of Commons, by the Governor-General, on the 23rd of October, 1873.

charges, understood the nature of public opinion too well to suppose for a moment, that it would be satisfied by having a hostile motion of this character simply voted down by his supporters. He saw clearly that Huntington's charges must be met, and weakened, in another and better way. When the House met, on the following day, he accordingly gave notice that he would, on the 8th, move for the appointment of a Committee of Enquiry. That Committee consisted of three ministerialists and two members of the Opposition. As the House was unanimously of opinion, that the evidence should be taken under oath, and as at that time, owing to a defect in the law, a Parliamentary committee had no authority to swear witnesses, it became necessary to pass a bill to clothe it with the requisite powers. The "Oaths Bill" was, accordingly, at once introduced, passed without opposition, and assented to on the 3rd of May. As grave doubts however existed, as to the competence of the Dominion Parliament to pass such a bill, a certified copy was at once forwarded to the Colonial Secretary. The measure was disallowed by the Home Government, on the ground that it was *ultra vires* of the North America Act, and that an Imperial statute would be necessary to give it legal effect. Meanwhile, the proceedings of the Committee of Enquiry had been delayed, by the absence in England of Cartier, Allan and Abbott. Huntington strongly pressed the necessity of immediate action, and charged the Premier with a manifest desire to delay and baffle the enquiry. The latter pleaded that he was most anxious to promote it, but as the Government was virtually on its trial, it was only fair that the enquiry should not be prejudiced, by undue haste, in the absence of material witnesses. The result was, that the committee eventually adjourned, to meet again at Montreal on the 2nd of July. On the 23rd of May Parliament also adjourned until the 13th of August, when it was to re-assemble to hear the Committee's report, but not for the ordinary purposes of legislation.

During the early summer several alterations took place in the Cabinet, the Conservative character of which, however, still remained unchanged. On the 1st of May, Joseph Howe, whose health was now greatly broken, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, to die, however, one month afterwards. On the 20th of May, Sir George E. Cartier died in London, England, and was no longer amenable to earthly tribunals. On the 1st of July proclamation of the disallowance of the Oaths Bill was made. The Committee of Enquiry, however, duly met at Montreal on the following day, pursuant to adjournment; but, as the three ministerial members refused to receive any unsworn testimony, nothing could be done. The chairman submitted a letter from the Premier, offering to issue a Royal Commission to the members of the Committee, which would confer on them the power of examining witnesses under oath, and thus enable them to proceed with the investigation. But Blake and Dorion, who represented the Opposition on the Committee, declined to accept this offer, on the ground

that it was an invasion of Parliamentary privilege, and the authority of the House of Commons, which, having already taken action in the matter, should not now be interfered with. Under these circumstances the Committee deemed it advisable to adjourn until the 13th of August, and then to meet at Ottawa for further instructions from the same body that had appointed it.

The public mind was now greatly disturbed, and an intensely bitter newspaper discussion arose. The Opposition Press asserted, that the Government was seeking to stifle enquiry into the charges which had been preferred against it. But, in this direction, the offer made by the Premier, to issue a Royal Commission to the Parliamentary Committee of Enquiry, to enable it to proceed to take evidence under oath, formed a full answer ; and public opinion began to change strongly in favour of ministers. It was argued that if there were any truth in Huntington's charges, that a Royal Commission, having full authority to swear witnesses, could investigate these charges much better than a Parliamentary Committee, which had no such authority, and that unsworn testimony would be of no real value. While this discussion was at its height, G. W. McMullen published in the *Montreal Herald* and *Toronto Globe*, a narrative giving his own account of the Pacific Railway transactions, and stating that several members of the Government had demanded bribes for the exercise of their influence—a statement afterwards contradicted under oath by the ministers implicated.—These personal charges had evidently been formulated with the view of injuring the members of the Cabinet, as much as possible, with the public, and to give additional force to the damaging character of several documents published therewith. These documents consisted of a telegram, dated August 24th, 1872, from Sir George E. Cartier to John C. Abbott, a barrister of Montreal, afterwards Premier of the Dominion Government, and then acting as agent for Sir Hugh Allan, asking him to pay twenty thousand dollars to his election committee ; a receipt therefor, dated two days afterwards, from that committee ; and a telegram from Sir John A Macdonald requesting ten thousand dollars additional.—Although it was quite evident that the telegrams and receipts must have been stolen, by some person who had access to Abbott's private papers, there could be no question about their genuineness.

The storm now raged against the Cabinet with renewed and more violent force than ever ; and the Governor-General, who was taking his summer holidays at the seaside, clearly saw that the time had fully arrived when some action on his part had become necessary. He states that he was deeply distressed at the embarrassing relations which now existed between his ministers and himself. Documents which had, in themselves, proved nothing, had been brought into connection with a narrative that invested them with a very sinister signification. The Parliamentary Committee of Enquiry, which had undertaken to discover the truth, appeared

to be paralysed, and the accused was thus shut out from all means of vindicating their character. Under all these circumstances, and being most desirous to arrive at the true facts of the case, Dufferin eventually decided to act on the advice of his ministers, and issue a Royal Commission to three judges of high standing and integrity, in order to investigate Huntington's charges.*

Meanwhile, Parliament had assembled on the 13th of August. Owing to the understanding, at the adjournment, that no business was to be transacted beyond the reception of the Report of the Committee of Enquiry, which it was now well-known could be of no importance, several Conservative members from remote constituencies did not attend. The Opposition, however, being mainly from the adjoining central provinces, mustered in full force, refused to consent to a prorogation, and demanded to proceed to business, although the Committee of Enquiry had no report to lay before them. Ninety-two members of the House, comprising all the Opposition and several Conservatives, now presented a memorial to Dufferin, praying that Parliament should not be prorogued, but be allowed to continue the investigation of the Huntington charges. He replied that he was bound to take the course recommended by his constitutional advisers, which was to prorogue Parliament, as had been agreed to in May. He added, that a Royal Commission of Enquiry would be at once issued, and that Parliament would be again called together as soon as its report could be prepared. The House was accordingly prorogued, on the afternoon of the 13th, amid a scene of no small tumult, and many evidences of dissatisfaction. A few minutes after the prorogation, the Opposition held what might be termed an indignation meeting, in the Railway Committee room; and the Governor-General was strongly denounced for the course he had pursued. He was afterwards most bitterly assailed by the Reform Press throughout the country, and a considerable period elapsed before he recovered his former popularity. But now that the lapse of time, and freedom from the prejudices and passions of the hour, enable his policy to be more fairly considered, it must be conceded that in being guided by the counsel of his constitutional advisers, he pursued the true and only proper course open to him. On the 14th he issued a Royal Commission to three judges, Day Polette and Gowan, with power to enquire into the Pacific Railway Scandal in the fullest manner, a duty afterwards performed to the entire satisfaction of the people. The Commission met at Ottawa on the 4th of September, and continued its sittings until the 17th of October, when its final report was made. It examined thirty-six witnesses, among whom were several Cabinet ministers, and the testimony given before it fully established the fact, that Sir Hugh Allan had subscribed a large sum to aid the Government in the recent elections, and that circum-

* Lord Dufferin's despatch to Earl Kimberley, Aug. 18th, 1873.

stances clearly indicated he had, as a consequence, been unduly favoured in the matter of the Canadian Pacific Railway contract. But the evidence also showed that no special agreement, with that object in view, had been made between ministers and Allan. It further established the fact, that, with the exception of Cartier and Macdonald, all the members of the Cabinet were wholly blameless in the matter. Both Huntington and G. W. McMullen refused to appear before the Commission, on the ostensible plea that it was an invasion of Parliamentary privilege. But the true cause of their absence evidently arose from their unwillingness to disclose the manner, in which they had become possessed of private telegrams and documents. The ministers and other witnesses examined gave their evidence fairly and frankly; and Macdonald candidly admitted that while he had paid his own election expenses from his private resources, he did get forty thousand dollars from Allan to assist his friends. This candour benefited him in no small degree. The public was well aware that money had been lavishly spent at both sides during the recent, as well as in former, elections; that in this respect ministers were no more blamable than their opponents; and that their chief offence lay, not so much in assisting their friends, as in taking money from a man seeking a public contract of great magnitude, and who got that contract afterwards.

Parliament met on the 23rd of October. The whole country was now greatly excited, and the final result of the Allan matter was looked for with the most absorbing interest. The spacious Senate chamber was crowded to its utmost capacity, when the speech from the throne was delivered. It was unusually brief, and announced that the Report of the Royal Commission had been completed, would be laid before Parliament, and deserved the most careful consideration. It also announced, that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, having been unable to make the necessary financial arrangements, had surrendered its charter. Huntington's charges had proved as fatal to it as to the Ministry, and all Allan's tortuous and crafty efforts to elevate himself to a higher business plane, and add to his already great wealth, lay in broken fragments at his feet. "His sin had surely found him out," became its own Nemesis, and pointedly illustrated, afresh, the vanity of the most solidly laid human hopes and expectations.

The debate on the address lasted a whole week, in the course of which many supporters of the Government went over to the Opposition. Some very able speeches were delivered, but the ablest of all was that made by Blake, and distinguished by remarkable power, great wealth of invective, and a cutting irony that told heavily against ministers. The Premier made a very eloquent and forcible appeal to his supporters, but without avail. Alexander Mackenzie, now leader of the Opposition, moved a direct want of confidence resolution, but the Cabinet, in order to avoid certain defeat, resigned before it was pressed to a vote. The hitherto

fortunate star of Sir John A. Macdonald had suddenly sank below the horizon, and it appeared, at the time, as though it would never again be in the ascendant. On the 5th of November, the Governor-General sent for Mackenzie, and entrusted to him the task of forming a new administration,* which he succeeded in doing in two days, and Parliament was then prorogued. On the day of its resignation the retiring Ministry appointed John Crawford, of Toronto, Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, Samuel L. Tilley Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick; and filled several other vacant offices. Although this conduct was open to serious objection, the Mackenzie Cabinet acted magnanimously, and permitted these appointments to stand.

The public policy of the Mackenzie administration was very soon fully announced. It embraced the construction of the Pacific Railway, improvement of the Insolvent Laws, establishing a Court of Appeal for the Dominion, vote by ballot, and the passage of an act to prevent bribery and corruption at elections. Although the question of incidental protection to manufacturers had now become a very prominent one, it was left wholly untouched. But while Mackenzie felt assured of a strong support in the House of Commons, he was well aware that the majority of the Senate was Conservative. On the 22nd of December, the Cabinet, accordingly, recommended that six additional members be added to that body, in accordance with the 26th section of the British North America Act. The Home Government, however, declined to accede to this demand, on the ground that the Mackenzie Cabinet not having yet met Parliament, the fact of a "serious adverse majority, on the part of the Senate, could not be established," and there were no grounds, therefore, for altering the constitutional number of its members.† The new ministers were all returned either by acclamation or by large majorities. But Mackenzie was not satisfied with this measure of public approval, as regarded his Cabinet. The recent revelations of ministerial corruption had greatly weakened the Conservative Party, and the Premier and his friends had every reason to suppose, that an appeal to the country must result greatly in their favour. The Governor-General was accordingly advised, that many members of the existing Parliament had been returned by corruption, and that a dissolution was necessary to purge it of them. Dufferin promptly assented to this demand, Parliament was accordingly dissolved on the 2nd

* The new ministry stood as follows:—Alex. Mackenzie, Public Works; Antoine A. Dorion, Justice; Edward Blake, without Portfolio; Albert J. Smith, Marine and Fisheries; Letellier de St. Just. Agriculture; Richard J. Cartwright, Finance; David Laird, Minister of the Interior; David Christie, Secretary of State; Isaac Burpee, Postmaster General; Donald A. Macdonald, Dy. Postmaster General; Thomas Coffin, Receiver General; Telephone Fournier, Inland Revenue; William Ross, Militia and Defence; Richard W. Scott, without Portfolio.

† Earl Kimberley to Earl Dufferin, February 18th, 1874.

of January, and writs at once issued for a new election. The people responded to this appeal by sending a large majority to support the new Reform Administration ; and the Conservative Party, recently so formidable and so cohesive, lay prostrate and broken by utter defeat.

Shortly after the opening of the new year, some changes took place in the Cabinet. David Christie, Secretary of State, was appointed speaker of the Senate ; Huntington became 1874. President of the Privy Council, and Blake resigned his position as a minister without any ministerial duties to perform. When Parliament met, on the 26th of March, the Mackenzie Cabinet found itself supported by the large majority of 80 in a chamber of 206 members, and was evidently in secure possession of a long lease of power, unless compromised by some serious blunder. Dufferin's opening speech announced, that the enactment of 1872 having failed to secure the prosecution of the Canadian Pacific Railway, it remained for Parliament to take the necessary steps to fulfil the agreement with British Columbia. The report of the Chief Engineer would show the progress that had been made on the survey of the line. The system of vote by ballot, now prevailing in Great Britain, was also recommended for consideration ; as well as a report of the progress made in the construction of the Intercolonial Railway. Allusion was also made to the compensation due the Dominion by the United States, under the Treaty of Washington, and to the circumstance that negotiations had been set on foot for a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty. George Brown, who had recently been created a senator, was afterwards appointed a commissioner to secure reciprocity with our neighbours, the negotiations touching which, however, finally ended in total failure.

The address, in reply to Dufferin's speech from the throne, was moved by Thomas Moss, of Toronto, and seconded by Wilfred Laurier, both new members of Parliament, and was adopted without amendment. On the forenoon of the 30th of March, Louis Riel, who had been elected for Provencher, went secretly to the Clerk of the House of Commons and was duly sworn in. The news of his presence in Ottawa quickly spread through the city, led to the greatest excitement, and it was deemed advisable to call out a corps of volunteers, and take other effective measures to prevent a riot. At the evening session the galleries were crowded to excess, in expectation that Riel would take his seat ; but he did not make his appearance. As the ministerial side of the Commons did not appear disposed to take any steps in the matter, Mackenzie Bowell, the member for North Hastings, moved that Attorney-General Clark, of Manitoba, attend at the Bar of the House, on the following day, to answer certain questions relative to an indictment, which had been found against Riel for the murder of Scott. The motion was agreed to. Clark attended as ordered, and notwithstanding a good deal of opposition from the French-Canadian side of the House, stated that he knew Louis Riel, and that he recognis-

ed his signature on the members' roll. He further stated, that at the recent extra term of the Manitoba Court of Queen's Bench, a true bill had been found against Riel 'for murder, that a warrant had been issued for his arrest, that he had fled from the Province, and that steps had been taken against him in outlawry. After a long and acrimonious debate, during which Mackenzie exhibited none of his whilom eagerness to punish the slayers of Scott, and he and all his colleagues instead kept discreetly silent, a motion, made by Bowell, that Riel attend in his place on the following day, was carried. But as Riel did not obey the order, and silently disappeared from Ottawa, Bowell, on the 15th of April, moved his expulsion from the House, on the ground that an indictment for murder had been found against him, and that he was a fugitive from justice, which was agreed to by a vote of 124 to 68. Riel was re-elected for Provencher, but did not again make his appearance at Ottawa. It appears that he was at once secreted by his friends in the Beauport Asylum at Quebec, then partly a private and partly a public institution, where his name was entered in the books as La Rochelle, in order to conceal his identity more effectually. Here he was quietly kept for nearly nineteen months, and all trace of him was completely lost.* Meanwhile a true bill for the murder of Scott had also been found against Lepine, who had been arrested, and now lay in gaol at Winnipeg awaiting his trial. Blake and Mackenzie, who had formerly been so outspoken as to their great desire to vindicate the cause of justice, and who, as members of the Ontario Legislature, had at one time made all the political capital possible, by offering \$5000 for the capture of Riel, were now greatly blamed by the public for their total failure to act consistently with their former zealous professions, and for timidly bending instead to political exigencies. On the 1st of April Donald A. Smith, one of the Manitoba members, moved for a committee of enquiry into the North-West troubles of 1869-70, especially with reference to the question of amnesty, which was agreed to. On the 15th, Richard Cartwright, the new Finance Minister, made his budget speech, and introduced a series of resolutions relative to changes in the tariff, which he estimated would increase the annual fiscal taxation some three millions of dollars. This announcement was not, by any means, favourably received by the classes immediately affected, and provoked a storm of hostile criticism. He increased the duty on raw material, while he lowered it on goods manufactured therefrom; taxed articles largely consumed by the poorer classes, and unwisely made changes otherwise, which created a good deal of inconvenience and hardship, while they added but little to the general revenue.

* See evidence of Dr. Roy in Blue Book for 1885, p. 153. Roy says, at first, that Riel was discharged from the Beauport Asylum on the 21st of January 1876, which would give about nineteen months from the time of his flight from Ottawa. It would seem from his evidence afterwards that Riel was also in the Asylum in 1878, but the anachronism must have arisen from a printer's error.

During the session, an act was passed developing a new system for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. It was to run from a point south of Lake Nipissing to some harbour on the sea-coast of British Columbia ; ten thousand dollars per mile were to be paid, in cash, to the contractors, whoever they might be, as the work proceeded, with an interest guarantee of four per centum per annum for twenty-five years. Alternate blocks of land, along the line, of twenty square miles each, were to be appropriated to pay for the road. This land was to be sold by the Government, which might, however, at its pleasure, construct the railway as a public work. The provisions of the bill were very complicated, when compared with the simple act of 1872.* While the measure was under discussion, Mackenzie was strongly pressed, by the members from British Columbia, to state when the building of the road, at its western extremity, would be commenced ; but could give no definite answer, and pleaded, as his excuse, that the surveys had not yet been completed. An act was passed authorising a loan of eight million pounds sterling, to be spent in the construction of the Pacific Railway, and the improvement of the St. Lawrence Canals. Another act took the construction of the Intercolonial Railway out of the hands of the commissioners, and placed it under the control of the Department of Public Works. The Premier thus seriously added to his responsibilities. Parliament was prorogued on the 26th of May. Out of 118 bills passed during the session, an act to amend the Extradition Treaty with the United States was alone reserved for the consideration of the Crown. Early in June, Dufferin, accompanied by his countess, made a grand tour through Ontario, and was well-received everywhere.† His ready wit and plausible Irish tongue won their way, in the form of fluent and well-turned speeches, into the good opinion of his hearers ; and the winning manners of his gifted wife touched the Canadian heart, and completed their joint conquest of the people generally.

The summer brought with it few public events of any great importance. Some changes took place in the Cabinet. Dorion became Chief Justice of the Province of Quebec, and was succeeded by Fournier. At the Winnipeg autumn assizes, Lepine was tried for aiding and abetting the murder of Scott, found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged on the 29th of the ensuing month of January. This occurrence greatly disturbed the French-Canadian population ; and the Government was flooded with petitions for the pardon of the condemned man. In addition to the racial difficulty, party and religious feeling ran so high over the matter, that the Cabinet became greatly alarmed, and felt very unwilling to deal with it in any shape. To reprieve Lepine would cause serious dissatisfaction among the Protestant and English-speaking part of the community ;

* *Vide* 37 Vic., Chap. 14.

† Leggo's Administration of the Earl of Dufferin, pp. 294, 295.

to execute him would cause still more serious dissatisfaction among its French-Canadian section. To escape from the difficult position in which it now found itself, the Cabinet endeavoured to get the Home Government to act in the matter, and passed the necessary reference order in council. Dufferin, accordingly, in a lucid and forcible despatch, laid the whole case fully and fairly before the Earl of Carnarvon, now Colonial Secretary. He added, as his own opinion, that, owing to all the surrounding circumstances, it was impossible to subject Lepine to the extreme penalty of the law; that his sentence had better be commuted; and that he stood prepared, under the approval of the Crown, to order a commutation on his own personal responsibility.* The Home Government promptly proceeded to consider the grave question submitted for its consideration, and its final decision was forwarded, in a lengthy and able despatch, from the Colonial Secretary. The whole

question at issue was fully reviewed, and it was explicitly 1875. declared, that notwithstanding the statements of Archbishop

Tache, the Abbe Richot, and others, the promised amnesty for rebellious offences at the North-West did not cover the murder of Scott, and that the right of the Crown to enforce the law was left equally untouched by the compromising course afterwards pursued by Lieutenant-Governor Archibald, who was simply the agent of the Dominion Government, and in no way represented the sovereign. Nevertheless, under all the circumstances of the case, Dufferin's opinion as to the wisdom of granting a commutation of Lepine's sentence was approved of, and the matter was finally and fully left in his hands.† He accordingly, on the 15th of January, issued an order directed to the Minister of Justice, acquainting him that Lepine's sentence had been commuted to two years' imprisonment in gaol, commencing from the date of his conviction on the preceding 10th of October, and the permanent forfeiture of all his political rights. The course pursued by Dufferin, in taking this action without the advice of his ministers, and inflicting a punishment wholly inadequate to the grave nature of the offence, and scarcely equalling that which should be imposed in a very ordinary case of manslaughter, did not go unchallenged, and was exceedingly distasteful to the majority of Canadians. Sir John A. Macdonald tersely expressed the very general feeling, when he said, "if this be proper a man may be unlawfully hung in Canada without anyone being responsible for it." On the 16th of April, the matter was brought up in the House of Lords, as one involving a grave constitutional question. It was, however, dealt with very gently there, and Dufferin's conduct elicited more praise than blame, as relieving the Home Government, and his own Cabinet as well, of a grave responsibility.‡ But whatever may have been Dufferin's real motive for the course he had pursued—whether he

* Dufferin to Carnarvon, December 10th, 1874.

† Carnarvon to Dufferin, January 7th, 1875.

‡ *Vide* 223 Hansard p. 1065.

was anxious to relieve his ministers from their embarrassing position, and so placate them for his apparently hostile conduct during the fall of the Macdonald administration, in 1873 ; or, whether he was popularity hunting with the French-Canadians purely on his own account, there was, as regards Lepine, a substantial failure of justice—a failure which greatly gratified the *Metis* of the North-West, gave them an extraordinary idea of their own consequence, and so led, in no small degree, to the second Riel rebellion.

Parliament met on the 4th of February. The opening speech congratulated the House on the organisation of the North-West Police Force, an excellent body of light cavalry, and the success with which it had entered upon its duties ; the negotiation of a friendly treaty with the Crees and Salteaux Indians, extinguishing their title ; and the gratifying progress that had been made in the survey of the Pacific Railway. The address, in reply, having been disposed of, the Premier, on the 11th of February, moved that a full amnesty should be granted to all persons concerned in the North-West troubles, with the exception of Riel, Lepine and O'Donohoe, who were to be first banished from the Dominion for five years, and then amnestied also. This motion was carried by a vote of 126 to 50. The Ministry was very sharply criticised by the Conservative, and a part of the Reform press, for its final action in this matter, so utterly at variance with the former professions of the Reform Party. Mackenzie and his friends had strongly, and very properly, condemned the shuffling policy of the Macdonald Cabinet as regarded Riel ; and, yet, during the recent amnesty debate they had pleaded that policy as a justification for their present course. Circumstances had indeed altered cases, so far as they were concerned. They now required French-Canadian support, just as the Macdonald Cabinet had required it, and they weakly bowed to the exigencies of the hour. The amnesty motion was followed up by the expulsion of Riel from the House, and a new writ for Provencher was directed to be issued.

During the session, the Premier introduced a bill to provide for the construction of a line of railway from Esquimaux to the Nanaimo coal-fields, in Vancouver Island, a distance of some 160 miles. The construction of this railway was part of the penalty the Dominion had to pay, in accordance with what was known as the Carnarvon terms, for not fulfilling its contract with British Columbia, as regarded the commencement of the Pacific Railway within the time prescribed by the act of union. That Province had threatened to secede from the Confederation, and pressed its case so strongly on the attention of the Home Government, that the latter had to interfere, and urged upon the Dominion Cabinet the necessity of carrying out its agreement. After a good deal of negotiation between the contracting parties, the Colonial Secretary, as an impartial and friendly adviser, recommended that a compromise be agreed to, embodying the immediate commencement of a railway from Esquimaux to Nanaimo, that the surveying parties

on the mainland in British Columbia should be strengthened, that the Pacific Railway should be fully completed in 1890, and that at least two million dollars should be annually expended on its construction.* The Premier's bill, which included an arrangement for carrying out this compromise, met with considerable opposition in the Commons. Blake condemned it in very decided language, declared that "there was no obligation to carry out the "Carnarvon terms," and stated that, in assenting to this bill, the House was practically endorsing these terms."† The bill, however, was finally agreed to, on a vote of 91 to 64, but defeated in the Senate by a majority of two. Among those who voted against the measure, in the latter chamber, were some of the senators recently appointed by Mackenzie himself. The Premier, accordingly, was at once charged with double-dealing, and with having pre-arranged the defeat. But circumstances afterwards showed that there was no foundation for this accusation, and that he had acted in the matter with honesty and candour.‡ The people of British Columbia were deeply incensed at the failure of this measure. Their solemn union treaty with the Dominion, in 1871, had been a dead letter for four years, and the future prospect of a better state of things was not at all bright. The remainder of the session saw the passage of a Supreme Court Bill, and a bill for the government of the North-West Territories by a Lieutenant-Governor and five councillors, of whom three were to be Stipendiary Magistrates. Sir John A. Macdonald's course was at once a dignified and a wise one. Despite the harsh and unfair methods which had tended to his downfall, and although leading a minority in the House embracing several men of much ability and great Parliamentary experience, he declined to indulge in any obstructive tactics; and, instead, evinced a disposition to assist the Government in all its beneficial legislation. That was his true policy, and won golden opinions for himself. And now that times were getting hard throughout Canada, its people began to look back with regret at his fall, and to long for the return of the prosperity which had existed under his administration.

Parliament was prorogued on the 8th of April. Shortly afterwards some changes took place in the Cabinet; and, on the 19th of May, Blake accepted the portfolio of Minister of Justice. In the latter part of the month, Dufferin and his Countess left Ottawa on a visit to the Mother Country, and did not return until late in the autumn. On the 8th of October, the Dominion Supreme Court was organised, and William Buell Richards, formerly of Brockville, was appointed its first Chief Justice, to be afterwards knighted by his sovereign. Towards the close of summer the

* Carnarvon's despatch to Dufferin, August 16th 1874. Dominion Statistical Abstract and Record for 1886, p. 301.

† *Vide* Dominion Hansard 1875, p. 957.

‡ *Vide* Lord Dufferin's speech at Victoria, British Columbia, in September 1876.

survey of the Pacific Railway had been almost completed, and very plainly demonstrated that the "magnificent water stretches," so favourably regarded by the Mackenzie Cabinet, as forming part of a trans-continental through line of travel to the Pacific Ocean, were, aside from Lakes Huron and Superior, of little or no practical value; and that an all-rail route, giving both a summer and winter connection, was an absolute necessity. On the 3rd of April, the Government having become sensible of the desirability of providing direct communication with the North-West, through Canadian territory, commenced the construction of a railway from Port Arthur, on Lake Superior, to Winnipeg. The idea of a part water route and part land route by way of the Lake of the Woods had now been wholly abandoned, but not, however, until after a considerable expenditure had been already incurred. As the year wore away it became more and more apparent, that the simple proposition of the Macdonald administration, to assist the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway by a subsidy of thirty million dollars and fifty million acres of land, was the true one. The unsatisfactory railway policy of the Mackenzie Cabinet was fast increasing its difficulties; and the offer recently made of paying the twenty thousand people of British Columbia \$750,000, in lieu of building the Esquimault and Nanaimo Railway, was received by them with great disfavour, and at once rejected.

Parliament assembled on the 10th of February. The opening speech alluded to the great depression in general business, which now affected alike the Old World and the New, but 1876. which was rendered less severe in Canada by the abundant harvest of the preceding year. The near completion of the Inter-colonial Railway was announced, as well as the opening of the Prince Edward Island Railway, and the earnest effort that was now being made by the Government of the Dominion, in order to obtain a settlement, under the Treaty of Washington, of its claims for the use of our fisheries by the United States. Towards the close of the month, the Finance Minister delivered his budget speech, showing the revenue receipts, during the preceding fiscal year, to be \$24,648,715, and the expenditure \$23,713,071. On the 28th of March, De Cosmos, a British Columbia member, made a motion, which after briefly reciting the union agreement with his Province, in 1871, set forth that work on the Pacific Railway should at once be commenced, and vigorously prosecuted to completion. An animated discussion ensued, which terminated in the rejection of the motion. The Home Government had again to interfere, in what now appeared to be an interminable controversy, and which must eventually end, sooner or later, in the secession of British Columbia from the union.

Parliament was prorogued on the 12th of April, when thirty-nine public and thirty-six private bills were assented to. One act granted "better terms" to Manitoba, in the shape of an additional subsidy, for six years and a half, of \$26,746 per annum. Another

act provided that witnesses before Parliamentary committees could now be examined under oath, the Imperial Parliament having given its consent to this proceeding. The remainder of the legislation was of a routine character. During the entire session, the debates had been unusually dull, and the amount of important measures very limited. The existing general stagnation of trade had led to some discussion, but no one appeared competent to suggest a remedy. The Opposition were unusually quiet, and had contented themselves with a subdued criticism of the Government policy, or rather of its want of a policy, as occasion presented itself. As a rule, Cabinet measures were of such a routine nature as to provoke little discussion, and the Government drifted placidly onwards on the current of time, and the Opposition drifted, side by side, in much the same mood. Summer brought with it few events of any public importance. With the exception of British Columbia, the various provinces of the Dominion were content with their political condition. In October, some interesting news-items descended on the older provinces from the North-West. Lieutenant-Governor Morris and his two assistant commissioners, had made favourable treaties, at Carleton and Fort Pitt, with the Crees and other kindred tribes, by which 200,000 square miles of land, in the Fertile Belt, were freed from the Indian title, and fully ceded to the Dominion. The commissioners were accompanied by a guard of two troops of the Mounted Police, who made a brave show in their scarlet tunics, and profoundly impressed the Indians. On the 31st of July, the Governor-General and Lady Dufferin commenced their journey to British Columbia. A large crowd, among whom were the Premier and other public functionaries, assembled to witness their departure, and wish them God-speed. During their absence they made a complete tour of the more accessible portions of the Pacific Province. Dufferin was everywhere received with the greatest enthusiasm, and did much, by his tact and eloquence, to smooth over existing difficulties with the Dominion Government, and to cause the secession feeling to disappear. Victoria, the capital of British Columbia, celebrated, by a general holiday, his arrival in the *Amethyst* man-of-war. As he landed amid the thunder of her guns, he was welcomed by Sir James Douglas, chairman of the Reception Committee. The little city was profusely decorated in honour of its distinguished visitor. Triumphant arches spanned the streets, and a grand illumination turned the ensuing night into day. The Chinese quarter was the most brilliant of all. Numerous mottoes decorated the arches, several of which had relation to the existing difficulties, and one emphatically declared for the Carnarvon terms or separation. The streets resounded with music and rejoicing, and a grand levee, held in the chamber of the Legislative Assembly, was crowded with citizens, eager to pay their homage to the representative of their sovereign. Dufferin was greatly impressed with the grandeur of the scenery, and the vast resources of British Columbia ;

so rich in mines and minerals—in the products of the sea, the rivers, the forests. He found it a different country altogether, from the desolate wilderness described by Canadian pessimistic politicians, and apparently with a bright future before it. On his return journey Dufferin diverged to the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, and was greatly gratified at the high stand taken there by a young country like Canada. In the various productions of the glee she took a foremost position; while her horses and her farm stock, her butter and her cheese, excited general admiration. Her exhibition of the products of the forest and the mine was a magnificent one. There was gold from the Pacific Province; silver, platinum, nickel, and copper, from the Lake Superior region; iron and coal, marble and building stone, of the finest qualities; elegant furniture, made from native woods; excellent cotton and woollen fabrics from her own looms; the richest furs, the finest fish. The extent, the excellence, the variety of her exhibits, astonished the vast crowds that thronged the halls of this great exhibition; and raised Canada immeasurably in the eyes of the world. Greatly pleased with all he had seen during his prolonged tour, Dufferin reached Ottawa and home on the 22nd of October.

Parliament met on the 8th of February. In his opening speech, which was rather longer than usual, Dufferin gracefully alluded to his visit to British Columbia, to the great success 1877. of the Dominion at the Philadelphia Exhibition, to the opening of the Intercolonial Railway for traffic, to other matters of general public interest. Twelve days afterwards, the Finance Minister, Cartwright, made his budget speech. The revenue now exhibited a serious deficit of nearly two million dollars, the receipts for the past fiscal year standing at \$22,587,000, the expenditure at \$24,448,000. He proposed some changes in the tariff, which would add half a million to the revenue. When his fiscal resolutions came up for consideration, on the 2nd of March, Macdonald moved an amendment to the effect, that taxation was being increased without any compensation to Canadian interests, and that the tariff should be so adjusted as to benefit the agricultural, mining, and manufacturing interests of the country. In this amendment lay the germ of his "National Policy," which afterwards gave him such a long lease of power. The debate which followed was a lengthy and serious one. On the 15th, an amendment to the amendment, that the tariff should be a twenty per cent. one, was voted down by 109 to 78. A fresh amendment, stating that the tariff should be so arranged as to relieve Canadian farmers from the one-sided and unjust United States' tariff, shared the same fate, on the 22nd, by a vote of 113 to 74. Macdonald's amendment was finally defeated by 119 to 70. The original motion was then carried by a majority of 51. The debate produced a profound impression on the public mind, and, in connection with the existing commercial depression, and the large deficit in the general revenue, created a wide-spread feeling

that the Mackenzie Cabinet was unequal to the safe direction of the affairs of the Dominion. On the 14th of March, De Cosmos moved for a committee to enquire into the progress made with the surveys of the Pacific Railway. The old charges and the old excuses were revived during the debate which ensued. Mackenzie showed little disposition to meet the views of British Columbia; whose people now became more dissatisfied than ever. Parliament was prorogued on the 28th of April, when fifty-one public and thirty-five local and private bills were assented to, none of which were in any way remarkable or worthy of special notice. On the 8th of June Blake resigned the portfolio of Minister of Justice, and became President of the Privy Council. Failing health was assigned as the ostensible cause of the translation; but the true cause was said to be disgust at the sharp way in which he had recently been assailed, not only by the Conservative press, but also by the *Globe*, for the unwise manner in which he had advised the exercise of the pardoning power.

On the 15th of June, the Commission appointed, under the Treaty of Washington, to determine the sum to be paid to Canada for the use of her fisheries, met at Halifax. It sat until the 23rd of the following November, and finally, after hearing a vast amount of evidence, awarded five and a half million dollars in gold to the Dominion; the American Commissioners alone dissenting. The case was ably managed by the Canadian Counsel; and for once, in their lives, our American cousins did not get the better of us in an arbitration. On October 8th, Wilfred Laurier, a French-Canadian barrister, already greatly distinguished for his fervid eloquence and fine debating powers, entered the Cabinet as Minister of Inland Revenue, *vice* J. E. Cauchon, who had resigned in order to take the Lieutenant-Governorship of Manitoba, where he proved a most unpopular administrator. The retiring Lieutenant-Governor, Alexander Morris, had done wonders for that Province, during his term of five years. He found it in a transition state, with a heterogeneous, and, in part, semi-civilised population, difficult to reconcile and assimilate, and left it greatly changed for the better. He did much otherwise for its political and moral welfare; and by his administrative ability and kindly sociable ways, won not only the general respect of the whole people but also their love. These qualities had likewise made him an admirable ambassador to the Indian tribes, and largely tended to a satisfactory solution of the various difficult questions, which arose, from time to time, with regard to them. Dufferin visited the Province during the summer, and received a cordial welcome wherever he went. His Premier, however, Mr. Mackenzie, met with a very different reception in another direction—the Maritime Provinces. In some places he was permitted to pass onwards in total silence, in others he encountered direct opposition. At Charlottetown, after he had addressed a meeting composed of some five hundred people, Davies, the local premier, asked if the

Doninion Cabinet had not done the island justice, and the answer was almost a general and vociferous, no ! At Truro and elsewhere the extensively advertised Reform picnics, organised for his reception, were very poorly attended. His extreme free-trade policy had become as unpopular in the lower provinces as it was in the upper ones. As time moved onwards, this fact became more plainly apparent ; but he still obstinately declined to alter his line of policy, and adopt that prudent middle course, which would have satisfied the people, which they considered was best suited to their peculiar condition, and which would have certainly retained himself in power.

Meanwhile, the Conservative Party was gradually recovering from the effects of the severe defeat it had received, owing to the Pacific Scandal matter. The weak and vacillating policy of the Government, had already begun to tell strongly in favour of that party. Its still acknowledged leader, Sir John A. Macdonald, had borne his well-merited punishment with fortitude and calm resignation. This politic course commended itself to the public mind, and a large section of the people now evinced a disposition to concede absolution for his past offences. An astute judge of human nature, as he was, he saw clearly that the tide of popular opinion had commenced to turn well in his favour, and that his policy, in patiently waiting for a fitting and secure opportunity to assail the enemy, was likely to bear important fruit ere long. During the summer he attended several large gatherings of his friends and supporters, and was received with greater enthusiasm than at any former period of his public career. On the 22nd of September, he met an enormous concourse at the Town of Brockville, which was gaily decorated with flags of all kinds, triumphal arches, and other symbols of welcome ; and even Reformers assisted to do him honour. At a great public meeting, held in a pleasant grove, he adversely and wittily criticised the free-trade policy of the Mackenzie administration, which he declared had produced the annual deficits in the Dominion exchequer, and otherwise worked the country much woe ; while, at the same time, he pointed to his National Policy scheme, as the sovereign remedy for existing difficulties, and the only regenerator of general prosperity. At night, a huge torchlight procession illuminated the streets as Macdonald passed along, amid the hearty cheers of the people.* Farther to the east, the Highlanders of Glengarry forgot, for the

* Among the numerous flag mottoes, borne in the afternoon procession on this occasion, was the following, which is given to show the trend of public opinion at this period :—

1872, *Under Liberal-Conservative Rule*.—A Contented People ; Statesmen at the Helm ; Yearly Surpluses ; Prosperous Mechanics ; Trade Flourishing ; Commerce Thriving ; Taxation Reduced.

1877, *Under Grit Misrule*.—A Taxed Breakfast Table ; Increased Expenditure ; Yearly Déficits ; Workshops Closed ; Trade Paralysed ; Commerce Stagnant ; Taxation Increased ; National Discontent.

time, their political differences, as they gathered in great crowds to greet their countryman, and clansman as well ; while the industrial classes of Toronto, and other large centres of population, now suffering for want of employment, found fresh comfort in his honied and plausible assurances, and hailed him as the fast friend of the working man. Despite all his faults and failings he had a wonderful faculty of winning people, of even opposing shades of opinion, to his side, and proved himself to be a born-ruler of men. The signs of the times showed plainly that he was again the "coming man," and that even the unsavoury memories of the Pacific Scandal would not long stand in the way of his restoration to public favour.

Towards the latter part of October came the news, that a successful treaty had been at last made with the Blackfeet Indians, the fiercest, and hitherto the most intractable, of all the North-West tribes. Those Americans who knew them best laughed at the idea that a treaty could be made with them. But it had been most satisfactorily made, nevertheless, and the whole of the vast region (the Indian reserves alone excepted) extending from Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains, and from the boundary line to Great Slave Lake, was now open for white settlement. To facilitate treaty-making with the Indian tribes of the North-West, the whole country had been mapped out into seven districts. The first treaty, which covered the entire Province of Manitoba, was made in 1871 between Lieutenant-Governor Archibald, on the one part, and the Crees and Chippewas, on the other. The second treaty, made, in the following year, with another tribe of the Chippewas, embraced a district lying to the north and west of Lake Winnipeg. The third treaty was made, on the 3rd of October, 1873, with the Salteaux and Ojibways, and covered a tract of fifty thousand square miles, extending east of Manitoba to the limits of the Province of Ontario, and through which lay the route of the Pacific Railway. The fourth treaty was made with a part of the Crees and Salteaux, on the 15th of September, 1874, at Qu'Appelle Lake, and embraced a tract of seventy-five thousand square miles, extending from the boundary line, as laid down in the second treaty, to the South Saskatchewan River, to Cypress Hills in the west, to the Red River, and to the United States on the south. The fifth treaty, made in the autumn of 1875, covered the country lying east of Lake Winnipegosis, and on either side of Lake Winnipeg. The sixth treaty was made in 1876, and included the territory lying along the North Saskatchewan River, and extending to the Rocky Mountains. The seventh and last treaty, made with the Blackfeet Indians and their kindred tribes, the Bloods and Piegiens, covered all the country lying along the United States boundary line, from the Cypress Hills to British Columbia. Four of these treaties had been made under the auspices of Lieutenant-Governor Morris, who had been very successful in dealing with the various Cree tribes, who had always occupied the greater part of

the North-West from the time it first became known to the white man. The terms of the treaty made with the Blackfeet, were much the same as those conceded to the other Indians. Twelve dollars in cash for every member of the tribe, young and old, were to be paid on its completion. In addition, there was to be an annual payment forever of five dollars per head. A suit of clothes, a flag, and a medal, were to be given to each chief every three years. For every five persons one square mile of land was to be set apart as a reserve. They were also to get cattle and seed potatoes, and receive other minor benefits. Three days were occupied in paying off the Blackfeet; and, then, the chiefs presented an address to the commissioners, expressing the entire satisfaction of the whole nation with the treaty, and the prompt and honourable way in which its terms, so far, had been carried out. They tendered their best wishes to their great mother, the Queen, to the Lieutenant-Governor, and to the Mounted Police Force. They spoke out their minds frankly and freely, noble savages as they were, and salvoes of artillery and musketry finally sealed a compact that has never been broken, on either side, from that day to this. When trouble afterwards arose during the dark days of the second Riel rebellion, the great Blackfeet chief, Crowfoot, held his tribe true to their allegiance, and it gave no trouble. Taken all in all, the Indians of the North-West, as well as those in other parts of Canada, have behaved, as a rule, remarkably well. They have been dealt with most justly; first by the Crown, and afterwards by the Dominion. Treaty-terms have been carefully fulfilled with them; and the wretched and most unsatisfactory state of Indian affairs in the United States has had no counterpart in Canada. During the summer, a large body of American Sioux Indians, who had been engaged in the Custer massacre, and had otherwise resisted the forces of the United States, made their escape over the border, under the leadership of Sitting Bull, and pitched their wigwams on Canadian soil. A new and dangerous element was thus introduced into North-West Indian affairs. But a temperate and prudent course, on the part of our authorities, tided safely over this new difficulty, and no serious complications arose. The fugitives were not ungrateful for their generous treatment; and when Buffalo became scarce, and other sources of subsistence failed them, they peaceably recrossed the border into their own country.

The old year went out, to join all its predecessors in the open grave of the past, and the new year came in. As January drew towards a close, Blake resigned his seat in the 1878. Cabinet, owing it was said to poor health. The Presidency of the Council, however, was a mere sinecure, involved no arduous duties, so the plea put forward could scarcely be the real one. The true cause of his resignation remained securely locked up in his own bosom, as he declined to take the public into his confidence. He took very little part in the business of the ensuing session, and was frequently absent from his place in the House. Parliament was

opened on the 7th of February. T. W. Anglin, the member for Gloucester, and the Reform speaker of the Commons, having, like a good many other members at this period, violated the Independence of Parliament Act by becoming interested in a contract with the Government, had found it necessary to resign his seat. He was re-elected, and again appointed speaker, on a vote of 116 to 52. On the following day, Dufferin delivered his opening speech. It alluded, among other matters, to the success of the Canadian exhibition at Sydney, New South Wales, to the preparations now being made to have this country well-represented at the Paris Exposition, to the disastrous fire which had caused such great destruction in the city of St. John, New Brunswick, during the preceding month of June, and to the grant of \$20,000 made by the Government to aid in relieving the distress which had resulted from this calamity. Among the bills to be introduced, was one to provide a general and uniform system for the control of the liquor traffic. The Supreme Court had recently given a decision, that the regulation of this traffic was beyond the jurisdiction of the Provincial Legislatures, and that a Dominion enactment had, therefore, become necessary. There was a sharp debate on the address. Macdonald condemned the uncertain policy of the Cabinet, and alluded to the general want of confidence in its administrative capacity. Masson, a leading Quebec Bleu, pointed to the fact, that the Government had been unable to get a young member from his province to move the address, solely because it had not been able to return a new member since the last session of the House, although several by-elections had taken place in the interval. The Conservative reaction, he added, was sweeping over Quebec. He then proceeded to read an extract from *L'Evenement*, the ablest French-Canadian organ of the Liberal Party, which stated that Blake had resigned his place in the Cabinet, because he was forced to move in too narrow a groove, and serve under a man who was his inferior in every respect. Mackenzie parried this coarse personal thrust with a good deal of dignity; but there can be very little doubt that the statement of *L'Evenement* formed at least one of Blake's reasons for retiring from the ministry. No amendment, however, was moved to the address, and it was permitted to pass without a division. On the 23rd of February, Cartwright delivered his budget speech, and admitted another large deficit in the annual revenue. He stated that the volume of commerce and trade had greatly decreased, under the influence of the general depression; that imports had been reduced by a third; and that the customs' revenue, during the past fiscal year, had decreased by three million dollars. A long debate ensued, to which, on the 7th of March, a new direction was given by Macdonald moving an amendment to the effect, that the welfare of Canada required the adoption of a "National Policy", which by a judicious readjustment of the tariff would benefit and foster the agricultural, the mining, the manufacturing, and the other interests of the Dominion;

that such a policy would prevent emigration in search of employment, restore prosperity to the struggling industries of the country, now so sadly depressed, prevent Canada from being made a sacrifice market for the manufacturers of the United States, and thus tend to produce a reciprocity of trade. The debate on this amendment lasted for five days, and was watched with the deepest interest by all classes of the community. The final vote stood at 114 for the Cabinet, to 77 for the Opposition.

On the 4th of March, a crisis of a novel character arose in the Province of Quebec. Lieutenant-Governor Letellier de St. Just found fault with his Cabinet for initiating some *ex post facto* legislation, with the object of compelling the payment of certain railway bonuses, instead of taking proceedings in the law courts for their recovery. After receiving explanations therefrom, he summarily dismissed the Conservative De Boucherville administration, his political opponents, although they were sustained by a majority in the Legislature. On the 7th of March, Letellier called upon Joly, the leader of the Rouge or Liberal Opposition in the Assembly, to form a new administration, and he undertook the task. On the following day, after a long and acrimonious debate, the Assembly, by a majority of 22, adopted a resolution to the effect, that the dismissal of the De Boucherville Cabinet had taken place without cause, was a danger to responsible government, and violated the liberties and will of the people. On the 9th of March the Quebec Legislature was prorogued with the usual ceremonies. On the 11th of April Macdonald moved, in the House of Commons, that the recent dismissal of his ministers, by the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, was unwise and subversive of the principles of responsible government. He supported his motion by a very able speech, in which the constitutional principles involved were fully reviewed. Letellier, he declared, had allowed legislation to proceed without a suggestion or warning, unceremoniously dismissed his ministers at the close of the session, and his proceeding was, accordingly, a veritable *coup d'état*. A long debate ensued, and the House appeared to hesitate as to what course had better be pursued under circumstances which had never before arisen, in any province of the Empire, where responsible government prevailed, and which was entirely opposed to the British idea of popular administration. But the Cabinet came to the aid of their Lieutenant-Governor, sustained the novel and dangerous precedent he had established, and Macdonald's motion was defeated by a strictly party vote. In the Senate, however, a similar motion was adopted on a vote of 37 to 20. "The prerogative right of dismissing a ministry," says a leading authority on constitutional precedent, "can only be exercised on grounds of public policy, and for reasons which are capable of being defended and justified to the local Assembly, as well as to the Queen through her ministers."* On the 1st of May, the Quebec

* *Vide* Todd's Constitutional Governor.

general elections took place, and its Legislature met for the despatch of business on the 9th of June. There were hot debates, in both chambers, over the dismissal of the De Boucherville Cabinet. In the Upper House, the action of Letellier was condemned by a vote of 16 to 5, in the Assembly there was one of a majority in his favour. But Joly declined to take the vote in the Upper House as a "no confidence" one; and declared that he would challenge the support of the Legislature on his general policy. A long correspondence ensued between the Lieutenant-Governor and the Governor-General; and there the whole matter rested for the time being.

On the 15th of March, the Secretary of State introduced, into the House of Commons, "The Canada Temperance Act," commonly known as the "Scott Act," a prohibitory measure, as to the sale of intoxicating liquors, which was exhaustively discussed in both chambers, as well as in the press. It repealed the former prohibitory law, "The Dunkin Act," wherever it was not actually in force, and, as a whole, was one of the most important social measures ever passed by Parliament. On the 4th of May, the Premier made his annual statement of the progress of the Pacific Railway, and admitted that all the necessary surveys had now been fully completed. He proposed to follow the route laid down by Sandford Fleming, the accomplished chief engineer of the road, and to make the Pacific terminus at Burrard Inlet. Parliament was prorogued on the 12th of May, without any further announcement having been made in connection with the construction of this great public work. Nor were any active steps afterwards taken for its prosecution; and a strong feeling of indignation, and even wrath, now took hold of the people of British Columbia. The local general elections in that province were held in May; its Reform government was utterly defeated, the opposition, led by Walkem, went back into power with increased support; and hostile measures, as regarded the dilatory railway policy of the Dominion Cabinet, were at once inaugurated. In August, the Legislature of the Province agreed to a resolution, asking the Crown for a separation from Canada, unless satisfactory steps were taken to fulfil the terms of union by the ensuing month of May.

The Canadian reign of the Earl of Dufferin was now drawing to a close. It began in storm, it ended in sunshine, and might well be said to be a brilliant and successful one throughout. While Parliament was still in session both chambers, and both sides of politics, united to do him honour, and to surround his approaching departure with pleasant memories. A joint address from the Senate and House of Commons was unanimously agreed upon. It was read by Mackenzie; Macdonald stood close to him as he did so; and the other Cabinet Ministers, and the other leaders of the Opposition, formed a semicircle before the throne, to endorse the proceeding by their presence; while fair women and representative men thronged the spacious Senate chamber. And then came the reply—so well-conceived, so appropriate to the occasion, so admir-

ably spoken. The people of Ottawa through their mayor and aldermen, also presented an address, which concluded with a warm prayer for the future welfare of his Excellency, and of his "noble consort," as well, who had contributed so much and so often, by her charming courtesy as a hostess, to their enjoyment and pleasure. By half-past seven o'clock, on the morning of the 7th of June, an immense crowd had already assembled at the steamboat wharf, in order to see their Excellencies embark on board the *Peerless*, the water route to Montreal having been selected. The parting was a painful one in many ways, so closely had the Earl and his Countess wound themselves around the hearts of the people; and many eyes were wet with tears. A similar scene occurred at Montreal; and, then, the vice-regal party passed downwards to Quebec, to reside there until their final departure took place. On the 27th of July, it was officially announced that the Marquis of Lorne, the son-in-law of the Queen, had been selected by the Beaconsfield Cabinet as the new Governor-General of Canada. On the 19th of October, the Earl of Dufferin finally left this country, amid such demonstrations of universal respect and good-will, from all classes and all nationalities, as had never been accorded to any of his predecessors.

Meanwhile, the excitement of a general election, for the House of Commons, had swept across the Dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific—from Nova Scotia to British Columbia—with most disastrous results to the Reform Party and the Mackenzie Administration. Parliament having fully lived out its term of five years, had been dissolved on the 17th of August, and the writs issued for a new election. The nominations took place on the 10th of September, and the polling on the 17th of the same month. Macdonald was defeated, in his ancient stronghold of Kingston, by Alexander Gunn, a wholesale merchant of that city. He was elected, however, for Marquette, in Manitoba, by acclamation; and for Victoria, British Columbia, by a majority of three hundred votes, and decided to sit for the latter city. On the other hand, Cartwright was defeated in his old constituency of Lennox, but afterwards found a seat in Centre Huron. Large numbers of the Reform Party, dissatisfied with the Mackenzie Cabinet, and regarding it as utterly unequal to the proper direction of the public affairs of the country, availed themselves of the secret ballot, now in use for the first time, to turn it out of power, and so sacrifice it for the general good. Mackenzie and other leaders of the Reform Party, had confidently anticipated a good working majority in their favour of at least twenty, and were lost in amazement at the utter defeat they had experienced. So the Cabinet determined not to face the new House of Commons, nor await a formal "want of confidence" motion, and resigned, accordingly, on the 16th of October. On the ensuing day, Dufferin sent for Macdonald to form another administration. The task was not a difficult one, and was fully accomplished by the 18th, and the new

Cabinet was sworn in, by the proper officers, on the same day.*

The great change which had taken place in public opinion, was almost as much of a surprise to Sir John A. Macdonald and his Conservative supporters, as it was to the leaders of the Reform Party; and it was now fully realised that the ballot had been an important factor in its accomplishment. Under the old system of open voting, it was a difficult matter for a life-long Conservative, or a life-long Reformer, to record his name against his party. Even if he felt that it were in the wrong, and pursuing a policy detrimental to the welfare of the country, he dare not provoke, as a rule, the personal odium which must necessarily accrue to himself by voting against it. But, with the secret ballot in his hand, he could now safely coerce his party, and punish it for its real or fancied wrong-doing, without losing his own place in its ranks. The ballot formed a new political force, a new lever of public opinion, a new element of personal independence. While it effectually weakened the tyranny of mere party, it taught the aspirant for Parliamentary honours, that he must, first of all things, stand well with public opinion, and that the old political shibboleths had lost much of their force and authority. In 1874 the moral effect of the Pacific Railway Scandal, and the general condemnation that it evoked, had enabled the Reform Party to win a magnificent victory at the polls. But Mackenzie and his friends made a grave mistake in supposing that this was a victory of their party, when it was in reality a victory of public opinion, and fraught with the lesson for them, that, if they would secure themselves in authority, they must continue to hold that opinion, forming as it did the essential element of success, solidly at their side. They had ridden into power under the ægis of banners emblazoned with mottoes such as "purity, retrenchment, no coalition, wise legislation, honest administration, down with jobbery, and destruction to bribery and corruption." But before a year had passed away these pretensions to public virtue, were, in many cases, ruthlessly torn aside by the exceedingly improper conduct on the part of the Reform candidates, or their friends, which the election courts revealed. Seat after seat which they had won were declared vacant; and the truth was now established, that if the Conservative Party were corrupt the Reform Party was equally so, and that one was not a whit purer or better than the other. And this truth must, sooner or later, become the unsatisfactory experience of every man, who is at all intimately

* The new Ministry was composed as follows :—

John A. Macdonald, Premier and Minister of Interior; Samuel L. Tilley, Finance; Charles Tupper, Public Works; H. L. Langevin, Postmaster-General; J. C. Aikens, Secretary of State; J. H. Pope, Agriculture; James Macdonald, Justice; Mackenzie Bowell, Customs; J. C. Pope, Marine and Fisheries; L. F. G. Baby, Inland Revenue; L. F. R. Masson, Militia and Defence; John O'Connor, President of Council; R. D. Wilmot, Speaker of Senate, without portfolio,

acquainted with the inner life of Canadian political parties. While the great body of the electorate are unquestionably honest, and always desirous to exercise the franchise legitimately, there exists, in every constituency from one end of the Dominion to the other, a small minority, who have little political, and still less moral principle, and care nothing about voting for either candidate unless they are paid for doing so. And, as a rule, this is the "reptile" minority that Parliamentary majorities very frequently rest upon, at least when parties become nearly balanced, and public opinion is not strongly moved by some unusual occurrence. Fortunately, however, there is a silver lining even to this cloud. Parliamentary majorities, although frequently produced by very sinister methods, have, under the force of honest public opinion, and the censorship of an acute and able press, made most admirable laws to prevent and punish electoral corruption. But until some law is devised, which will disfranchise altogether the purchasable or "reptile" elector, who always stands prepared to make merchandise of his vote, there can be no thorough purification of the franchise. There can be no doubt, however, that one important step in this direction, would be a law compelling every qualified elector, who is not incapacitated by sickness or other sufficient cause, to cast his ballot on election day, or, at least, disfranchising him for a certain number of years if he fails to do so.

The Reform Party, in its best days, when it was led by Robert Baldwin or his immediate successors, had done much for the people of Canada, morally and materially, and had well-earned a large measure of their gratitude. Its great victory of 1874 had restored it to power with a good deal of its ancient prestige and authority, and much, accordingly, was expected from it. Mackenzie had a reputation for great political sagacity, was a consummate master of detail, and, as a provincial minister, could scarcely fail to be a decided success. But the contracted groove in which his ideas and experience had hitherto moved, rendered him unequal to the safe guidance of the more difficult Dominion helm. Unfortunately for himself, he assumed the portfolio of Public Works, the most arduous of all the administrative departments, which placed at his disposal an enormous amount of patronage. The exercise of that patronage involved a most difficult task, and brought him into contact with a class of unscrupulous men, anxious to make the public exchequer, in some way, the avenue to wealth for themselves. Honest and well-meaning, as he undoubtedly was, the personal supervision of an enormous amount of detail, which he endeavoured to exercise, did not rest on any solid technical knowledge or training, and he, was, therefore, largely at the mercy of designing and interested persons, who led him into several serious and compromising mistakes. At the same time, he wholly lacked that suavity of manner and sympathetic humanity, so necessary to the public man to enable him to win support, and his coldness of demeanour lost him many friends. The Reform Party, was

undoubtedly, unfortunate in its leader, but he was the best one available. Edward Blake, with all his personal integrity, with all his eloquence, with all his great abilities otherwise, then, as now, might well be termed an unknown and vacillating quantity in political life. No man, who has ever appeared in Canada, should have left his impress more strongly on the public fortunes of his country than that gentleman, and no man could have benefited it more, had he been so disposed, nor have done more to lift its national life to a higher plane. Everything was in his favour—social position, opportunity, education, great natural abilities, high personal character, troops of friends. But he lacked the moral courage, the tact, the tenacity of purpose, the resolute will, the self-sacrificing patriotism so necessary to enable him to pursue the right course at the right time; and the intellectual giant, who stood head and shoulders above so many of his fellows, dwarfed himself into a political pessimist, prone to see shadows where he could have made a horizon of sunshine, and was literally lost to his country, and almost to its history, in the exclusive, and, we might add, unpleasant cloud in which he saw fit to envelop himself so often.

But, independently of all other adverse causes, the railway and financial policy of the Mackenzie Cabinet was exceedingly unsatisfactory to the public. Without seriously compromising its free-trade ideas, a reasonable measure of incidental protection might have been given to Canadian manufactures, and the rising industries of the country shielded from unfair American competition, which then sought, and still seeks, to monopolise our markets to the exclusion of all home production. But the Mackenzie Cabinet treated the idea of protection of any kind with scorn, its advocates with scant courtesy, and thus awoke the hostility of the manufacturing classes, from one end of the Dominion to the other. This proved a most unfortunate course, not only for the Mackenzie Cabinet, but, also, for the country at large. It opened the door for the extreme protectionist policy of the Macdonald administration, shrewdly framed by the skilful opportunist at its head to hit the popular humour of the hour, and thus lift himself into office—the great object sought to be achieved. That policy also ignored the wise and happy medium on which, alone, can rest the enduring prosperity of any country, young or old, “for extremes are dangerous” in matters of a fiscal nature as well as in other directions. It took a larger revenue from the people than they could afford to pay, created surpluses which had to be reduced by unwise expenditure on projects which could produce no adequate return, and placed a load on the back of this country under which it is now staggering. But it did more. In developing the protectionist idea too strongly it has excited the hostility of our next-door neighbours, the logical outcome of which hostility is the McKinley Bill, and other unfriendly and even harsh legislation.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS OF LORNE.

THE new Governor-General of Canada, came of an ancient Scottish lineage of exalted rank, and surrounded with historical memories of surpassing interest. Nine Dukes and ten Earls of Argyle lead back to 1457, when the title first sprang into existence, among whom were several great statesmen, and high officers of the English and Scottish Kingdoms. The present Duke of Argyle is at once a distinguished philosopher, and an able writer, with a full share of the intellect of even the greatest of his ancestors. His eldest son, the Marquis of Lorne, was born in 1845, educated at Eton and Cambridge, and was married, in 1871, to the fourth daughter of the Queen, the Princess Louise, an amiable and gifted woman, whose artistic pencil has enriched various Canadian illustrated publications, and who has otherwise left so many pleasant memories behind her in this country. Queen Victoria, in her own sweet motherly way, was the first to introduce the future husband of her daughter to the people of England. In her journal of "Life in the Highlands," when her cup of happiness was full to the brim, she describes the Marquis of Lorne "as just two years old; a dear, white, fat, fair, little fellow, with reddish hair, but very delicate features, like both his father and mother—a merry and independent child. He had a black velvet dress, with a sporran scarf, and Highland bonnet." That pretty womanly picture, so true to life, was sketched in 1847. The Princess Louise did not make her babyhood bow to the people of England until the following year.

Owing to one cause or another, the departure for Canada of the new Governor-General was delayed until the 14th of November, when he sailed from Liverpool in the Allan steamship *Sarmatian*, which had been specially chartered for the conveyance of himself and his suite. The rude and boisterous winter winds displayed as little tenderness for the daughter of the Queen as for humbler people, and lashed the Atlantic into such angry waves, that the *Sarmatian*

had a tempestuous voyage all the way, from land to land. Meanwhile extensive preparations were being made, at every important centre of population along the railway route, from Halifax to Ottawa, for the reception of the vice-regal party. Expectation ran high, and now that the "Campbells were coming," and royalty as well, Canadians of every description, at last knit well together by the fortunate Dufferin administration, felt bound to accord the most fitting welcome in their power. Down by the sea, especially, the reception preparations were on the most extensive scale. On the 18th of November, the Duke of Edinburgh arrived at Halifax, in the iron-clad man-of-war, the *Black Prince*, to be ready to welcome his sister and her husband. He found that the rest of the North Atlantic Squadron had already assembled, in the noble harbour of the Nova Scotia capital, with the same object in view. At seven o'clock, on the evening of the 23rd, the *Sarmatian*, now nine days out, at last made her appearance, and dropped anchor under the lee of St. George's Island. Sunday passed quietly over, and on Monday, at one o'clock, the official landing took place. As the *Sarmatian* steamed slowly between the double line of men-of-war, their yards were manned by cheering sailors, and their royal salutes thundered over the harbour, to be repeated by battery after battery on shore. The landing took place at the dockyard wharf, where a commemorative stone marks the Prince of Wales' arrival in 1860. There were evergreens, and flowers, and flags, and triumphal arches in every direction; and a brilliant gathering of officers in full uniform, ministers of state, and legal and civic dignitaries, to welcome the representative of the Crown and the daughter of the Queen. And, then, an enormous procession, a mile and-a-half long, composed of naval and military officers, Dominion Cabinet ministers, members of the Senate, of the House of Commons, of the Provincial Legislature, of numerous societies, Protestant and Roman Catholic, passed along, amid the cheering multitudes, to the Parliament building, where the Governor-General was sworn in, and the addresses of welcome presented. The public celebration lasted for two days and nights. It comprised a ball, a levee, a vast torch-light procession, miles on miles of lights, numerous transparencies, dozens of illuminated arches, a magnificent display of fireworks. The loyal city literally ran riot with joy. On the 27th, shortly before mid-day, the vice-regal party resumed its progress westward by special train; and, at every stopping place on the line, there were vast greeting crowds of people, public addresses, handsome decorations. The reception at Montreal almost rivalled that at Halifax; and Ottawa and home were at length safely reached on the 2nd of December, amid a wintry storm of cold sleet and rain.

The new Parliament met on the 13th of February. On motion of Sir John A. Macdonald, seconded by his Finance Minister, Doctor J. G. Blanchet, member for Levis, was elected speaker of the House of Commons without opposi-

tion. On the following day, the Governor-General, accompanied by the Princess Louise, came in state to the Senate chamber to deliver his opening speech. Its first paragraph told his gratification, at having been selected by Her Majesty for the high and important office he now filled, expressed his own thanks for the reception he had received, and the thanks of the Queen for the "loyal, generous, and kindly manner" in which the people of Canada had welcomed her daughter. After dealing with some routine matters, he stated that it was the purpose of his Government to press for the most vigorous prosecution of the Pacific Railway, and thus meet the reasonable expectations of British Columbia. Shortly after the passage of the address, in reply, and when the House of Commons had fairly settled down to business, the question of the dismissal of the De Boucherville Cabinet, by the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, was again taken up, and a motion condemning the proceeding was carried by 136 to 51. It was a strict party vote, and showed the great strength of the Government. On the 3rd of April, the Premier informed the House, that the Cabinet had advised the dismissal of Lieutenant-Governor Letellier, for his arbitrary and unconstitutional conduct. But the Governor-General, in the absence of all precedent to guide him, had decided to submit the matter to Her Majesty's Government for its consideration and instructions. The reply from the Colonial Secretary was to the effect, that the Dominion Government had full power, under the 59th section of the British North America Act, to dismiss a lieutenant-governor for cause, and instructed the Governor-General to be guided by the counsel of his responsible advisers. On the 25th of July, the necessary "Order in Council" was passed, and Letellier was dismissed from office. When it is recollected, that he was politically opposed to the De Boucherville Cabinet, that he had permitted the legislation, to which he afterwards objected, to pass unchallenged, at the first, and dismissed his Cabinet for what, at the worst, must be regarded as a mere error of judgment, and while still commanding a large majority in the Legislature, there can be no question that his conduct was wholly unconstitutional, opposed to every principle of responsible government, and met with its well-merited punishment. The case, however, such as it was, could only have arisen in the Province of Quebec, and, since the era of colonial responsible government has set in, has had no counterpart elsewhere.

On the 14th of March, the Finance Minister submitted his annual statement in the Commons. He first compared the existing state of the revenue, and of the commerce of the country, with their condition in 1873, when he made his former budget speech. There was then, he said, a steady and increasing revenue, a corresponding decrease in taxation, and every prospect of the Pacific Railway being constructed; the farmers were contented and doing well, and the general interests of the country prospering. But a change of Government had taken place, and a change of policy;

and ruin and disaster had overtaken every industry and every branch of trade. He stated that the true deficit for the preceding year was \$2,400,000. Owing to the trade policy of the Mackenzie Cabinet, which had unduly favoured the United States, the imports from Great Britain, which, in 1873, had stood for the fiscal year at \$63,000,976, had, in 1878, declined to \$37,431,000 ; while the imports from the United States, which, in 1873, had amounted to \$54,283,072, had, in 1878, only fallen to \$48,631,739. The proposed new tariff, which gave incidental protection to manufacturers, might be said to have a twenty per cent. average all round, with a large free list ; and was so framed as to increase the revenue by some two millions of dollars. The anticipated receipts for the ensuing fiscal year were put at \$24,102,000, the expenditure at \$23,500,000. The tariff, on the whole, had been skilfully framed, was not an unreasonable one, and gave a fair and necessary amount of incidental protection to manufacturers, who were also largely accorded the benefit of free raw material. It was eventually adopted by the House as it came from the hands of the Finance Minister, laid the foundation of the "National Policy," and appeared to give very general satisfaction to the public. Even Professor Goldwin Smith, now domiciled at Toronto, gave it a qualified approbation. "As a whole," said he, "the tariff may be said to be the necessary fiscal outcome of a political situation, to which England is the chief party, and from which she reaps the advantages of an imperial position. That anything which has been done in the way of tariff legislation can have proceeded from want of kind and cordial feeling toward the mother country, it would be preposterous to suppose. Such a feeling pervades not only the Conservatives who have framed the tariff, but all Englishmen who dwell here, and is not weakest, perhaps, in the hearts of those who talk about it least. The Governors-General who claim credit for cultivating it might as well claim credit for cultivating the tendency of the St. Lawrence to run towards the sea. At the same time, the new tariff, following close upon recent ovations, may serve to teach our English friends that the effects of mere rhetoric are not deep or sufficient to make an industrial community indifferent to its bread." But in England, so long and so fully committed to a free-trade policy, the new Canadian tariff was widely condemned. John Bright, who had sat at the feet of Richard Cobden, and became his successor in the apostleship of free-trade, made pointed enquiries from ministers, in the Imperial House of Commons, about it ; to be told that the Canadian people were their own masters in the matter. The London *Times*, while admitting that the Dominion had a perfect right to adopt whatever commercial policy it pleased, expressed its regret that it should weigh its young shoulders down with a fiscal system that belonged to a past age. But Bright and the *Times* looked at the question from a purely English stand-point, and knew little about the persistent efforts of American manufacturers to stamp

out of existence the struggling industries of this country.

On the 10th of May, Tupper, now Minister of Public Works, announced the railway policy of the Cabinet in a series of resolutions; the seventh of which provided, that one hundred million acres of land be set apart for the construction of the Pacific Railway, and be vested in commissioners, who would have authority to sell it at not less than two dollars per acre. Mackenzie moved a condemnatory amendment, which was negatived by a vote of 115 to 37. The dismissal of Letellier, the new tariff, the fresh scheme for the construction of the Pacific Railway, formed the principal features of the Parliamentary proceedings of 1879. Several useful bills, of a routine character, were passed as the session progressed, and the House was prorogued on the 15th of May.

As the summer wore away, fresh steps had to be taken to assist the Indians of the North-West. The American railway system had at length penetrated to the haunts of the great Buffalo herds, and brought troops of amateur hunters, armed with the deadly breech-loader, down upon them; and their indiscriminate slaughter and utter extermination ensued. Their bleaching bones soon whitened the desert for hundreds of miles in every direction; and the Indian tribes of the plains, now deprived of their chief source of food-supply, were presently threatened with famine. In the winter of 1878-9, the danger of actual wide-spread starvation became so grave, that the Government, although not bound to do so by any treaty engagement, had, from motives of humanity, to supply them with large quantities of food. It was now determined to meet this new difficulty more fully, by inducing the Indians to settle permanently on their reservations, learn to become farmers, and thus be in a position to grow food supplies for themselves. Twenty practical agriculturists, from the older provinces, were sent to the North-West to establish model farms among the Indians. This plan has, on the whole, been fairly successful; and, at the present day, many of the tribes grow sufficient crops for their own consumption. Sitting Bull still remained on the Canadian side of the line, but his following had greatly diminished, owing to small bands of stragglers frequently deserting his camp, crossing the boundary line in search of food, and attaching themselves to the American Indian agency stations. In June, an international money order system was established between Canada and the United States. On the 26th of July, Sir John A. Macdonald proceeded to England, and there received his appointment as member of the Imperial Privy Council. On the 5th of August, a cyclone, half a mile in width, suddenly descended, like a destroying angel, on New Brunswick, and carried destruction and death in its train. Independently of the great loss of public property, personal property of the value of at least \$100,000 was destroyed. Much distress ensued, to relieve which a subscription was at once opened at St. John. As the autumn approached, the Governor-General and his wife descended to Quebec, to meet a cordial

welcome from its citizens. The Princess Louise laid the foundation stone of the Kent Gate, in memory of her grandfather. In September the vice-regal party proceeded to Toronto, in order to open the exhibition there, and to meet with a most enthusiastic reception. A vast concourse of strangers filled the city. Lorne street, so named after the Governor-General, was carpeted with crimson cloth; and as the Marquis and Princess passed onward, 6000 school children sang the "Campbells are coming" and "Canada's Welcome." Balls and state dinners followed; and Toronto was almost beside itself with joy at having the daughter of the Queen and her husband as visitors. By-and-by the autumn merged into winter; and, presently, the new year made its appearance, but without bringing any events of importance to chronicle.

By way of preparation for the approaching session of Parliament, several changes now took place in the Cabinet. 1880. Masson, owing to ill-health, resigned the position of Minister of Militia, and took the easier post of President of the Privy Council. O'Connor became Postmaster-general, and Campbell Minister of Militia. Parliament met on the 12th of February. Among the subjects referred to in the opening speech, were the existing distress in Ireland, the increased immigration into Canada, the progress of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the benefit resulting from the "National Policy" in promoting domestic manufactures. Bills were to be introduced, providing for Civil Service reform, the consolidation of the Internal Revenue Laws, the improvement of the Public Works Department, relating to the Mounted Police Force, the North-West Indians, and the appointment of a resident representative of the Dominion in England. Mackenzie, as leader of the Opposition, characterised the speech as a deception, condemned the poverty of the legislation programme, and demurred to the statement relating to the benefits conferred by the new tariff. But, at the same time, he offered no amendment for the consideration of the House, and the address passed without a division.

On the 9th of March, the Finance Minister made his budget speech. He defended the National Policy, declared that it had increased the prosperity of the country, raised its credit abroad, and discriminated in favour of the Mother Country and against the United States. He also stated, that the condition of the manufacturing industries of the country had sensibly improved, and submitted figures to the House, showing that these industries now gave work to ten thousand persons who had no employment before. These statements were sturdily challenged by the Opposition, who affirmed that the National Policy had not benefited the country, and had not increased employment for the working man; but had, on the contrary, increased the cost of living without any adequate compensation, and thus forced numbers of people to emigrate to the United States. The debate was an acrimonious one, and lasted for several days, but it finally terminated without

any amendment being offered; the chief object of Mackenzie and his friends being to get their opinions fully before the country, through the medium of the press. The Opposition was strong in debating power, but weak numerically, and therefore prudently avoided making useless amendments, which were sure to be voted down. On the 27th of April, Mackenzie moved a vote of want of confidence in the Cabinet, for having advised the reference of the Letellier case to the Home Authorities, which he held to be a clear violation of the principles of responsible government. After a brief debate the motion was lost on a vote of 119 to 49.

During the session, a bill was passed providing for the increase, from twelve to twenty million dollars, of the issue of Dominion Bank Notes.* Against twenty-five per cent. of this issue, gold and Dominion securities, guaranteed by Great Britain, were to be held. For the remaining seventy-five per cent., the Finance Minister was to hold Dominion debentures, issued by authority of Act of Parliament. This measure met with a good deal of Opposition censure, both in and out of Parliament, and was stigmatised as a virtual inflation of the currency, and lacking a proper gold basis. But although the principle of the Bill might be regarded as unsound, the amount involved was too small to disturb the credit of the country, and, therefore, led to no depreciation in the value of its paper money; while, at the same time, it sensibly relieved the existing depression. The financial world calmly came to the just conclusion, that the Dominion promises to pay were quite as good for twenty million dollars as they were for twelve. And there the matter finally rested, and the pessimistic predictions of alarmists remained unfulfilled. Another bill was passed, providing "for the appointment of a Resident Representative agent for Canada in the United Kingdom,"† who was to "perform such duties, as might be conferred upon, and assigned to him, by the Governor in Council," and have a salary of ten thousand dollars per annum. Under this act Sir A. T. Galt became the first High Commissioner in England. A bill legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister passed the Commons by a large majority, but was lost in the Senate on a vote of 33 to 31, to become law, however, at a later period. Among the money grants, made during the session, was one for \$100,000 to relieve the prevailing distress in Ireland. Untaught by the terrible state of things, which followed the first potato rot there, in 1845, its people had again come to rely on that esculent as their principal article of food. It failed them in 1879 precisely as it did before, although not over as great an extent, and a second period of dire distress ensued. In addition to the Parliamentary grant, a still larger sum was raised by public and private subscriptions, throughout the Dominion, for the relief of the famine-afflicted districts of Ireland. A special claim, set up in behalf of the

* *Vide* 43 Victoria, Chapter 13.

† *Vide* 43 Victoria, Chapter 11.

Maritime Provinces, to a share of the five and-a-half million fisheries' indemnity, paid by the United States, was voted down by a majority of 126 to 30. The Premier, while admitting that these Provinces were entitled to a fair consideration of their claim, said they had no right to a special appropriation. The coasts of the Dominion belonged to the whole country, and as it was all taxed alike for the protection of the fisheries, maintenance of lights, and so forth, the award belonged to all Canada and not to any particular part of it. On the 27th of April, Mackenzie rose in his place in the House, and formally announced that he withdrew from the leadership of the Opposition, and from thenceforth he would act and speak only for himself. Broken in spirit by utter defeat, and shattered in health by too close an application to his duties while in office, his party had recently grown restive under his leadership, and, ungrateful for his past successes, now stood prepared to depose him, if he could not have been got rid of in any other way. He fully gauged the gathering storm, avoided its force by resignation, and Blake presently occupied the vacated leadership. Precisely as in the case of Robert Baldwin, the Reform Party of Canada again showed itself capable of ingratitude of the baser sort. On the 7th of May, after a passage of a number of well-considered and necessary measures, Parliament was prorogued.

On the 9th of May, the painful news of the death of George Brown, in the sixty-second year of his age, awoke a very general and profound feeling of sorrow throughout the Dominion. The man who had so long and so ably directed the most potent organ of public opinion which had as yet arisen in Canada, and who had made and unmade so many ministers of the Crown, was at length gathered to his fathers. On the 25th of the preceding month of March, a diminutive printer named George Bennett, who had been employed for some time on the *Globe*, but discharged by the foreman for drunkenness and neglect of his work, went to Mr. Brown's office for a certificate of character, which he insisted, with much vehemence of manner and language, on at once getting. This being refused, Bennett drew a revolver, but, as he was about to discharge it, Mr. Brown seized his wrist, and turned the weapon downwards, so that the ball struck him in the left thigh. Several persons at once rushed to the assistance of the wounded man, and Bennett was promptly seized, and handed over to the authorities, to be afterwards tried and executed for what eventually proved to be murder. Mr. Brown never recovered from the injury he had sustained, and finally passed from mortality to immortality, just before the day-break of a lovely May morning had begun to light up the eastern horizon. After the few first days of his illness, there had come periods of delirium and mental darkness otherwise. But, in his lucid moments, he evinced that spirit of resignation in his dire affliction, and hope in the future, which showed the genuine Christian man. Two weeks before his death, he had a long conversation with his clergyman, Dr. Greig, and the members of his

family ; spoke freely to them of his faith and hope ; poured out his soul to his Maker in full and fervent prayer, and afterwards joined, with the sorrowing group, in singing that beautiful hymn, "Rock of Ages." There was no sting in death for him, and no victory in the grave ! He was unconscious for several days before his final end came, and at last passed away in peace.*

George Brown had many faults and many failings, just like all men of strong will and decided character, but he had many noble qualities also, and did a vast amount of valuable work for his adopted country. For thirty-eight years he stood among its foremost men, and necessarily fills a large place in its history. His independence of thought and action, his honest and open avowal of opinion on every public question of any importance which arose, necessarily made him many foes, and prevented him from occupying that position, as a Parliamentary leader, which his great abilities so eminently fitted him for. He had to learn the lesson, that the exercise of the dual power of the controller of a great newspaper and of a public administrator, is as impossible in this country as it is elsewhere ; and that the one is, in point of fact, an obstruction to the other. But, in any event, his great strength lay in his editorial life, a fact which he at length appeared to realise more fully ; and if he were at times a bitter enemy, and the most trenchant foe of administrative corruption of every sort, he was also a fast friend. During his day he filled an advanced place in the public life of Canada, and, in some measure, sacrificed himself on the altar of its welfare. But he can never cease to live in its history. Old friends, and old foes as well, gathered to his funeral—to mourn his loss, at his grave, as a national calamity. Resolutions of condolence and sympathy came to his afflicted family from public bodies of every description—from municipal corporations in Canada and the United States, from universities and other seats of learning, from the Cobden Club of England, from religious fraternities, from white people all over the land, from people of colour as well. Four years afterwards, a fine statue, subscribed for by over four thousand of his friends, was erected to his memory in the Queen's Park, Toronto, and unveiled by his friend and biographer, Alexander Mackenzie, in the presence of a large concourse of citizens.

But while the peaceful death-bed of this tribune of the people was casting its shadows of sorrow over the Province of Ontario, wild scenes of riot and disorder prevailed in the ancient city of Quebec. The two ship labourers' unions there had fallen foul of one another, and hostile encounters took place, in which a number of persons were seriously injured. The bayonets of the military vindicated lawful authority in the open streets, but the war still went on elsewhere, although in a more desultory manner, and many members of the rival organizations were cruelly beaten at every

* Mackenzie's *Life of the Hon. George Brown*, pp. 143, 144.

opportunity. The belligerents all belonged to the Roman Catholic communion, so the church presently stepped into the breach, and fulminated its maledictions against offenders. On Sunday, the 16th of May, Archbishop Taschereau, since elevated to the cardinalate, caused a mandement to be read in all the city churches, threatening with excommunication any member of his flock, "who should attack, or conspire to attack, any person belonging to a labour society or otherwise, or any member of his family, because such person works, has worked, or is willing to work at a price which he thinks fit." The terrors of excommunication accomplished what the law and the bayonet had failed to effect, and peace and good order again prevailed. As the year wore away, a struggle of another character took place at Montreal, which revived the memories of Laval, and the days of the Old *Régime*, when the clerical order so largely controlled the moral and religious life of the people, and when fast young men sought freedom from priestly restraint in the immensity of the forest wilderness, and among its Indian tribes. Bishop Fabre, who saw, or at least supposed he saw, some Satanic influence in the existing fashions of womanly apparel, forbade the female part of his flock to appear on the public streets without wearing a cape or a shawl, as the too free display of the natural curves of their persons was improper and even immoral. At the same time, he forbid nuns to shake hands with any man, even with their nearest and dearest relatives, or to give visitors at their convents any refreshments; while private theatricals were positively forbidden. But this episcopal attempt, to put the dial-hand of time backwards for two centuries, ended in total failure. In fine weather, the women of Montreal continued to ignore capes and shawls as much as ever, Bishop Fabre to the contrary notwithstanding, and were still as much given to exhibit their lythe and shapely figures on the streets as their more heretic sisters elsewhere. The dressmaker and fashion, in their case, proved a more potent authority than the church, which was compelled, eventually, to surrender at discretion.

On the 29th of June, at a political pic-nic held at the little village of Bath, in the County of Lennox, Sir John A. Macdonald announced that his Government was about to discontinue the construction of the Pacific Railway as a public work, and revert to the original plan of giving it to a company. In the month of July he proceeded to England, with two other members of the Cabinet, to make the necessary arrangements; and, on the 16th of September, it was publicly announced, that a contract had been entered into with certain capitalists of London, Paris and New York. As it was highly desirable that this contract should be submitted to Parliament, at as early a date as possible, the House was summoned to meet for the despatch of business on the 9th of December. The speech from the throne referred to this contract, to the failure of the usual food-supply of the Indians of the North-West, who no longer had the buffalo herds to fall back upon, to the success of the

National Policy in promoting manufactures, and increasing, at the same time, the revenue of the Dominion. The address, in reply, was disposed of at a single sitting. Blake wittily complained that the Government took most of the credit to themselves for the recent bountiful harvest, and allowed very little to Providence, denounced the benefits said to be conferred by the National Policy, and stated that no delay should take place in making known to the public the terms of the new Pacific Railway contract. Its full text was laid before the House next day. On behalf of the Government it was signed by Charles Tupper, Minister of Railways, and, on the part of the contractors, by George Stephen and Duncan McIntyre of Montreal, John S. Kennedy of New York, R. B. Angus and James J. Hill of St. Paul, Morton, Rose & Co. of London, and Kohn, Reinach & Co. of Paris. Under its provisions, the company was to receive a subsidy in money of \$25,000,000, and 25,000,000 million acres of land, that part of the line under construction on completion, the right to import all necessary material free of duty, the road bed and land for stations free of charge. On the other hand, the company covenanted to construct the line within ten years from date of contract; and equip, maintain, and operate it for all time. The road, in all respects, was to be fully up to the standard of the United States Union Pacific Railway. In submitting this proposition to the House, the Premier stated that it was the most favourable offer which had been received. A long debate ensued, the Opposition, now ably led by Blake, taking strong grounds against the confirmation of the contract by Parliament. On the 23rd of December, the House adjourned for the Christmas holidays without having come to any final decision.

Parliament again assembled on the 4th of January, when it was agreed that the Government railway resolutions, and the bill founded thereon, were to be accorded precedence of discussion, until finally disposed of one way or another. Three days afterwards it was announced, that another syndicate had been formed for the purpose of building the Pacific Railway, and that it was prepared to offer better terms. On the 15th of January, the new company made a proposition, to the Minister of Railways, to build the road for \$22,000,000 and 22,000,000 acres of land, and to forego all duty and tax exemptions, and all other special privileges. The Premier at once characterised this offer as a farce, a "bogus tender," and "a disingenuous and discreditable plot concocted at Ottawa for political purposes," and declared that the Government would stand or fall by the contract it had entered into. Blake, on the other hand, defended the offer of the new company, said that it was made by the strongest combination of Canadian capitalists ever witnessed, that it was more advantageous by \$13,500,000 than the other offer, and moved, in amendment, that it should be accepted. After a sharp debate, which lasted for six days, this amendment was voted down, at five o'clock on the morning of the

26th, by a majority of 140 to 54. The Bill was then agreed to as it stood, passed the Upper House, and assented to on the 15th of February.* Three days afterwards, the Finance Minister made his budget speech. He affirmed that his most sanguine expectations had been fully realised, that the revenue was now more than equal to the expenditure, and that he anticipated a surplus of two million dollars for the current fiscal year. On the 11th of March, the Premier introduced a bill for the extension eastward of the boundaries of the Province of Manitoba, which was eventually passed. This bill, as had been predicted by the Opposition, speedily led to a conflict of authority between Manitoba and Ontario, which involved most unpleasant consequences. Very little other legislation was initiated during the session, owing to the long time occupied over the Pacific Railway Bill; and, on the 21st of March, Parliament was at length prorogued.

The decennial census of the Dominion was taken on the 4th of April, on the *de jure* system, which limited the enumeration of the inhabitants to their proper domicile, and not to where they happened to be on that day. In this way a number of permanent absentees were counted in; and to that extent the result was misleading. The census showed the total population of the Dominion to be 4,324,810. Ontario stood at 1,923,228, Quebec at 1,359,027, Nova Scotia at 440,572, New Brunswick at 321,233, Prince Edward Island at 108,891, Manitoba at 65,954, British Columbia at 49,459, and the North-West Territories at 56,446. During the ensuing summer, the Governor-General made a tour through the North-West, up to the Rocky Mountains. The great extent of this tour may be gathered from the fact, that he travelled 5561 miles by railway, 1366 miles by waggon road or prairie trail, and 1127 miles by water; in all 8054 miles. He was accompanied by the artist of a leading London illustrated paper, whose graphic delineations, with pen and pencil, threw a new and broad flood of light on the North-West.

Meanwhile, the country was gradually recovering from the depression of recent years. There was a general revival of business, money became more plentiful, and the people, as a rule, more hopeful of the future. This prosperity was mainly owing to the large expenditure of foreign capital, caused by the construction of the Canadian Pacific and various other railways, and therefore rested on a fictitious, and not on a *de facto*, or natural, basis. The imports of the Dominion still continued largely in excess of the exports, the country was buying more than it could properly pay for; and, having thus exhausted its legitimate purchasing power, had to make up the difference, as usual, by borrowing money, either directly or indirectly. Our governmental political economists do not appear to have ever fully realised the fact, that true nation-

* For the full text of the contract, the reader should examine, for himself, 44 Vic., Chap. 1.

al prosperity does not rest upon making the revenue and expenditure tables balance by tariff regulations, but by the adoption of a policy which will equalise the exports and imports. For over half a century—from 1840 to 1892—the balance of trade has been continually against Canada, and the deficiency thus created by the unwise extravagance, alike of government and people, has had constantly to be made good either by the money brought into the country by *bona fide* settlers, a comparatively small annual addition to the general resources, or by borrowed capital.* In the case of the individual who buys more than he sells—who spends more than he earns—bankruptcy, sooner or later, is the inevitable result. When a nation pursues the same unwise policy, although bankruptcy may be staved off by one fiscal expedient or another, the interest account strain becomes eventually so severe, no matter how great may be its natural resources, that a general impoverishment of the whole people finally ensues, high taxation, in one shape or another, sucks out the country's life's blood, vampire like, property declines in value, improvements cease, a consequent dearth of employment for the mechanic and the labourer ensues, and, then, the inevitable exodus to more fortunate regions sets in.

But while the inflation of values, and temporary prosperity of 1881, were, as we have already stated, mainly produced by the great influx into this country of foreign borrowed capital, the National Policy got the sole credit of the improvement in trade and commerce. So prevalent was this feeling, that even Edward Blake, now lost faith somewhat in his previous opinions. At a public dinner, given in Toronto the first week in May, he very ably expounded the doctrines of free-trade, and then proceeded to consider how far they could, under existing circumstances, be safely applied to Canada. He frankly admitted, that the conditions of the country prevented the application of the free-trade principle to its tariff; and added, with emphasis, "I say to you that these conditions are to be practically ruling considerations. * * * We have, and shall continue to have, a large revenue to raise, entailing a very burdensome amount of taxation. For that purpose we must continue to make indirect taxation our great resource; and a very great part of which must be levied upon articles which can be produced in this country." On the same occasion he admitted otherwise the principle of incidental protection to domestic manufactures; and thus partially abandoned his hitherto extreme free-trade platform.

On the 2nd of July, the people of Canada were greatly pained by the news, that James Garfield, President of the United States, had been fired at twice, and dangerously wounded, while waiting

* The excess of Imports over Exports from the year 1868 to 1891, inclusive, a period of 24 years, amounted to the vast sum of \$491,053,774, more than double the total debt of the Dominion. In 1880 alone did the Exports exceed the Imports. From the union in 1840 to 1867 the balance of trade was largely against this country. No wonder that it remains comparatively poor.

for the train at a Washington railway station, by a man named Charles Jules Guiteau, an obscure Illinois lawyer of French descent. For some time previously, the Republican Party, in the United States, had been split into two sections, one of which, called the "Stalwarts," was in favour of Grant for a third Presidential term, while the other, led by Garfield, was opposed to this policy. The differences between these two sections had recently become greatly intensified, by the refusal of President Garfield to permit Roscoe Conkling, the friend of Grant, and a member of the Senate from New York, to control the patronage of that state, including the appointments at the custom house of its principal city. This refusal resulted in the resignation of Conkling, and also of his coadjutor, Platt, both of whom afterwards went back to the State Legislature for re-election, in order to lead that body to pass what might be termed an indirect vote of censure on Garfield. But the Legislature hesitated to do this, even at the bidding of Conkling, then the great Republican leader of the state; and, after numerous ballots had been cast, he still remained without the two-thirds' vote necessary to his re-election; and Platt, in disgust, retired from the field altogether. The deadlock at Albany caused great excitement throughout the United States; and to relieve that deadlock, and permit Vice-President Arthur, who favoured the Stalwarts, to become President, Guiteau had determined to murder Garfield. It was at first supposed that the assassin was merely the agent of a dark conspiracy, but his trial afterwards developed the fact, that the foul deed was wholly of his own conception, and in no way prompted by others. It resulted, as anticipated, in the elevation of Arthur to the Presidency, but did not give a third term to Grant. All Europe was almost as profoundly moved as this country, at the news of the attack on Garfield. "Indignation," said the *Pall Mall Gazette*, "is universal wherever the English language is spoken"; and it blamed the invectives of the Conkling newspapers, which it declared had acted on the disordered imagination of the assassin, and thus led him to commit the crime. Queen Victoria was profoundly touched, and her message of condolence and sympathy fell upon the President's sick couch like a tender ray of sunshine. In the English Parliament, Gladstone and Northcote, on the opposite sides of politics, gave expression to the deep regret of the Commons: in the Lords, Salisbury and Grenville voiced the sympathy of all the Peers of the realm. At Paris, the Chamber of Deputies evinced its sorrow for the catastrophe by an adjournment. Guiteau, although not an actual criminal before his attempt to slay the President, was still a man of an evil reputation—a member, at one time, of the Oneida community of free-lovers, a communist, an infidel, a shiftless unscrupulous vagabond, who lived a good deal by his wits, and not by any legitimate calling. His victim died on the 19th of September, after eighty days and nights of the most intense suffering. Born on the 19th of November, 1831, of humble parents, in a log

cabin in Ohio, after aiding, with the labour of his hands, to support his widowed mother for several years, James Garfield afterwards rose, step by step, from one high position to another, until he became President of the United States.

As July drew towards a close, the welcome news was spread abroad, that Sitting Bull had at last succumbed to hunger, recrossed the border with the remnant of his band, amounting to some two hundred souls, and had surrendered, at Fort Buford, to the United States authorities. Up to the last moment he bore himself boldly. He and his braves refused to dismount from their horses until they had reached their final camp ground, and haughtily declined to shake hands with any person whatever. "I am entitled," said Sitting Bull, to the officer commanding at Fort Buford, "to consideration from the government, and the great Father (the President,) as I have never received even a handful of corn from the United States authoritatively. I come to yield to the wishes of the government, not on my own account, but because my women and children are starving." Contrary to expectation, his favourite daughter was not at the camp-ground to meet him on his arrival, a circumstance which presently so affected the proud savage that he wept bitterly. A few years before he was literally the monarch of much of the western prairies; and with his three thousand warriors had defied and defeated the forces of the United States, but now had to bow before the force of adverse circumstances, and was a suppliant for food and shelter where he had so long been a sovereign master.*

Among the scourges of the New World, forest and prairie fires occupy a foremost place. In the later summer season, when there has been a prolonged drought, as is frequently the case, and the ground becomes dry, a solitary spark, fanned by the driving winds, often expands into a flame, so fierce and so vast as to desolate large tracts of forest. Presently, the wildly rushing roaring storm of fire and flame invades the clearing of the farmer, and there fed by the dried grass, the ripening grain, and the wooden snake fences, his barns and his home, and not infrequently the lives even of his family and himself, are put in serious peril. So extensive are these fires, at times, that hundreds of square miles are enveloped

* After exhibiting himself and several of his tribe at Buffalo Bill's (Colonel Cody) "Wild West Show," in America and Europe, Sitting Bull again settled down on his reservation in 1889. It was rumored, in 1890, that he was encouraging his tribe to carry on the "sun dances," and to again assail the whites, and his arrest was eventually ordered on the 6th of December, 1890, by the U. S. authorities. The Indian Police went ahead of the regular troops, and arrested Sitting Bull. As he came out of his tepee, his women made an outcry, when Tomahawk, the Chief of the Police, supposing that Sitting Bull was about to be rescued, drew a pistol and suddenly shot him down. He was not, however, fatally wounded, and crept into the bush, where he was eventually found and foully murdered by the Indian Police, who were infuriated at having lost five or six of their number in the scrimmage that had taken place.

in smoke sufficiently dense to shut out the light of the sun, turn day into a thick twilight, and render navigation on the St. Lawrence and other rivers exceedingly dangerous, and even impossible. These fires very often not only burn everything above the surface of the ground, but also burrow into the soil itself, and lurk in swamps beneath the deep snow for the whole winter, to again burst forth in spring, and to be finally extinguished by the early summer rains. On the 24th of August, the high winds scattered the embers of a camp fire, which had been built in the rough country north of Kingston, and led to a conflagration that caused a vast destruction of standing timber and other property. In the ensuing September, the plague of fire swept among the woods and lakes in the newly settled Muskoka district, and brought poverty and sorrow to hundreds of people. As the tempest of flame drew near to one of its more populous neighbourhoods, it became so dark that schools had to be dismissed, and lamps lit in dwellings. Presently the air was filled with a cloud of ashes, with flying leaves, with burning brands; and, then, the appalling sounds of the storm of wind and fire fell upon the ear, from the woods beyond, like the roaring of the sea in a heavy gale. Huge trees crashed to the ground, as the wide swathe of desolation and ruin pressed onwards. Terrified cattle, bears and wolves, fled for their lives madly before it; and, in an incredibly short space of time, at least a thousand people were homeless and destitute. Their houses, their barns, their flocks of cattle and sheep, their horses, their oxen, had all disappeared as suddenly as if the wave of a magicians' wand had swept them out of existence. Many of the sufferers were half-pay officers, and other gentle-born people of England, who won by the great natural beauty of the Muskoka country, and its charming blending of forest and lake, had made their homes there. A great wave of pity and sympathy for these unfortunate people spread over the Province; and contributions poured in so abundantly for their relief, that the free hand of charity had to be stayed by notices in the Toronto newspapers, that no further assistance was needed. In the adjoining state of Michigan, the forest fires of that torrid autumn were on a still more colossal scale, and the injury sustained was enormous. Railways were forced to cease operations, bridges were everywhere burned down, vast forests of the finest timber consumed, thousands of farm buildings destroyed, and many lives lost. "The eastern half of the country," says one press despatch, "is a sheet of flame, and the fire is bearing down on Tawas. The woods are a vast tinder box, and forest fires are the rule on every side. In Midland the woods will soon be non-existent, and the falling white ashes in Bay City resemble a snow-storm, with the thermometer at 90°, and the sky a brilliant coppery yellow. The air is so sultry, that breathing has become a difficult task. Whole lumber camps have been burned out, and the men who were fighting the flames in a different direction returned to find their places of abode swept away, and all

their belongings licked up by the unsparing fire-fiend." The Michigan conflagration destroyed the properties of 3231 families, and 14438 persons became dependent on public aid. The total loss amounted to at least \$3,000,000; and, worst of all, over three hundred people were burned to death.

The remainder of the year presented no domestic events of any great importance to record. Owing to one favouring cause or another, a very general condition of prosperity now existed. Trade had expanded, the money market was easy, and remunerative prices, both as regarded the products of the soil and the wages of the industrial classes, prevailed. The work on the Pacific Railway was being rapidly pushed forward, and the complainings of British Columbia had wholly ceased. The life of the whole Dominion at length flowed tranquilly onward; and the people, as a rule, appeared to be fully contented with their lot.

Parliament met for a tedious session, of nearly fifteen weeks, on the 9th of February. The opening speech of the Governor-General was much longer and more discursive than usual. 1882. It congratulated Canada on a period of great prosperity. Farmers had enjoyed, in the preceding season, a bountiful harvest, trade and commerce had increased, and peace and good order reigned supreme, within the Dominion, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. And then, Lorne, gave a short sketch of his tour at the North-West, and afterwards told the House of the Government measures to be laid before it. With regard to the work on the Pacific Railway, he stated that great progress had been made, and especially on the branch extending from Port Arthur to Winnipeg. The works for the enlargement of the Welland Canal were so far advanced, that a large part of the new portion had been opened for traffic. When the address, in reply, came up for consideration, Blake, among other things, expressed his gratification "that the improved condition of the country was now attributed to the Giver of all Good, and not to the Finance Minister;" and Macdonald mildly parried his thrusts, by ironically thanking the leader of the Opposition "for his very kind allusions to himself. All the Government claimed," he added, "was that under a favouring Providence they had attempted, to the best of their humble capacity, to develop the resources of the country, and remove the stagnation under which it had so long suffered. He also considered that it was much to the credit of the Government, that they had selected men to build the Pacific Railway, who having, with some degree of doubt and hesitation, contracted to finish it in ten years, now found they would be able to finish it in five." The Premier had the best of the argument, and the address was presently agreed to.

On the 21st of February, the estimates for the current fiscal year were laid before the House; and, three days afterwards, the Finance Minister made his budget speech. He said that at no period before had Canada been so prosperous, or its credit so high, and

that both results had been produced by the National Policy. At confederation the debt of Canada had stood at \$29 per head of the population ; and the construction of the Intercolonial Railway had added six dollars to that amount. Despite the cost of building the Pacific Railway, he declared that the debt per head, in 1890, would be only \$34.27.* There was, therefore, no cause for alarm. The estimated revenue for the current fiscal year was \$31,710,000, and the expenditure \$27,250,000.† The late Finance Minister (Cartwright) in three years had accumulated a deficit, of \$7,500,000, while his successor would have, under the existing tariff, in the years 1881-2-3, a surplus of not less than \$11,500,000. A warm debate ensued, which the Opposition, with the view of making capital for the approaching general election, prolonged for a whole month, when the Finance Minister's resolutions were at last agreed to. On the 2nd of May, the Queen, after taking a seat in her carriage at the Windsor railway station, was fired at with a revolver, by a miscreant named McLean, instigated by the same morbid passion for notoriety, which had animated Guiteau. The shot, if really aimed at Her Majesty, about which there were grave doubts, went wide of the mark. Both Houses of the Canadian Parliament unanimously passed, next day, an address congratulating "their beloved Queen on her Providential escape from so great a peril." On the 10th of May, the Government introduced a bill providing that newspapers and periodicals printed in Canada, and mailed by the publisher, should be transmitted to their destination free of postage. During the session, \$14,254,000 were voted for the Pacific Railway. Numerous grants were also made for other railway lines, with the view of reducing the annual surpluses, and the basis laid, in this direction, for a large addition afterwards to the public debt of the country, to be sorely felt at a later day, when the period of inflation, and expenditure of borrowed capital, had passed away. On the 11th of April, the commissioners who had been appointed to enquire into all the facts connected with the construction of the Pacific Railway, during the Mackenzie Administration, made their report. The evidence taken filled two large Blue Books. Fifty-three sittings had been held at Ottawa, and twenty-seven at Winnipeg, and one hundred and seven witnesses in all had been examined. The report set forth, that the construction of the railway had been carried on in an unwise, unnecessarily expensive, and inefficient manner, that incompetent persons had been employed solely because they belonged to the Reform Party, and that contracts had been awarded without proper authority, and in a manner which did not secure the performance of the work at the lowest price or at the earliest date. This was an exceedingly

* This estimate proved erroneous. The debt per head in 1890 stood at nearly forty-eight dollars.

† The receipts were afterwards found to exceed this estimate, and the surplus for the current year stood at \$6,225,478.

damaging record for the Mackenzie Administration, and told strongly against it with the people.

During the session a Government measure was introduced, providing for the "Readjustment of the Representation in the House of Commons." The British North America Act provides, that on the completion of each decennial census, the representation should be adjusted on the unalterable basis of 65 members for the Province of Quebec. Its population was to be divided by 65, and the product would give the unit of representation for all the other provinces. On this basis Ontario, in 1882, with its population of 1,923,228 had become entitled to 92 members. With the exception of Manitoba, which now got five members, no changes became necessary. 20,908 formed the representative basis for each member; and in readjusting the various ridings, on this basis, the Government laid itself open to the charge of unduly favouring the Conservative Party, and, as the Premier humorously expressed himself, of "hiving the Grits." Blake moved an amendment to the measure, and strongly denounced the manner in which the new constituencies in Ontario were carved out. But his amendment was lost, on a vote of 111 to 51. Twenty-five other amendments followed in succession, to share, in succession, the same inglorious fate, and the measure became law. It was a sharp political proceeding, the result of which, in many cases, was most unfair. But the lesson was not lost upon the Reform Party, and the Mowat Cabinet presently found itself copying it, as regards Ontario, to the best advantage. Two wrongs, however, in the premises did not make a right by any means.

On the 20th of April the Canadian House of Commons trenched, most improperly, upon the principle of Responsible Government, as administered in the British Islands; and undertook to lecture the Queen, her ministers, and the Imperial Parliament, on the unsatisfactory state of things in Ireland. John Costigan, the member for Victoria, New Brunswick, an Irishman by birth, partly with the view of benefiting his native country in some way, but with a still stronger desire to benefit the Conservative Party at the approaching general elections, moved a series of six resolutions, embodying an "humble address to be presented to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty." After a profound expression of loyalty, this address pointed to the prosperous and contented condition of Canada under the federal system of government, recommended that some system of the same character should be introduced into the British Islands, and that, in this way, "Home Rule" should be conceded to the Irish people. The sixth resolution prayed, that the royal clemency might be extended to the political prisoners in Ireland. Costigan made a very moderate speech in support of his motion, and no doubt sat down in the confident belief, that the vote of his Roman-Catholic co-religionists could now hardly fail to be "solid" for the Cabinet at the ensuing elections. But Blake at once determined to disappoint him in that direction, to out-

demagogue him if it were at all possible to do so, and so gather that vote securely into his own net. He made an unusually eloquent speech on the occasion. By way of preface, he expressed his deep regret, that the proposed address was not still stronger in its language, and that the resolutions which had been originally framed "had been emasculated before their introduction to the House." He then traced the obnoxious rule of the Saxon, in Ireland, from a remote period, but did not quite ascend to its conquest by Henry II., nor to the permissory Bull of Pope Adrian to that sovereign. He alleged "that all the concessions which had been made to the people of that country, had been made grudgingly and of necessity," and strongly condemned the "hesitation displayed by Gladstone in dealing with this subject." Towards the close of his speech he asserted the right of the Canadian Parliament "to venture its counsel, and express its opinion to the sovereign; to strengthen the hands of her prime minister; to give its influence to the redress of grievances so long maintained." Blake's speech evinced a want of tact—of practical wisdom, and was wholly unworthy of his position and reputation. Macdonald saw at a glance that he had his great adversary at a disadvantage, that he had lowered himself by playing the demagogue for a purpose, that he had used the real, or imaginery, woes of Ireland as a means of redressing the woes of his own party, and so lift it out of the minority rut in which it was now so hopelessly floundering. He skilfully drew a contrast between the Costigan and Blake speeches. The first was made, he said, to secure the passage of the resolutions, the second, to secure political capital. He deprecated the condemnatory tone adopted by the leader of the Opposition, as most likely to have a mischievous effect, unless it were neutralised by the good sense and moderation displayed during the debate by other members of the House. But, after delivering this pointed and telling rebuke, and thus greatly reducing the effect of Blake's speech, the Premier, nevertheless, also saw fit to weakly bow to the political necessities of the hour, and made no effort to prevent the passage of the Costigan resolutions, which he well knew were wrong in principle, and which were agreed to without a division. It was a humiliating spectacle. Both sides agreed to censure the British Parliament, to meddle with matters with which they had no proper concern, and so fell down to worship at the shrine of the electioneering image which the Costigan resolutions had set up. And the members of the Senate idolatrously fell down before the same image, and passed a motion of concurrence. They were altogether too Conservative to dream for a moment of injuring their own party, and meekly deferred to the example set before their eyes by their Premier.

The news that this address had been agreed to by the Canadian Parliament, was at once transmitted by cable to the leading newspapers of the Mother Country. The Irish Parliamentary party, at a meeting held in the conference room of the Imperial House of

Commons, returned its thanks for the "frank and timely action in their favour," and the Land League followed its example. Professor Goldwin Smith, under these circumstances, considered it his duty to enlighten the British public on the true character of the new feature which had arisen in Canadian political life, and which feature so largely partook of its American counterpart. He declared that it was merely an indecent and unprincipled bid, at both sides, for the Irish Roman Catholic vote at the approaching elections. And a large number of the more sensible people of Canada held the same opinion. On the 1st of May, the subject of this address was brought to the notice of the Imperial Commons. Gladstone quietly said that the document had not been transmitted in the regular manner, and therefore could not be laid before the House. "It may however," said he, "be stated, that the question referred to in the address, appertains exclusively to the Imperial Parliament and Government." Earl Kimberly, the Colonial Secretary, advised the Governor-General, that "while Her Majesty will always gladly receive the advice of the Parliament of Canada, on all matters relating to the Dominion, she must *exclusively* be guided by the Imperial Parliament and ministers, on all the affairs which exclusively appertain to the United Kingdom." His language embodied a dignified and well-merited rebuke. The English press naturally expressed no small indignation at the action of the Canadian Parliament. The London *Times* was lost in amazement at the fact, "that exactly three days before the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish, and of the Irish Under-Secretary, Mr. Burke, Canadian loyalty and devotion should assume the shape of a formal recommendation, that rebellion and treason should be legitimatised. Aside from this address, only one other matter of importance came before Parliament during the remainder of the session. The measure permitting marriage with a deceased wife's sister was again brought before the House, and finally agreed to, and also passed in the Senate. On the 17th of May, 127 public and private acts received the "Royal assent," and Parliament was prorogued.

Although the five years' existence of the House of Commons would not have expired, by effluxion of time, until late in 1883, ministers now determined to appeal to the country on their National Policy platform. Parliament was accordingly dissolved on the 18th of May, and the writs were at once issued, and made returnable on the 7th of August. Both parties were well prepared for the contest, both were confident of success, both alike strained every nerve to achieve it. But the Reform Party was again overwhelmingly defeated, and the Government secured majorities in all the provinces except Prince Edward Island and Manitoba, and counted on a Parliamentary vote of seventy over the Opposition. Sir Richard Cartwright, and several other prominent Reform leaders, were defeated; and there was a good deal of party weeping and wailing. The Macdonald star was still in the ascendant, and Blake had not been a whit more

successful than Mackenzie, and was deeply mortified by his defeat.

With the exception of the election contest, no event of importance occurred in Canada during the summer. The general prosperity of the country led to a good deal of unwise speculation, which more especially developed itself in the locating of "paper towns," as they were called, along the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and at other points in the North-West. At the same time, some two hundred "colonisation companies" were formed, and obtained grants of land; and speculators of means, but more frequently without means, swarmed over Manitoba and the North-West Territories. In a few instances towns were founded at the right places, and their lots increased in value with the progress of time; but, as a rule, the opposite condition was usually the case. While the speculative fever lasted, many persons bought lots at auction sale and otherwise, which looked very flattering on nicely engraved maps, but were afterwards found to possess no commercial value whatever. On the 13th of September, a great Conservative meeting took place at Shaftesbury Hall, Toronto, for the purpose of making preparations to carry the approaching elections for the Province of Ontario. Macdonald and two of his fellow-ministers were present, and thus unwisely stepped into the arena of local politics. This meeting, however, produced no results of any value, in the desired direction. The feeling of the majority of the people of Ontario was, that Mowat and his friends fulfilled all that they desired, from a local stand-point, while, at the same time, they were fully satisfied that Macdonald and *his* friends should remain at the Dominion helm, and there carry out their National Policy to its legitimate results. On the 20th of June, the law lords of the Privy Council decided, that the Canadian Parliament had not exceeded its functions in enacting the "Scott Act." This decision strengthened the hands of the Temperance Party, now rising into great influence and importance, and strenuous efforts were shortly afterwards made, especially in Ontario and New Brunswick, to extend the operations of that Act. On the 13th of September the news of the great British victory at Tel-el-Kebir, in Egypt, caused no small rejoicing in Canada. On the 9th of December, Sir Hugh Allan died at Edinburgh, Scotland, in the seventy-third year of his age. While still in his sixteenth year he had emigrated to this country, and settled in Montreal, where he became a dry goods clerk. He afterwards entered the employment of James Miller & Co., ship-owners and commission merchants, and gradually rose from one position to another until he became a great ship-owner himself. During the latter part of the winter, the Rev. Doctor Egerton Ryerson had died at Toronto, in the seventy-ninth year of his age, from the effects of a cold caught while out duck-shooting during the previous fall. As the founder of the *Christian Guardian*, as an eloquent Methodist minister, as an ardent politician at times, as superintendent of education of Ontario for many years, he will long be remembered.

The new Parliament assembled on the 8th of February ; and on motion of Sir John A. Macdonald, seconded by Sir Hector Langevin, George A. Kirkpatrick, the member for Frontenac, 1883. was chosen speaker by acclamation. On the ensuing day the Governor-General delivered his opening speech. He told the House, that following the example of his distinguished predecessor he had, during the preceding summer, paid a visit to British Columbia, and had been much struck by its resources, which the completion of the Pacific Railway could not fail to develop, and thus give a great impulse to the prosperity of that province. It was expected that the railway would reach the Rocky Mountains during the year, and that its Lake Superior section would be also well advanced. The remainder of his speech was devoted to mere matters of routine, and presented no salient points for the Opposition to lay hold of. Blake, however, found fault with many things. He pointed to the fact, that the Government had lost ground in Ontario, despite the reconstruction of the ridings in its own favour, and that its majority in that province had been reduced from 36 to 18. The boasted surplus in the revenue, of over six million dollars, he declared to have been oppressively extracted from the pockets of an already overtaxed people, and was not an evidence of statesmanship, but of incapacity in statesmanship. While acknowledging the prosperity of the country, for the past three or four years, he considered that the culminating point of over-speculation, of over-trade, and of over-importation had been reached, and that a period of reaction must soon come, and advised a policy of caution and care as regarded the future. In conclusion, he expressed the hope, "that the deliberations of the new Parliament might be moderate, careful, candid, and patient ; and that when its term had expired, they might all be able to join in the statement, that the things it had done had redounded to the honour and advantage of the land they all loved and revered." And, then, Macdonald arose to soften the effects of the various severe thrusts which the leader of the Opposition had made at his Government, and was less witty and more apologetic than usual. After Tasse had expressed his regret, that the address had neither been moved nor seconded in the French language, it was then agreed to without further debate.

But little business was done during the first month of the session, owing to the occurrence of the Ontario general elections, which drew away a good many members of the Commons, who were anxious to assist their friends. On the 14th of February, the Premier made the customary explanations, as to the changes which had occurred in the Cabinet since the preceding session. Some disputes arising out of the recent elections came before the House, and were speedily disposed of. The judges now tried contested elections ; and while more equal justice was thus assured, Parliament was relieved of an infinity of trouble, and of the many serious difficulties prevailing under the former system.

The Finance Minister, who had now blossomed into a knight as Sir Samuel Leonard Tilley, made his annual budget speech on the 30th of March. He boasted of the continued prosperity of the country under the benign rule of the National Policy ; and stated that the revenue for the past fiscal year, ending with June 30th, 1882, had amounted to \$33,383,000, and the expenditure to \$27,067,000, leaving a surplus of \$6,316,000, the largest that had ever been declared in Canada. To this might be added \$1,744,000 received for the sale of lands in the North-West, so that the total surplus exceeded eight millions. During the same period, \$7,400,000 had been expended on capital account, for the Canadian Pacific and Intercolonial Railways, the enlargement of the canals, and the surveys in the North-West ; so that there was an actual surplus, both on capital and revenue account, over all this expenditure. He estimated that for the current fiscal year the receipts would reach \$34,850,000, and the expenditure \$28,850,000, leaving a surplus of six millions. As an evidence of the solid prosperity of the country, he pointed to the fact, that the deposits, in the ordinary banks of the Dominion, had risen from \$66,406,516, in 1878, to \$96,879,544 on the 31st of December, 1882. The imports from Great Britain, during the past year, had amounted to thirteen million dollars more than they were in 1878 ; while those from the United States were three hundred thousand dollars less. The duties on the latter had been increased $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and on the former $2\frac{3}{4}$. The resolutions, which followed this statement, embodied several tariff changes designed to reduce the surplus, and led to a long debate, but were finally concurred in on the 19th of April.

The railway mania, fed by the tide of prosperity, still in full flow, continued to hold firm possession of Parliament. On the 17th of May, the Minister for Railways, Sir Charles Tupper, recently knighted, proposed, in a series of resolutions, that grants, amounting to \$2,138,400, should be made to various roads. These resolutions were agreed to without much debate, and a bill founded on them was eventually passed. He also introduced a bill to further amend the Consolidated Railway Act of 1879, and declaring certain lines of local railways to be for the general benefit of Canada, so as to bring them within the sphere of Government patronage.—These railways, accordingly, now became Dominion public works, and the grants to which, in several cases, were denounced by the Opposition as being mere bribes for political support. The session was fruitful of a large amount of useful and necessary legislation, which, in addition to "Orders in Council," fills a statute book of nearly seven hundred pages. On the 23rd of May, both Houses agreed to a joint, and very complimentary, address to the Governor-General, whose term of office was now on the eve of expiration. It was presented in the Senate Chamber, two days afterwards, by the Privy Council, and was most suitably replied to. The Marquis returned thanks for the high personal honour which had been conferred upon himself—for the kind allusions which had been made

to his wife, and declared that the happiest hours of his life were those which had been spent in Canada. And then he gracefully alluded to the proud position in many ways which the Dominion now occupied, and to the grand future which lay before it. He prorogued Parliament on the same day ; and, in doing so, alluded to several useful measures which had become law, and to the readjustment of the tariff, which reduced the duty on raw material required for domestic manufactures, and provided otherwise for the better development of the industries of the country. "Honourable Gentlemen of the Senate ; Gentlemen of the House of Commons," said he, in conclusion, "I desire to thank you for the great honour conferred upon me by the presentation of your joint address ; and the message to Her Majesty, of which you make us the bearers, comes, as we personally know, from a people determined to maintain the Empire. The severance of my official connection with Canada, does not loosen the tie which will ever make me desire to serve this country. I pray that the prosperity I have seen you enjoy may continue, and that the blessing of God may at all times be yours to strengthen you in unity and peace." On the 18th of June, the Marquis and the Princess Louise left the capital for the summer's fishing on the Cascapedia ; and, until their final departure, they afterwards resided at the citadel of Quebec.

In the month of June western Ontario witnessed an unusual occurrence. The old French-Canadian settlement on the Thames and St. Clair rivers had multiplied apace, since the days when Pontiac had besieged Gladwyn so closely at Detroit, and their people now determined to assert themselves. A great gathering accordingly took place at the Town of Windsor, and fully ten thousand French-Canadians walked in procession. Delegates had ascended from Quebec ; and, as a friendly newspaper stated, "Sir Hector Langevin delivered an eloquent and patriotic address," in which he dwelt on the past and present of the French-Canadian race, and pointed to the bright career which lay before them. A resolution was finally adopted, which declared, "That whereas the French was the language of our ancestors, and its preservation amongst us one of the principal safeguards of our religion and national traditions, the greatest encouragement should be given to it, particularly in our schools, and from statesmen of our nationality."

During the latter part of the summer, a boundary war, on a small scale, arose between the Provinces of Ontario and Manitoba, which was waged on both sides with alternate success and defeat. The dispute had existed for some time. In 1882, during the Dominion elections, the Reform Party had used it with effect as a political weapon of assault against the Federal Cabinet ; and, in the following year, the Ontario Government manipulated it unsparingly in its own behalf. In 1878, the arbitrators commissioned to settle the boundary line, had awarded to Ontario a part of the eastern section of the Province of Manitoba,* as defined by the

Federal statute. The finding of the arbitrators had not, however, been as yet confirmed by Parliamentary enactment, but nevertheless the Ontario Government determined to move in and assume possession. Commissioners were accordingly sent to Rat Portage, a village at the extreme end of the Lake of the Woods, 113 miles from Winnipeg, and on the line of the Pacific Railway, to take evidence as to some conflicting land claims ; while, at the same time, a stipendiary magistrate was appointed for the district, and a log court house and gaol constructed. As the Town of Rat Portage had been incorporated over a year before, by the Manitoba Legislature, a conflict of jurisdiction at once ensued. The Ontario constables arrested the Manitoba constables, and the latter, in turn, arrested their adversaries, and a most disgraceful, yet somewhat ludicrous, state of things ensued. The battle commenced by the constables, was continued by the rival magistrates in a war of warrants, and other hostile modes of process, and eventually it was threatened to send a military force from Winnipeg to support the Manitoba belligerents. Finally, however, better and more peaceable counsels prevailed, and the matter was arranged by a compromise between the two local governments, and a joint reference to the Imperial Privy Council, which ultimately resulted in favour of Ontario.

Early in July, the news was received that the Marquis of Lansdowne had been appointed as the new Governor-General of Canada. He owned an estate in a very poor part of Ireland—the County Kerry, which brought him an annual rental of some fifty cents an acre, and had a reputation of being an easy landlord. His agents, however, were more inclined to promote emigration than to have the poor tenantry remain in abject poverty at home, and for this he was denounced as an Irish exterminator ; and United States Fenians, and their organs, began to indulge in loud threats as to the example they proposed to make of him when he came to this country. The press of Canada, at both sides of politics, made a good defence for the Marquis, and conclusively proved that he was not by any means the cruel Irish landlord which he had been painted, but, on the contrary, a moderately good one. He arrived at Quebec, in company with his family and his suite, on the 22nd of October, on board the Allan steamship *Circassian*, which had a stormy passage across the Atlantic. He landed on the following day, met with a brilliant reception, was duly sworn in, and then installed in his government by his retiring predecessor.

The closing scenes of the Marquis of Lorne's five years' rule in Canada were brilliant in the extreme. They embraced a grand ball at the Windsor House, Montreal, public receptions and addresses there, and a repetition of the same pleasant doings and sayings at Quebec. On the 27th the Marquis and his Princess sailed for home, on the Allan steamship *Sardinian*. They had much endeared themselves to the people of Quebec, of both races, and their departure was made the occasion of a great demonstration

of respect and good-will. Despite a drizzling rain, and very muddy streets, a vast concourse lined the way leading to the point of embarkation ; flags and decorations everywhere appeared ; and the motto *revenez encore*, come back again, was frequently repeated.—The people cheered themselves hoarse as the carriage containing the Marquis and the Princess passed downwards to the wharf, where a large assemblage, of friends and well-wishers, waited to bid them good-bye. There were numerous hand-shakings and many farewells. Presently the deck of the steamship is gained, the moorings are promptly cast off, the citadel thunders out a royal salute, the voyage homewards has begun. As the *Sardinian* passed along the harbour there was much waving of handkerchiefs from her decks and from the wharf ; and cheers, growing fainter and fainter, as the distance increased, spoke the final adieu. For a young and inexperienced man, the Marquis of Lorne had proved a prudent and safe constitutional Governor-General of Canada, and made few mistakes—none of moment—while his amiable and gifted wife left many pleasant recollections behind her in this country.—Since his return to England he has always shown himself the fast friend of Canada, and ready to do it a good turn at any and every opportunity.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE.

The new Governor-General sprang from one of the oldest and greatest of the Whig families of England. His grandfather had been a member of the Fox and Canning governments, and of all their Whig successors, down to the dissolution of Lord John Russell's Cabinet in 1852. Until his death, in 1863, he continued to act as confidential adviser to the Queen, who greatly esteemed him, and deeply regretted his loss. He was a man of good ability, of liberal constitutional principles, of much moderation and good sense ; a generous patron of literature and the fine arts, and the most hospitable of hosts to all his friends. His grandson, destined to be the future Governor-General of Canada, was born January 14th, 1845, educated at Eton and Oxford, and entered public life at an early age. In 1869 he became a Lord of the Treasury, and, in 1872, Under Secretary of War, a position held by him until the fall of the Gladstone administration in 1874. The turn of the political wheel that brought Gladstone back to office, carried the Marquis of Lansdowne into the Under Secretaryship of India.—But the Irish land policy of the Cabinet did not suit the latter, being altogether too radical in its character, and he accordingly resigned. He still, however, continued to give a general support to the Government, and thus came to be appointed Governor-General of Canada. Despite the Fenian shadow which haunted his path, the Marquis settled himself down very comfortably for the winter at Rideau Hall, and displayed no symptoms of alarm. Immediately

after the Christmas holidays, he evinced a disposition to qualify himself for the due performance of the duties of his position, by becoming better acquainted with the Canadian people. On 1884. the 10th of January, while on a visit to Toronto, he delivered a very able speech at a banquet given in his honour; and two days afterwards paid a flying visit to Niagara, in order to see how the great cataract looked in its winter garb. On the 4th of February he opened the Montreal "Winter Ice Carnival," and afterwards moved about, from place to place, wherever his presence was needed or desired, and won golden opinions on all sides.—While the ensuing session of Parliament lasted, a generous hospitality prevailed at Rideau Hall; and balls, state dinners, tobogganing and skating parties, constantly succeeded one another. And so the Fenian shadow gradually faded away into thin air, and the Marquis and his wife became the most popular of people.

Parliament assembled at an unusually early period of the year—the 17th of January. The opening speech was longer than usual, and embodied a historical retrospect of value. There was a personal expression of satisfaction at having become the representative of Her Majesty in Canada; and then the House was told, that although the harvest of the preceding season had not come up to the standard of former years, and that the rapid expansion of commerce had led to over-trading, the country was generally prosperous. During 1883 the number of immigrants had been greater than in any previous year. All questions in dispute with British Columbia had been finally arranged, subject to the sanction of Parliament; the Indian tribes of the North-West had mostly settled down on their reserves; and the rapid progress in building the Pacific Railway had been maintained. Of the 2,833 miles between Pembroke and the Pacific coast, 1,738 had been already constructed. When the address, in reply, came to be debated, Blake stated that the speech from the throne was quite as remarkable for what it omitted as what it contained; and pointedly demurred to the general and specific policy of the Government.—He declared that the existing depression arose from the extravagant expenditure of the administration, in the first place; and, in the second, from impoverishing the people by a fiscal policy, which levied needless taxes in order to create a revenue surplus. The Premier made a clever and shrewd response. He asserted that the people of the North-West would not hesitate a moment, to choose between a high tariff with a surplus and the Canadian Pacific Railway, and free-trade with an annual deficit and no railway. He added, that the rapid construction of the railway resulted in giving the people of Winnipeg coal at seven dollars a ton, instead of twenty-three dollars, the former price, and in greatly opening up the North-West Territories. The address was then adopted without further debate.

The first serious breeze of the session arose at the expense of Sir Charles Tupper, still Minister of Railways and Canals, and who

now also filled the office of High Commissioner in England, in succession to Galt, who had resigned. Blake held that his possession of the dual posts was clearly illegal. On the 25th of January he accordingly moved for papers in the case, and asked for explanations from the Government. The High Commissioner, he said, had, under the appointing statute, to receive instructions from ministers; and it was, therefore, an anomaly that he should be a minister, himself. It was also inconvenient that the head of such an important department as that of railways, should be absent from the country the greater part of the year. On the 28th of February Blake again alluded to this matter, and declared that Tupper had violated the Independence of Parliament Act, and had forfeited his seat in the House, by accepting the position of High Commissioner at a salary. The Premier replied that Tupper had been appointed without a salary, quoted English precedents in favour of the legality of the proceeding, and moved that the matter be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, which was carried on a vote of 122 to 57. But the great question of the session, was the Government's proposal to make a loan to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company of \$22,500,000, to enable it to complete its work; the property of the company to be pledged as security for repayment, as well as its land-bonds, and thirty-five million dollars of its stock. A strong opposition was offered to this measure, not only inside the House but outside as well. The Grand Trunk Railway people, now thoroughly alarmed at the policy of opposition to their interests, which their rival had already commenced to develop, made a vigorous fight in their own behalf. They contended that the Pacific Railway Company should restrict its operations to its lines from Montreal westward, and not seek an outlet to the Atlantic Ocean. In other words, the Grand Trunk people demanded the monopoly of all the eastern business of the Dominion, and, under all the circumstances of the case, declared war against the proposed loan. They were taunted, however, with the fact that they had, themselves, received fifteen million dollars of a loan from the old Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada; that the principal and interest of this sum would now amount to some twenty-six million dollars, not one cent of which had ever been repaid; and that before seeking to bully Parliament they should first pay their debt. The debates on this question were bitter and protracted, but it was finally agreed to make the loan on a vote of 112 to 47. This loan was afterwards promptly and honourably repaid, and while the country suffered no loss, it was greatly benefited by placing the Canadian Pacific Railway Company's credit on a firm basis, and so enabling it to complete the road. But numerous grants, by no means of as wise a character as the aid to the Pacific Railway, were made to various other lines, and the public debt thus unduly increased.

On the 28th of February, the Finance Minister made his budget speech. The receipts for the fiscal year, ending with June 30th,

1883, amounted to \$35,794,649, and the expenditure to \$28,730,157, leaving a surplus of \$7,064,492, to which might be added one million dollars received for the sale of lands at the North-West. Deducting the surplus, the taxation per head of the past year had been \$4,82½, against an average of \$4,88 from 1874 to 1879, when the existing Opposition was in power. The estimated receipts for the current fiscal year were put by the minister at \$32,000,000, and the expenditure at \$30,611,639. A long debate ensued, but the budget resolutions were all finally concurred in on the 11th of March. On the 19th of April the House was prorogued, when 107 public and private bills, mainly of a routine character, received the royal assent and became law.

The summer was distinguished for a strong effort, on the part of the Temperance people, to extend the "Scott Act" into every municipality, especially in Ontario. Foremost among the advocates of this proceeding stood the Methodist body, now rendered unusually strong and influential, by the union of its various principal wings under the administration of one general conference. Despite much opposition the movement was unusually successful, and swept in a great moral wave from one end of Ontario to the other. A large number of electors, who were not favourable to temperance associations, on general principle, but were, nevertheless, opposed to the evils of the liquor traffic in the abstract, held aloof from the agitation altogether, declined to appear at the polls on election day, and so permitted the law to go into active operation in their several districts. They were willing to give it a trial for three years, in that fair judicial spirit so eminently characteristic of the Canadian people, as a whole; and if they did not like its operations to vote it out of existence on the expiration of its first term. The Scott Act agitation monopolised the attention of the public through the greater part of the summer and autumn, and little else was talked about.

Late spring frosts, most destructive to vegetation, and a fierce early summer drought afterwards, scourged a large area of old Canada and Northern New York; the prospect for the hay and grain crops became very poor, and a consequent depression ensued in business circles. This condition of things was rendered more acute by the failure of the Exchange Bank, which was speedily followed by disaster to the Federal Bank of Toronto, the stock of which had fallen from 159 to 60, and which had eventually to go into liquidation. The periodical decennial crisis, which usually arises in all English-speaking America from inflation, over-trading, and unwise speculation, had begun to make its appearance in Canada, and Blake's warnings were already assuming a prophetic aspect. This condition of matters was aggravated by a financial crisis in the United States. For nearly three decades causes had been in active operation there, which were gathering up the wealth of the country into the hands of the comparatively few, who had now become enormously rich at the expense of the great body of

the people. Gigantic trusts of every description, railway corporations, huge capitalists like the Goulds, the Astors, the Vanderbilts, and scores of others, were administering its vast resources and its prosperity mainly for their own benefit. The equality of condition, the general distribution of wealth, which had so long been the rule among the American people, had become the exception. Mortgages had widely spread their baneful net-work all over the land, so the rich constantly became richer, and the poor poorer. What touches the great arteries of the commercial life of the northern part of the American continent, as they ebb and flow in the United States, necessarily affects, at every point, the narrow strip of Canadian civilisation that lies along their border, from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and this country, accordingly, sympathetically suffered with her next-door neighbour.

During the summer ministers made business or pleasure tours to various parts of the Dominion, and the leaders of the Opposition busied themselves in addressing large meetings of their friends, and in converting the public generally to their particular views.—Wilfred Laurier, an accomplished master of the English tongue, as well as of his own, spoke at several of these meetings, as did also Blake and Cartwright. Many of the lesser lights of the Reform Party were equally active in propagating their opinions. On the 8th of October, Sir John A. Macdonald passed over to England, where his presence gave a fresh impetus to the consideration of that most non-practical of public questions—the Imperial Federation of the Empire. On the 29th of the preceding month of July, a conference had been held, on the subject, at the Westminster Palace Hotel, at which several leading English and Colonial politicians were present, among whom were Sir Charles Tupper and the Premier of Ontario, Mr. Mowat, at which no definite conclusions were arrived at. On the 18th of November, another meeting took place, when a special committee, which had been appointed to consider the question, recommended the formation of an Imperial Federation League, the chief object of which would be to secure the permanent unity of the Empire. This committee, however, declared, “that no scheme of federation should interfere with the existing rights of local Parliaments, as regarded local affairs; and that any federative plan which might be devised should combine, upon an equitable basis, the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.” The idea of the Federation of the British Empire sounds pleasant to the ear, when it comes to be talked about; but the difficulty is how to carry it practically into effect. A Federal union is comparatively easy of accomplishment in a country like the United States, with a compact territory, and a strong similarity of interests; and it is equally easy in a group of contiguous colonies like those of Canada, or Australia, or South Africa. But the British Colonies, as a whole, lack the first element of such a union, in the total absence

of geographical compactness and neighbourhood, and of similarity of interest. To-day, the only tie which retains them under the same flag, is their relation to a common parent—their use of the same mother tongue. What does Canada care about the Cape of Good Hope or Australia ; or what do these colonies care about Canada ? Then, if there were a Federal Union of the Empire, a Federal Parliament must necessarily follow, with a representation based upon population, to be readjusted after every decennial census ; and the Imperial Parliament with all its venerable glories—all its ancient traditions and memories, would have to step down and out, descend into the silent grave of the past, and its voice be heard no more. What living Englishman, no matter how recreant or how Radical, would submit to this national degradation ! No wonder that shrewdest and most far-seeing statesman of the present day, Lord Salisbury, pronounces the idea of Imperial Federation to be outside the pale of practical politics ; and the present prospect is that it must continue to remain there for all time.*

But, aside from the deference paid to him as regards this Federation question, which he did not, however, appear to be at all enthusiastic about, and the utter impracticability of which he no doubt fully realised, Sir John A. Macdonald had a grand time of it in England. His fame as a successful administrator of the most important colony of the Empire—as the most fortunate of living *professional* politicians—now stood at its zenith. Great chambers of commerce bent down before him. He was an honoured guest at the Lord Mayor of London's annual banquet, spent two days with the Prince of Wales at Sandringham, dined with the Beaconsfield and other aristocratic clubs, and finally visited the Queen at Windsor Castle, where Her Majesty, in the presence of a brilliant gathering, conferred upon him the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath—a distinction coveted by kings. After passing a day and night as the guest of the Queen, he went up to London to attend a grand dinner given in his honour by the Empire Club, at which the Marquis of Lorne presided, and at which, also, the Marquis of Salisbury and other leading members of the English Cabinet were present. Finally, covered with honours and radiant with the reflected glory of royalty, the Canadian Premier sailed for New York on the 29th of November, to reach his cottage home at Earncliffe ten days afterwards. But the uncertainties of mortal life did not the less surely pursue him. Behind all the brilliant sunshine that had so recently illumined his path, lay the nucleus of a rising storm, destined to cause him, very soon, no small trouble and anxiety. The small cloud, “like a man's hand,” had already arisen two thousand miles away, in the Saskatchewan district of the North-West, and the sounds of the approaching storm presently fell upon his ear.

* This was the opinion of the author when the first edition of this History was published in 1855, and he sees no grounds to change it.

CHAPTER XIV.

CAUSES LEADING TO THE SECOND RIEL REBELLION.

IF the reader will take up any good map of the North-West portion of the Dominion, he will see at a glance, that the two great water-ways of the vast region lying between Lake Winnipeg and the Rocky Mountains, are the North and South Saskatchewan rivers. The South Saskatchewan commences at the forks of its great head-waters, the Bow and Belly rivers, which have their sources in the Rocky Mountains south of the Canadian Pacific Railway. After flowing a distance of some forty-six miles it crosses that railway at Medicine Hat, and then pursuing a winding course, for some five hundred miles, joins its sister river at the Forks near the site of the Fort La Corne of the Old *Regime*, twenty-eight miles below the town of Prince Albert. The North Saskatchewan rises in the Rocky Mountains, about three hundred miles north of the boundary line, and, after following a winding easterly course for some nine hundred miles, mingles its waters with Lake Winnipeg. They are both rapid and shallow rivers; and during the annual summer periods of low water are navigable only for steamboats of very light draught. After crossing the one hundred and eleventh degree of longitude, the North Saskatchewan turns to the south-east for some two hundred miles, until it reaches a point called the Elbow, about twenty miles distant from the South Saskatchewan, and both rivers then pursue a north-east course, until they finally mingle their waters at the Forks. Opposite the Elbow, on the South Saskatchewan River, lies Clarke's Crossing on the direct road to Battleford, Fort Pitt, and Fort Edmonton. Thirty-five miles north of Clarke's Crossing lies Batoche, with the settlement of St. Laurent a little farther on. From Batoche Crossing to Prince Albert, the distance is about forty miles. Five miles west of Batoche lies a small sheet of water called Duck Lake, and eighteen miles from Batoche, on the North Saskatchewan, stood Fort Carleton, an old Hudsons Bay Company trading post of considerable extent, the picket and other wooden

defences of which were wholly commanded by the adjoining steep hills. In 1884, the entire Half-breed population of the country extending along the Saskatchewan rivers, from Clarke's Crossing to the Forks, numbered about 4000 souls, of whom over three-fourths were of French-Canadian extraction, with not quite 700 heads of families. Of the latter 298 resided in the Duck Lake, St. Laurent, and Batoche settlements, and were nearly all of the Roman Catholic communion. With very few exceptions they were all hunters, who had always hitherto pursued a semi-nomadic life, but had at length been forced by the disappearance of the buffalo, and the scarcity of smaller game, to adopt a more settled mode of existence. They found the country along the South Saskatchewan a pleasant and fertile one; and, during 1882, a large Half-breed population flowed in. They could scarcely be called farmers, however, and contented themselves with cultivating small patches of ground, not usually much larger than the average sized garden, and never more than a few acres in extent. Their principal means of subsistence still were hunting and fishing, and, in addition, teaming goods from the line of the Pacific Railway for the few merchants of the district and the Hudsons Bay Company. With the exception of a few of their leading men, they were wholly illiterate, alike simple and superstitious, exceedingly fond of amusement, and as little disposed to settle down to hard labour of any kind as their ancestors at both sides—the *Coureur de Bois*, the *voyageur*, and the Indian. They all spoke the French and Cree languages, and a few a little English as well.

So much has been said and written about the rights of these people, and about the neglect of the Government of the day in dealing with these rights, that a brief review of their case cannot

fail to be of some interest to our readers. The public 1878. archives at Ottawa reveal the fact, that on the 1st of

February, 1878, at a public meeting held in the Parish of St. Laurent, a petition to Lieutenant-Governor Laird, of the North-West Territory, was agreed to. That petition set forth that the greater part of the population were French Half-breeds, and requested that one of their number might be appointed a member of the Territorial Council under authority of the Act of 1875, that five dollars per head school money be allowed for each child, that a survey be made and land-scrip issued to all settlers *who had not already got scrip in Manitoba*, that the sudden transition from a prairie to an agricultural life caused by the decline of the buffalo, and the hunting ordinance of the North-West Council for its future protection, had reduced them to extremity, and that they were, therefore, under the necessity of asking the Government to grant them the means of purchasing farming implements and seed grain. To this petition the chairman of the meeting, Gabriel Dumont, made his mark, as even he, afterwards so prominent as their military leader, was unable to write his name. It was duly forwarded to Ottawa by Laird, who strongly pressed the matter on

the attention of the Government. On the 18th of March, his despatch was replied to by David Mills, then Minister of the Interior in the Mackenzie Cabinet. He stated, that the survey asked for would be prosecuted as rapidly as the funds at the disposal of the department permitted, that the application for seed and farming implements was inadmissible, and that he could not see why the Half-breeds should be treated differently from white settlers, over whom, in some respects, they had the advantage. And there the matter rested for the ensuing four years.

The next link in this narrative appears in a letter dated the 1882. 11th of March, 1882, from George Duck, Dominion land agent at Prince Albert, to the Surveyor General, stating that the majority of the St. Laurent settlers had taken up their claims in lots of ten chains in width, on the river front, with a depth of two miles, and asking if a re-survey to accommodate them could not be made. Six months afterwards, a reply came from Sir John A. Macdonald, then Minister of the Interior, stating that it was not the intention of the Government to cause any re-survey to be made.

On the 4th of September, 1882, a petition, to the Minister of the Interior, was agreed to by the people of St. Antoine de Padue, (a new parish) who had occupied unsurveyed lands, complaining that their claims were included in odd-numbered sections, and that they had been notified they would have to pay two dollars an acre for them. They were poor people, the petition added, and could not pay for their land without utter ruin, and therefore asked for free grants. They also asked that these lots be surveyed two miles in depth, and with ten chains frontage. This petition was signed by Gabriel Dumont and forty-six others, of whom it was ascertained that thirty-six had already received land or scrip in Manitoba, and had, therefore, no legal right to get free grants a second time ; while the remaining ten, among whom was Gabriel Dumont, himself, had not yet proved their claims at the land office of the district.

On the 19th of November, 1883, a petition was 1883. forwarded to George Duck, still district land agent, from another settlement near St. Laurent, named St. Louis de Langevin, asking for a re-survey of the river lots on the ten chain and two mile system, which had been promised, it was stated, through Father Leduc. This petition was signed by William Bremner and thirty-five others, of whom twenty-four were Manitoba Half-breeds, and had already received their free land-grants, or scrip therefor, in that Province ; while eight others, among whom was Maxime Lepine, afterwards a prominent leader in the insurrection, had not proved their claims, thus leaving only three persons who were legally entitled to free grants under the applying statute. A full investigation showed, beyond all doubt or cavil, that out of the 298 heads of families residing in the Batoche region, 175 were Manitoba Half-breeds, 24 North-West Half-breeds, 18 of doubtful descent, and 39 American Half-breeds. Of these 92 per cent., or say 235 persons, either had no rights as Half-breeds to free land,

or had already received their allotted grants in Manitoba, and were now, in point of fact, making fraudulent claims on the Government, under the mistaken idea they would not be detected. But although the great majority of these people had now no legal claim on the Crown, the Dominion Government felt disposed to deal liberally by them the moment the surveys were fully completed. These surveys had been delayed somewhat, owing to the difficulties which arose as to the true limits of the reserve of the Indian Chief, One Arrow, near Duck Lake. But, in the meantime, the settlers in this section were left wholly undisturbed, as regards any right of possession they could possibly possess. Not a single acre of land was sold over their heads, nor lost to them by the system of survey adopted. In August, the Government Superintendent, William Pearce, instructed Gauvreau, the French-Canadian assistant agent, to visit every settler in the district, ascertain what particular quarter-section he was on, and urge him to make an entry at the land office therefor. This duty was faithfully performed; and although their priests, also, urged the Half-breeds to make the necessary entries, they declined to do so, fearing they might have to pay taxes, or stating, by way of objection, that the Government might call on them to bear arms, but against whom they would not say. In the month of March, another agent, George Duck, was directed to notify these people, a second time, to make their land claims, but contrary to the advice of their priests they again refused to do so. Some even purposely left their homes to avoid being notified by the agent.* It was now evident that the Half-breeds of Batoche, and of the adjoining settlements on the South Saskatchewan, had fully formed the design of coercing the Government, in some way, into giving them a good deal more than they could possibly claim under the most favourable circumstances; and had made up their minds to decline accepting the advice of even their priests, when it did not harmonise with their own views. In pursuing this course, they were merely following the sinister counsel of interested parties, who desired to use them, as will hereafter appear, for the furtherance of their designs.

A wide-spread spirit of dissatisfaction existed at this period in the Prince Albert District. Its people were naturally envious of the great prosperity to which Manitoba had attained, since its erection into a province, with its local Legislature, its representation in the House of Commons, and its subsidies from the Dominion. They had long hoped that the Canadian Pacific Railway would pass through their own district, and so turn the tide in their favour; but its final location, some two hundred miles farther south, blighted all their expectations, and led to a feeling of bitter disappointment and disgust. The land speculations which a good many of the Prince Albert capitalists, and others as well, had

* See Detailed Report of Superintendent, William Pearce, to Minister of Interior, December 14th, 1885.

engaged in, were now of little account, and 'visions of sudden wealth, arising from a great trans-continental line of railway passing through their midst, had vanished into thin air. Even the Hudsons Bay Company's people, whose interests lay mainly along the North Saskatchewan, were much dissatisfied with the existing order of things; and all classes of the community were ripe for any change that would give promise of improving their condition. As time passed away it more plainly appeared, that their only hope to accomplish that result lay in one direction—the erection of the Saskatchewan District into a province of the Dominion. That would bring outside capital into the country, provide government posts of various kinds for the more ambitious of its inhabitants, and stimulate its prosperity in many other forms. But a grave difficulty stood in the way. In 1884 the population of the Saskatchewan District, covering 114,000 square miles, a kingdom in extent, did not amount to over ten thousand persons, exclusive of Indians, and inclusive of Half-breeds, and would not supply a total vote of over 2000.* And at least one-third of that number had not acquired a legal title to their land-claims, and, therefore, could not exercise the franchise if called upon to do so. Under these circumstances it was quite out of the question to expect, that provincial rights and privileges would be conceded by the Federal Government. At last it dawned upon the minds of a good many people of Prince Albert and its neighbourhood, that the only feasible way to lift themselves out of the rut in which they now floundered, and to procure the erection of their District into a province, was to foment a revolution, similar to that which had been already so successful in the case of Manitoba; and to use the existing dissatisfaction among the Batoche Half-breeds, as the means to accomplish that purpose.† During the earlier months of 1884, meetings were held at different places in the District to discuss the presumed grievances of the Half-breeds, to advise measures for their redress, and, if possible, to force them into preparation for a rising. At these meetings, residents of Prince Albert were frequently present, and some of them used very strong language, designed to stir up the Half-breeds, against the Dominion Government. Father Alexis Andre, superior of the Oblat Order in the District of Carleton, swore, in his evidence given at Riel's trial, that he was present at these meetings and approved of their objects.‡ Early in May, a secret meeting was held at St. Laurent, at which several violent resolutions, embodying the demands of the Half-breeds, were agreed to. One of these resolutions declared, that they did not recognise the right of the Dominion to the

* The census of the North-West Territories in 1885, placed the population of Assiniboia at 22,083, of Alberta at 15,533, and of the Saskatchewan District at 10,746.

† See also, letter of William Jackson to Riel, July 23rd, 1884. Father Andre to Lieutenant-Governor, July 21st, 1884.

‡ Blue Book for 1886, p. 144.

North-West Territories. At this meeting a resolution was also passed, providing that a deputation of four persons should wait upon Riel, whose term of banishment had expired, and who now resided at St. Peter's Jesuit mission in Montana, near the Rocky Mountains, whither he had been secretly sent by his friends at Quebec, and invite him to come to Canada to champion their cause "in any further action which might be determined on."* This resolution was especially prompted by persons from Prince Albert, who were well aware that Riel was the fitting man to further their purposes, and readily agreed to provide funds to pay all necessary expenses. At the same time, there were good grounds for the supposition, that these Prince Albert people were merely acting as the agents of others, who kept wholly out of view, and retired still further into the background when rebellion became an accomplished fact, and they fully realised what a dangerous conflagration they had assisted to produce.

In the latter part of May, Dumont and the three other delegates appointed at the meeting alluded to, travelled a distance of seven hundred miles to St. Peter's, there found Riel performing the duties of a teacher in the Jesuits' industrial school, and told him their errand. After a day's consideration, he expressed his willingness to go with them in a formal letter, so that there might be no future mistake about the conditions of acceptance. "The community," said he, "in the midst of which you live, have sent you as their delegates to ask my advice on various difficulties, which have rendered the British North-West unhappy under the administration of the Ottawa Government." And, then, he proceeded to give his reasons for consenting to return with them. In the first place, his advice, *given at St. Peter's*, would not be of much value to his brethern across the border; in the second, he had personal land-claims of his own to press on the attention of the Dominion Government, although he had become an American citizen, and claims of other kinds as well. The general tone of his letter of acceptance shows, at a glance, that he had recognised his future personal advantage in the object of the delegates' mission, and that his return with them would put him in a position to squeeze more money out of the Dominion Government. He had succeeded in doing this so effectually before, that he had little doubt of being able to repeat the pleasant operation with success.

The news of Riel's prospective return to the North-West was soon spread abroad, and the Dominion Government was advised that he had better be arrested after crossing the frontier.† This however was not done, and, on the 8th of July, Riel found himself, with his wife and two small children, at St. Laurent, and very shortly afterwards commenced the work of agitation, not only among the Half-breeds but also among the Indians, of whom there

* Blue Book for 1885, p. 380.

† Blue Book for 1886, p. 381.

were several bands at Duck Lake and elsewhere in the neighbourhood. At first, however, he proceeded with much caution and moderation, as if to feel his way ; and, on the 18th of July, addressed, on the invitation of a number of its citizens, a large meeting at Prince Albert. With a few exceptions he met quite an enthusiastic reception, and even Father Andre, who had advised that he be prevented from entering the country, was much pleased with his speech, which was delivered in the English language, as were also the great majority of his hearers.* On the 1st of September, a meeting was held at St. Laurent, at which a number of white men and Half-breeds from Prince Albert were present. The tone of moderation was now abandoned, and speeches strongly condemning the Federal Government were made. A white man, named Jackson, openly stated that the country belonged to the Indians and their relations the Half-breeds, and not to the Dominion Government.† At this meeting a Bill of Rights was agreed to, in much the same way as had been done in the Manitoba rebellion, and for the same purpose—the creation of discontent. There is no evidence, however, to show that this Bill of Rights ‡ was ever forwarded to the Government, and it was evidently framed with the design that its extravagant demands should prevent its acceptance, and thus lead to further agitation and dissatisfaction. That this was the immediate object sought to be accomplished, was very soon made plain by the conduct of Riel. A few days after the meeting had taken place, he began to talk very boldly, as to the extreme steps to be taken in the event of the demands of the Half-breeds not being granted. Meanwhile, he had written to Archbishop Tache, in a peaceable strain, detailing his line of policy ; and was counselled, by that prelate, to adopt only constitutional means for the redress of grievances, and to duly make the necessary representations to the Government. The lower clergy faithfully carried out the policy of the Archbishop at this juncture, and do not appear to have lent themselves in any way to foment dissatisfaction among the Half-breeds. But being their priests, and dependent on them for support, they were naturally anxious that their people would be

* Father Andre to Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney, July 21st, 1884.

† Report of Colonel Irvine (Police Commissioner) for 1885, p. 20. See also evidence on Riel's trial.

‡ The Bill of rights demanded as follows :—

(1) The subdivision into Provinces of the North-West Territory, (2) The Half-breeds to receive the same grants and other advantages as the Manitoba Half-breeds. (3) Patents to be issued at once to those in possession. (4) The sale of half a million acres of Dominion lands, the proceeds to be applied to the establishment, in the Half-breed settlements, of schools, hospitals, and such-like institutions, and to give the poorer Half-breeds seed grain and farm implements. (5) The reservation of a hundred townships of swamp hay land, for distribution among the children of Half-breeds during the next 120 years. (6) Grants of at least \$1000, in each case, for the support of a nunnery in every settlement. (7) Better provision for the support of Indians.

liberally dealt with by the Government, and were quite willing that they should even get more than they were legally, or even morally, entitled to ; and supported their claims to that extent. At the same time, they absolutely declined to mix themselves up with any political proceeding which might lead to public disturbance.* But, under the teachings of Riel and the other agitators, the Half-breeds soon showed themselves much less amenable to clerical rule than had been their wont, and seemed to be resolutely bent on following their own course. The great majority of the Batoche Half-breeds were from Manitoba, had mostly been supporters of Riel during his first rebellion, and had still profound faith in him. As he presently assumed the prophetic and semi-priestly character, in order to impose more effectually on their credulity, his influence steadily increased. They still had a vivid remembrance of his successes in 1869-70, ascribed the indulgent manner in which they had afterwards been treated by the Government to fear, and cherished an extraordinary idea of their own prowess and political importance. During the latter part of the summer, active steps were taken to provide the Half-breeds with the latest and best make of American rifles, for which purpose funds were provided by some person or persons unknown. In October forty rifles were received in one lot alone by Dumont, who kept a small general store at his ferry, and was of no small consequence among his people. He told the whites that these rifles belonged to a party of gentlemen who were going north to hunt moose. In addition to arms, large quantities of ammunition were smuggled across the border from the United States, and sent north to Batoche. At the same time, Riel continued to carry on a correspondence with his friends in Montana, and in the event of a rising confidently expected assistance from that quarter and elsewhere in the United States

Having completely established his personal ascendancy with the Half-breed population in the Saskatchewan District, and shown how thoroughly they were under his control, Riel now determined to ascertain, through Father Andre, whether the Federal Government felt disposed to prevent further agitation, by paying him to leave the country, in the same way as it had done before. Early in December he began to unbosom himself to his cousin, Charles Nolin, to whom he stated that the Government owed him \$100,000, but that he would be contented to take \$35,000 for his claim ; that Father Andre had promised, at Prince Albert, to use his influence to get him that sum, and that in the event of his receiving the money he would leave for any place the Government wished him to go to. The evidence of Thomas E. Jackson was to the same effect.† Father Andre afterwards deposed, that Riel had told him and another gentleman, in December, 1884, that he had a claim against

* See evidence of Charles Nolin at Riel's trial, in Blue Book for 1885, p. 128.

† See evidence of the same person at p. 125.

the Government for \$100,000, and would accept \$35,000, and leave the country ; and that he added, "if you cannot get that sum for me, get all you can." At the same time, Riel clearly conveyed the idea to Father Andre that, in point of fact, he was, himself, the whole Half-breed question ; and finally said, "if I am satisfied the Half-breeds will be." "He was an autocrat in religion and politics," swore the Father, "and a man without principle."

During the month of January Riel anxiously awaited an answer, in respect to his \$35,000 offer to the Government ; which, however, saw fit to ignore both him and his proposition, and 1885. now took steps to meet any difficulties which might arise, by increasing the Mounted Police Force in the district. On the 27th of that month, he expressed his disappointment to Nolin, who shortly afterwards received a semi-official telegram, stating that the Government was about to grant their rights to the Half-breeds, but making no mention whatever of Riel's claim. It was now quite evident, that the Dominion authorities had fully made up their minds not to entertain that claim, in any form or to any extent. Riel's anger, as a consequence, became very great ; and he declared that "the English had been robbing people for four hundred years, that this had been going on for a long period, and that it was time to put a stop to it." From that day forward he cherished the idea of revenging himself on the Government for ignoring his claim, and refusing to pay him a second time to leave the country, and accordingly determined to instigate the Half-breeds to take hostile action, despite the favourable answer, through Nolin, which had been returned to their demands. On the 2nd of March, he had an interview with Father Andre, in St. Laurent, at the residence of the parish priest, and demanded his permission to proclaim a provisional government that day. Father Andre absolutely and indignantly refused to consent to any proceeding of this nature, and after a bitter dispute with Riel, who appeared to be greatly excited, finally turned him out of doors. From that day forward Riel ignored the priests, so far as he dared to do so, and became their bitter although concealed foe. On the following day, he made his appearance at Halero, with sixty armed followers, whom he called his police, and who were to protect him, he said, from arrest. On the 5th of March, he openly avowed his intention to take up arms against the Government.†

THE SECOND RIEL REBELLION.

The reader has already learned that the settlements of Batoche and St. Laurent lie on the South Saskatchewan River, and that

* See evidence of Father Andre at Riel's trial. Blue Book for 1885, pp. 147, 148.

† See evidence of Charles Nolin at Riel's trial. Blue Book for 1885, pp. 125, 126, 127.

eighteen miles west of Batoche Crossing stood Fort Carleton.— Seventy-five miles still farther west, as the crow flies, lay Battleford, and ninety miles to the north-west of that post stood Fort Pitt. These posts were all in the North Saskatchewan District, and, together with Prince Albert, were under the immediate command of Major Crozier, a Superintendent of the Mounted Police Force.— In pursuance of an order from the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, now Sir John A. Macdonald, the garrisons of these four posts had been increased, during October, 1884, to two hundred men of all ranks.* Early in the following year it became known to the authorities, that Riel's intrigues among the Indians had greatly disturbed and excited them, and that invitations had been sent by him to Poundmaker's band near Battleford, and to Big Bear, the principal chief near Fort Pitt, to attend a great gathering at Duck Lake in the spring. Crozier reported to his superior officer, that Riel also designed to make efforts to induce the Qu'Appelle and Blackfeet Indians to be likewise present at this gathering, and to make common cause with him. Matters, however, outwardly continued to have a quiet appearance, so well did the Half-breeds keep their secret, and conceal their hostile preparations; while the Indians remained as stolid and as silent as is their wont. On the 10th of March, Crozier telegraphed to Colonel Irvine, at Regina, that the Half-breeds in the neighbourhood of Fort Carleton had become unusually excited, were moving about more freely than was their wont, and had stated that it was their purpose to prevent supplies for his force going in after the 16th. In order to be able to cope more effectually with any difficulties that might possibly arise, Crozier ordered twenty-five men and one seven pound gun from Battleford, which brought his entire strength at Fort Carleton up to seventy-five Mounted Police. Matters now looked so threatening at the north, that Colonel Irvine, after telegraphing to Ottawa that rebellion was likely to break out at any moment, determined to reinforce Crozier as speedily as possible. On the 18th he accordingly left Regina for Fort Carleton, with a force of ninety men and officers. The second day's march brought him to the telegraph station north of the Touchwood Hills, where he found a despatch awaiting him from Crozier, stating that the Half-breeds had risen in active rebellion, had seized the Government stores on the South Saskatchewan, had made Walters, the Indian Agent at Duck Lake, a merchant of the same place, and three other white men prisoners, and had cut the wires communicating with the north. Crozier also informed him, that Beardy's and One Arrow's bands of Indians, who had their reserves at Duck Lake, had joined the Half Breeds, and raised their fighting force to nearly four hundred men. The insurgents were well-aware of Irvine's approach, and determined to dispute his passage of the South Saskatchewan, and thus

* Colonel Irvine's Report for 1885, p. 20.

prevent him from forming a junction with Crozier. But instead of seeking to cross at Batoche, Irvine prudently turned to the right, and twelve miles farther down the river passed it safely without interruption. He then proceeded to Prince Albert, where he arrived on the seventh day, at 8 p. m., having marched a distance of 291 miles, over snow roads, or nearly 42 miles a day—a remarkable feat considering the time of the year, and the difficulties which beset travel at that season. After resting his men and horses for a brief space, and adding twenty-five volunteers to his force, he resumed his march to Fort Carleton, and arrived there on the 26th.

Meanwhile, the Half-breeds had held a meeting on the 17th of March, and formed a provisional government, with Riel as President, Gabriel Dumont adjutant-general, Joseph Gondal lieutenant of the guards, and A. Furgeon captain of the horse. An advisory council, composed of twenty-five members, among whom were several leading Indians, was also formed. In the face of these hostile proceedings the priests of St. Laurent and Batoche found themselves utterly powerless, and realised, at last, that they had found a master in a man whom they had hitherto regarded in the light of a docile disciple. And the Prince Albert and other scheming white people were lost in amazement, at being now confronted with the fact, that the supposed tool whom they had imported to further their sinister purposes, had been finally transformed into their tyrant, and had different purposes altogether of his own. Riel now publicly declared that the priests, hitherto the potent rulers of their flocks, must restrict themselves wholly to their religious duties, had no right whatever to meddle with political or other secular matters, and sought to mortify and worry them at every safe opportunity. This policy, in addition to his more open assumption of the role of the prophet, greatly added to his influence with the Half-breeds and Indians, who now looked up to him as the superior person, not only in political but also in religious matters.

Riel's provisional government lost no time in asserting its authority. On the day following its formation, it commenced the seizure of the Federal provisions, grain, and other stores in the neighbourhood; plundered the stocks of the merchants in every direction; waylaid the teamsters passing to and from Prince Albert, confiscated their loads, and even carried off their horses and sleighs. Private and public property were treated alike, and a thorough system of plunder and open robbery inaugurated. Council meetings and marauding excursions now followed in quick succession, and large supplies of stores of all kinds were soon accumulated at Batoche, the headquarters of the insurrection, for future use. On the 21st Riel sent a message to Crozier, demanding the unconditional surrender of Fort Carleton, and stating that if it were not surrendered it would at once be attacked, and a war of extermination ensue. On the 25th, the Half-breeds seized the Duck Lake

Indian post, with all the Government stores it contained, made prisoners of the traders residing there, and confiscated their goods.

Meanwhile, Crozier had taken steps to strengthen his force, by communicating with Captain Moore, commanding a volunteer company at Prince Albert, who at once drew forty of his men together, with whom he reached Fort Carleton on the 20th, bringing up the total garrison there to 115 of all ranks. On the night of the 25th, Crozier sent out two scouts towards Duck Lake, to ascertain if the roads were still uninterrupted by the insurgents, and if there were any news of Irvine's advance. These scouts were, however, captured by a party of Half-breeds and Indians, led by Dumont; and Crozier was thus left in ignorance of the condition of affairs at his front. Early on the following morning, he detached a party, consisting of a sergeant and seventeen men, to bring in the Government ammunition and other stores which he supposed to be still safe at Duck Lake. This party was placed in charge of Thomas McKay, a Scotch Half-breed magistrate from Prince Albert. Its vanguard consisted of four of the Mounted Police, who, when within some three miles of their destination, found themselves suddenly in front of a large and well-armed body of insurgents, under the command of Dumont, and thought it prudent to retire. McKay, when he saw how matters stood, halted the sleighs, and ordered the men to load and prepare for action. Fortunately the ground was open, and there was no cover at hand, and Dumont and his party, although very insulting and even aggressive, declined to make an attack on the Police, as it might have ended in a serious loss to themselves. McKay at once despatched a messenger to Crozier asking for support, and then leisurely returned to Fort Carleton, without being further interfered with by the insurgents. On hearing McKay's report of how matters stood, Crozier at once determined to force his way to Duck Lake, and moved forward in that direction with a force of 99 men, of whom 41 were Prince Albert Volunteers, and one seven pound gun.

Dumont's scouts, who were well-mounted, speedily apprised him of Crozier's advance, and he at once fell back to a strong defensible position on Beardy's Reserve, about a mile and-a-half from Duck Lake; and sent word to his friends, already assembled there, to push forward as rapidly as possible to his assistance. Just as the head of Crozier's column made its appearance, at least three hundred Half-breeds and Indians,* all well-armed and good shots, had come up to his support, and were skilfully distributed in the broken ground of a poplar wood, in a small ravine or coulee which intersected it, and in two small log houses at the centre of the line. Riel's idea was, as he afterwards stated, to surround Crozier, thus compel his surrender without bloodshed, and use him after-

* See affidavits of Ross and Lash, in Report for 1885 of Police Commissioner, pp. 46, 47.

wards to force the Government to comply with his demands. Dumont sought to meet his views, by forming his line of battle in a half circle, one horn of which would bar Crozier's advance towards Duck Lake, while the other could be readily extended across his rear to cut off his retreat, or for flanking purposes, as occasion might require. Dumont had barely time to complete the formation of his line, when Crozier found himself in front of this strong position—a veritable trap skilfully set for his capture or destruction, and, like a brave man, promptly prepared for the battle which he saw was likely to occur. He placed his sleighs across the road to afford cover for his men, sent the horses to the rear, and threw a line of skirmishers into a wood at the right of his advance. Under cover of a pretended flag of truce, sent out for the purpose of gaining time, Dumont now began to push forward his right wing to take Crozier in flank and rear. The latter saw his danger at a glance, and in order to check this movement, which fortunately for him was rendered more difficult by the deep snow in the bush, he ordered his men to fire, and the battle instantly commenced. Crozier was able to effectually neutralise the attempt to outflank him, and so cut off his retreat, but failed to drive the insurgents out of the log houses or the coulee. For fully thirty minutes the battle was hotly contested, Crozier's men from their more exposed position getting the worst of it all the time. The Prince Albert Volunteers, who gallantly endeavoured, again and again, to dislodge the enemy from the dwelling houses and the coulee, suffered severely, and a third of their number soon lay dead or wounded on the snow. The loss of the Police was much less severe, as they fought from behind the sleighs and other cover, and did not expose themselves so rashly. Crozier presently saw that retreat was absolutely necessary to save his force from destruction. His dispositions to accomplish that object were promptly and skilfully made. He succeeded in carrying off all his wounded but one, as well as the gun, but had to leave his dead behind him on the fatal field. His retreat was conducted in good order; and the insurgents, who appeared to have had quite enough of fighting for one day, declined to leave their secure cover in pursuit. The loss of the Police was three killed and six wounded, while the Volunteers lost one captain and eight men killed, and one captain and four men wounded. All the wounded afterwards recovered. The insurgents had six men killed and several wounded; but they had achieved an important victory, which greatly elated them, spread more widely the flame of active insurrection, and rendered it much more difficult of suppression. Crozier was well aware that Irvine was advancing to his support, and was greatly blamed for hazarding a battle. Without possessing any accurate information as to the numbers or position of the enemy, he had rashly advanced into a skilfully prepared trap, was forced to fight a much superior force in point of numbers well posted under cover, and was as badly beaten as he was completely out-generaled. His defeat

caused a great loss of prestige to the Mounted Police Force, and their scarlet tunics and soldierly appearance, now ceased to inspire that feeling of awe, in the mind of either the Half-breed or Indian, which they had heretofore produced. Nor did the Force fully recover from the moral effects of its disaster for some time afterwards, or render, in consequence, that effective assistance in the suppression of the rebellion which the country had a right to expect. The wounded volunteer who was left behind, on the field of battle, was humanely cared for by Riel, who next day sent a messenger to Crozier asking him to remove his dead, who were not mutilated in any way. His next proceeding was to despatch runners to Poundmaker, Big Bear, and other Indian Chiefs, announcing the news of the victory over the Government troops, and urging them to rise and destroy the posts in their several neighbourhoods.* "The Police came to attack us," said he, in a letter to Poundmaker, "and we encountered them. God has given us the victory! Thirty Half-breeds and five Crees have sustained the battle against one hundred and twenty men. After thirty or forty minutes' fire the enemy took to flight." Riel's object in making his own force appear so small, was to lead the Indians to despise the Police, and to give them more confidence in themselves. It was a shrewd idea, and at once produced the desired effect. Nearly all the numerous bands of Indians from Duck Lake to Fort Pitt, were very soon afterwards on the war path.

After his defeat Crozier reached Fort Carleton about two o'clock in the afternoon, and in half an hour afterwards Irvine's force made its appearance. The ensuing night passed over without any attack from the enemy, and next day a consultation was held as to what course had better be pursued. Fort Carleton was merely a stockaded post, constructed by the Hudsons Bay Company for trading purposes, and possessed little strength. What was still worse, it stood in a hollow close to the river, and was wholly commanded by an adjoining hill covered with a thick bush, which would afford excellent shelter for the enemy's sharpshooters. Under existing circumstances, and with a hostile force in possession of Batoche Crossing, it would be a difficult post to defend. It was accordingly determined to evacuate it, and retire upon Prince Albert, the true strategic key of the District, and to be held at all hazards. It was also the centre of the white population at the north, and surrounded by several Indian reserves, the occupants of which, if not held well in check, might rise in rebellion at any moment when they heard the news of Riel's success. The capture of the town would be a matter of easy accomplishment, at this juncture, the chief part of its defenders being at Fort Carleton. During the night of the 27th every preparation was quietly made for the

* For full reports of the Duck Lake engagement, see Crozier's despatches to Lieut. Col. Irvine of 22nd of April, and May 29th, 1885; Irvine's Report for 1885; and the evidence on the trials of Riel and other insurgents.

movement to Prince Albert. At one a.m., on the following morning, just as the train of loaded teams was about to pass out of the fort, some hay, with which mattresses for the wounded were being filled, took fire, the building over the main gateway was speedily in flames, and other modes of exit had to be made. Irvine feared that the Half-breeds and their Indian allies, guided by the fire, might descend upon him, and threw out strong pickets, on every commanding point, to protect the long line of sleighs which toiled tediously up the steep hill to the plain beyond. But his march was unmolested by the enemy, and Prince Albert, then a straggling village of some seven hundred inhabitants, was safely reached at four o'clock in the afternoon, and now received an addition, including women and children, of over two hundred new mouths to feed. But the alarm which quickly spread in all directions, soon brought nearly all the white population of the surrounding country to Prince Albert, and Irvine, in addition to his own men, had to provide rations for over a thousand of these fugitives. A volunteer force, three hundred strong, was now enrolled for the protection of the village, but only 116 rifles were available to arm them, and the rest of the men had to content themselves with shot guns. At the same time, a force of fifty mounted scouts was organised, under the command of Thomas McKay, which did most important service in protecting outlying settlements.* These prudent measures prevented any serious outbreak in the neighbourhood of Prince Albert.

Three days after Irvine had marched out of Fort Carleton, Riel took possession of that part of it which had escaped the fire. But finding that it was of little use to him, he completed its destruction two days afterwards, after having first removed every article of any value. On the 4th of April all the Government buildings at Duck Lake were also destroyed, and the insurgent headquarters finally established at Batoche. Meanwhile, Riel had not ceased to hold in bitter remembrance his quarrels with Father Andre and one or two other priests, kept himself entirely aloof from the clergy, adopted the role of the prophet more fully, and declared that the Metis' Nation was at length about to rule the North-West. In order to weaken the authority of the priesthood more effectually, he now formulated a new creed for the Half-breeds. In this creed he set forth, that all believers constituted the new church, that the Pope was not infallible, that the Holy Scriptures were inspired, that every man had a right to learn the truths they contained, and that all men would be finally saved. But its streaks of Protestantism were interlarded with a profound veneration for the Virgin Mary and all the saints, but especially for the purely French-Canadian ones, and so made quite a comfortable and acceptable creed for the Half-breeds and their red allies as well. His prophetic aspirations, especially, were

* Despatches of Lieut. Col. Irvine to Sir John A. Macdonald, April 1st, and 16th May, 1885.

held in great account by the Indians, chiming in as they did with their own heathen superstitions and "medicine men." This new step, so adroitly taken at the most favourable juncture, made Riel's influence supreme with all his followers, and almost wholly destroyed, for the time, their former attachment to their priests. He was now the religious as well as political leader of the Half-breeds, and, in every sense, completely controlled the situation. His arrogance increased with his authority. "I will be master in this country," he said, or perish in the attempt. He aspired to be its pope as well as political ruler.* Like Mahomet, he became a religious impostor for a purpose, and like Mahomet he always had his wits well about him, and used them on every occasion, when called upon to exercise them, to the best advantage.

Two days after the Duck Lake engagement, the Indian bands for over a hundred miles up the North Saskatchewan, had heard of the disaster which had befallen the Police and Volunteers, and there was a great commotion amongst them. Riel's intrigues had already poisoned their minds with disaffection, prepared them for a rising at any moment, and the news of his victory at once started them on the war-path. With the innate treachery, so inherent in the great majority of their race, they now forgot, in several instances, how beneficently they were being fed and cared for; forgot, also, their own solemn treaties and pledges, and stood ready to turn upon their best benefactors and friends. The Battle River has its head waters near the spurs of the Rocky Mountains, and after winding its devious way eastward for a course of some three hundred miles, and receiving numerous affluents, flows into the North Saskatchewan at Battleford. Here a bold bluff at the forks presented a safe site for a military post, on which a good-sized stockaded fort was erected for the accommodation of the force of Mounted Police assigned to the District. Under the shadow of this fort a prosperous village grew up, which at one time promised to be the capital of that part of the North-West, and in which the Lieutenant-Governor resided for a few years. But the location of the Pacific Railway to the south seriously damaged its prospects, changed otherwise the aspect of its affairs, and, by-and-by, the seat of territorial government was transferred to Regina. But Battleford was an important business centre, lay in the midst of a good country, and although its chief officials had departed the people still remained. Ten miles to the south commenced the boundaries of three large Indian reserves; eight miles to the North-West began the boundaries of three other reserves; and twenty-five miles away, on the Battle River, stood Poundmaker's reserve, watered nearly through its middle by Cut Knife Creek. It was bounded on its westerly limit by the large reserve of Little Pine, which extended at both sides of the Battle River. The population

* See evidence of Thomas E. Jackson in Riel's trial, Blue Book for 1885, pp. 116, 117. Also see evidence of George Ness, pp. 99, 100.

of this group of Indian reserves amounted, in 1885, to 2423 souls, which would give a fighting force of at least 500 men ; while some fifty Half-breeds, mainly from Manitoba, were scattered here and there amongst them. Fortunately, at this juncture, a good many of the older and more prudent Indians were opposed to any extreme courses ; but the younger men were wholly regardless of restraint, soon rife for any mischief, and, on the 29th, commenced a movement against Battleford. Major Morris, the Police Inspector commanding there, a prudent and energetic officer, had already made preparations for their reception. On the 26th he had received a telegram from head-quarters, at Regina, instructing him to strengthen his troops by the formation of volunteer companies, and in this way he was soon enabled to raise his force to 200 men. At the same time, he repaired the stockade, threw up an embankment on the inside, cut portholes at proper distances, made cover for his sharp-shooters with sandbags, and secured all the forage and provisions possible. In addition to the garrison, over three hundred women and children found refuge in the fort ; and the village, lying at both sides of the Battle River, was completely deserted. Morris had not a single brother-officer with him, and with positive danger outside his post, and several suspicious persons within it, his personal responsibilities were of the gravest character. Fortunately, however, he proved entirely equal to the occasion. To add to his difficulties, the telegraph wires were presently cut by the enemy, and he had, as best he could, to keep open his line of communication by couriers. One of these, a constable, while on his way to Swift Current, was pursued for sixty miles, but finally got to his destination in safety.* Early on the 29th, Judge Rouleau and several others, who were unwilling to abide the results of a siege, left Battleford, and after many difficulties and hair-breadth escapes, finally reached Swift Current in safety. Late on the same day, one of the Indian tribes near the Eagle Hills, after murdering their farm-instructor, Payne, and another white man, a rancher named Tremont, commenced a movement against Battleford, and were soon joined by Poundmaker's and other bands. The next day they made their appearance on the south bank of the Battle River, and at once commenced to plunder the deserted stores and dwellings, in what was known as the old town. In two days more, nearly the whole of the Indians of the district had collected there, and the blockade of the fort was begun. But, situated as it was on a high bluff, the Indians did not dare to attack it, and soon learned to stand in great awe of its solitary seven pounder, which was fired at them whenever they were caught within range, and on several occasions did them no small mischief. To get water from the river was, at times, the great trouble with the garrison, during the siege of twenty-four days. But untiring vigilance, and great prudence, surmounted every difficulty and every danger.

* Morris to Herchmer, April 1st and May 30th 1885, in Irvine's Report pp. 54, 81.

Meanwhile, a bloody drama was being enacted in another direction. Ninety miles west of Battleford stood Fort Pitt, a little stockaded post, containing five wooden buildings, sufficiently large to accommodate a small Police force and the Hudsons Bay Company's agents. It was now garrisoned by Inspector Francis Dickens, a son of the celebrated author, and eighteen men. Six other men of his command, under Corporal Sleigh, were stationed at Frog Lake, some thirty miles from Fort Pitt, and eight miles north of the Saskatchewan River. On the road from Fort Pitt to Frog Lake, and about twenty miles distant, lay Onion Lake, the centre of a small but prosperous settlement and Church of England mission. Two Indian reserves crossed the road between Fort Pitt and Onion Lake, and two others lay to the west and south of Frog Lake. On the 30th of March, Dickens received a letter from Rae, the Indian Agent at Battleford, informing him of the rising in that neighbourhood, and requesting him to keep Big Bear, an Indian Chief with an evil reputation, and a dangerous man, on his reserve at Frog Lake; and so hinder him from forming a junction with Poundmaker. Dickens promptly communicated with Quinn, the Indian sub-agent at Frog Lake, the son of a Sioux mother and an Irish father, a man of noble presence and dauntless courage. Quinn sent an answer back that the Indians were perfectly quiet, and that instead of accepting the reinforcement which Dickens had offered him, he thought it the better way to send in Corporal Sleigh's party, as their presence could only have an irritating effect, Sleigh, on his arrival at Fort Pitt, stated that the white people at Frog Lake had held a meeting, at which it was at first resolved to leave with him, but finally Quinn said he would remain at his post, Delany the farm instructor said the same, his wife stated she would not leave her husband, and all the others then declared that they would follow their example. Mann, the farm instructor at Onion Lake, also concluded to stay at his post. Everything so far looked peaceful, but a deadly danger lurked beneath the placid surface. Big Bear had been successfully tampered with by Riel, and now stood prepared to second his views when a favourable opportunity presented itself. Like all the other older chiefs, however, he was shrewd and cautious, and disposed to commit himself as little as possible. During the 31st, the Indians on all the reserves in the neighbourhood of Fort Pitt, had heard from Half-breed and Indian runners of the defeat at Duck Lake, and the intended rising at Battleford. To incite them to prompt action, they were told that a large force of soldiers was coming into the country, and that the sooner they prepared to defend themselves the better.* On the 1st of April the Indians on all the reserves became greatly excited. Big Bear, whose camp was usually about a mile from the Frog Lake settlement, came in there with his band about 8 p. m., and declared that he was determined to

* Report of Inspector Dickens, June 8th, 1885.

remain loyal and give no trouble.* The Indians went back to their camp shortly afterwards, and had a war-dance during the night. Next morning they returned at an early hour, under the leadership of Big Bear's son, Imesis. Two chiefs, Wandering Spirit and Lucky Man, entered every house in the settlement, and made prisoners of all their inmates, who were afterwards collected in a body at Delany's dwelling. Matters now began to look very threatening, and the two Oblat fathers, (Farfard and Marchand,) who had charge of the Frog Lake mission, sought to calm the rising tempest by commencing their morning service, it being Thursday in Easter week. The Indians went almost in a body to the church, but took all their prisoners with them. Big Bear and another chief stood on each side of the door to watch proceedings, and presently Wandering Spirit entered the church with his war-hat on, and his face painted. After the services were over the Fathers addressed the Indians, warning them, in the strongest terms, not to commit any excesses or outrages. Wandering Spirit, who was Big Bear's principal adviser, now ordered all the prisoners, who still supposed they were in no personal danger, to go to the Indian camp. Quinn, however, refused to go with the others, and, persisting in his refusal, was presently shot dead by Wandering Spirit. Gouin, who had been conversing with him was shot immediately afterwards by Miserable Man, another chief. All the other Indians now commenced to load their guns, and in a few moments a rush was made at Delany. Father Farfard, who at once saw his imminent danger, threw himself in front of the doomed man, in order to protect him, but was instantly knocked down, and shot dead; and a moment afterwards Delany shared the same fate; Gowanlock, a millwright, only a little while married, was killed by the side of his young wife. Father Marchand was next shot by Wandering Spirit; and three other white men were also cruelly murdered in cold blood; making nine victims in all. Not one of the slain had ever raised a finger to molest an Indian. On the contrary, they had all been toiling, in one way or another, for the benefit of the red men of the district, who, like savage ingrates as they were, turned and bit the very hands that fed them. They found active abettors and prompters in some of the resident Half-breeds, who had become Riel's agents and fast friends. After the murders had been committed, the little settlement was completely plundered of everything of any value, the dead bodies thrown into the houses, which were then set on fire, and the peaceful and thriving hamlet, of a few hours before, was left a blackened and smoking waste. The unfortunate wives of two of the slain men, Mrs. Delaney and Mrs. Gowanlock, the widows of a moment, were roughly dragged by the savages from the lifeless bodies of their dead husbands, and compelled to pass on to Big Bear's camp.

* Evidence of Interpreter John Pritchard at Big Bear's trial, September 11th, 1885.

"I did not seem to know what it all meant," said Mrs. Delany afterwards, in her pathetic narrative; "it appeared to me like some terrible dream, and I went through it all dazed and stunned, with only the power of my limbs left me to follow the Indian, as he dragged me after him. I was pulled through the sloughs and coarse brush, which wet me through, and tore my clothes and flesh; but my grief and terror rendered me unconscious of much of my suffering." John Pritchard, and three other half-breeds, bought the two poor women from their captors, and tenderly cared for them afterwards.

One young man, named Harry Quinn, a nephew of the murdered agent of the same name, made his escape into the bush when the massacre had begun, and fled for his life to Fort Pitt, which he reached on the afternoon of the 4th, after travelling twenty-four hours without food. Dickens continued to fortify his post, as best he could, with the materials at hand; while, at the same time, the Hudsons Bay Company's carpenter commenced to prepare for retreat, should it become necessary, by building a scow to use in descending the river, on which the ice was now fast breaking up. On the 13th, the Indians set fire to the buildings at Onion Lake, and made prisoners of the white inhabitants there, and shortly afterwards a large body of them, numbering over two hundred, appeared on the hill behind Fort Pitt. They were led by Big Bear, who at once summoned Dickens to surrender. On the following day all the Hudsons Bay people at the post surrendered to the Indians, on the promise of good treatment, and Dickens, after losing one of his scouts, and having another man of his small force badly wounded, now determined to retreat. After destroying all the arms and ammunition he could not take with him, he commenced his voyage down the river in the newly built scow, which leaked badly, and required constant bailing out, and at length safely reached Battleford on the 21st. Owing to the severity of the weather, and the running ice, the passage down the river had been attended with no small danger and hardship.*

The news of the successful Indian raid on that part of Battleford to the south of the river, of the massacre at Frog Lake, and of the capture of Fort Pitt, following so quickly on the Duck Lake defeat, spread consternation among all the white population scattered here and there through the wilderness, along the upper course of the North Saskatchewan river and its tributary streams, and many persons abandoned their homes, and fled westward to Fort Saskatchewan or Fort Edmonton, or southward to the Pacific Railway line. The news of disaster soon reached every Indian reserve in the North-West and Manitoba, and, for a time, the commotion was so great that it appeared as if there would be a general rising throughout the whole of that vast region, and ten thousand savages let loose on a universal saturnalia of murder and

* Report of Inspector Dickens, June 8th, 1885.

rapine. Fortunately, however, the great Blackfeet chief, Crowfoot, stood firm in his loyalty to the white man, and the large bands of Indians who looked up to him as their leader remained quietly on their reserves. At the same time, the authorities were unceasing in their efforts to keep the Qu'Appelle and other bands of Indians, residing outside the immediate focus of insurrection on the two Saskatchewan rivers, on their good behaviour, and most fortunately were successful. The United States' Government promptly threw a strong body of cavalry and scouts along the frontier, in order to keep its own Indians under control, and prevent them from crossing the boundary line to aid Riel, who had invited and expected their assistance, a duty which was most efficiently performed.

Beyond borrowing Fort Carleton from the Hudsons Bay Company in 1884, placing a garrison of the Mounted Police there, and increasing the force in the Saskatchewan District, the Dominion Government had adopted no measures to prevent a rising. Not a single step was taken to hinder Riel's re-entrance into the country, despite the warnings of even the priests at Prince Albert, who advised that course, nor to arrest him afterwards; and the Half-breeds were permitted, without restraint, to bring in arms and ammunition from the United States, and to make preparations otherwise for insurrection. It is true that these preparations were made with some secrecy, but still a good deal was known about them, and much more could have been learned had even ordinary precaution been exercised. The fact that the Premier sent more troops into the district, showed clearly that he was apprehensive of trouble, but his total neglect of adopting other preventive precautions, must render him largely responsible for all the difficulties and disasters that subsequently arose. It was little wonder, accordingly, that, when the insurrection afterwards broke out, the public mind at once became alive to the fact, that the Macdonald Cabinet, in its solicitude to preserve unweakened its French-Canadian support, by leaving Riel uninterfered with, had been guilty of a grave error. History was repeating itself; and the same shuffling policy, precisely, which had permitted the murderers of Scott to go unwhipt of justice, and even bribed them to leave the country, in order to free the Cabinet from embarrassment, was again in operation. Nor did the public forget, at this juncture, the weak and contemptible policy of the Mackenzie-Blake administration in pleading the discounted conduct of the preceding Government as an excuse for also selling their birth-right of honour and justice, after all their promises and professions as to what they would do were they to get the opportunity. The unworthy conduct of these two administrations, in weakly turning aside the sword of justice, in order to secure political support, was now producing its legitimate results in a new rebellion, but on a greatly wider scale, which cost the country much blood and treasure, and created no small amount of individual misery.

But, whatever may have been the errors of the former and existing Macdonald administrations, as regards the first Riel rebellion and the second one, the Government faced the crisis which had arisen with courage and resolution. Major-General Middleton, now commanding in Canada, had the reputation of being a brave and experienced officer, who had seen much hard service in his day. He had passed through the Maori war in New Zealand with credit, served during the East Indian mutiny, took part in the gallant relief of Lucknow, and was rapidly promoted for his meritorious conduct. He had never, however, exercised an independent command of any importance, had usually served in a subordinate capacity, and his skill, as a general on the field, had yet to be established. On the 23rd of March he was despatched to Winnipeg to assume personal command of the field force, travelled there by the American railway lines, and arrived at his destination on the 27th. The plan of the campaign for the suppression of the rebellion was a simple one. The Canadian Pacific Railway was to form the great base line of every movement, and from thence bodies of troops were to advance, by the shortest and best routes, for the capture of Riel's position at Batoche, for the relief of Battleford, to take the insurrection in flank from Fort Edmonton, descend the North Saskatchewan, recapture Fort Pitt, and, if possible, release the prisoners in Big Bear's hands. Fortunately for the Dominion, at this juncture, the Pacific Railway was now so far completed as to afford an almost continuous line of communication between the older provinces and Qu'Appelle, a distance from Montreal of 1,730 miles, from Toronto of 1,842. When General Wolseley led his expedition of a few hundred men to Fort Garry, in 1870, it took six long weeks to reach the objective point. Although Canada, during the American Civil War, had freely allowed United States' soldiers to pass across the southern peninsula of Ontario, there was no reciprocity as regards Wolseley's expedition, which was not permitted to traverse the Sault St. Marie Canal, two miles in length, but was forced to disembark, and march over the intervening distance on our own soil. But matters were different now, and the North-West could at last be reached through Canadian territory. There were, it is true, three breaks in the Pacific Railway, covering altogether some seventy-two miles, but with the aid of contractors' and other teams these could be readily passed.—Were it not for this railway, it would have taken nearly two months to place in the field a sufficient force to put down the rebellion, which could not fail to have spread more widely in the meantime, and so taxed our resources much more severely.

On Middleton's arrival at Winnipeg he found its Rifle Regiment, the 90th, a fine corps, and some other troops, ready to march to the front, and left the same evening for Qu'Appelle. By the 2nd of April he had his transport service fully organised, and the march to Batoche, by way of Clarke's crossing, a distance by the ordinary trail of some 235 miles, began. The snow had commenced to melt

in the warm sun of mid-day, but the nights were still excessively cold. On one occasion, the night of the 6th of April, the thermometer registered 23° below zero, and next morning, all the tent pegs had to be cut out of the ground with axes.* Occasionally halting to drill the Volunteers, and to allow of other troops coming up, Middleton, after a most trying march, found himself at Clarke's Crossing on the 17th, with a force of 950 officers and men, including 183 artillery, and 150 cavalry and mounted scouts. The infantry was chiefly composed of the Winnipeg Rifle Battalion, 325 strong, and the 10th Toronto Grenadiers, who mustered 265 rank and file. Middleton had already directed Major-General Strange, to organise a force to move on Fort Edmonton, and afterwards descend the river to Fort Pitt, where he expected to be able to meet him. On the 20th, owing to alarming reports from Major Morris, at Battleford, he instructed Lieutenant-Colonel Otter to march direct on that point, instead of to Clarke's Crossing, where he had originally designed he should form a junction with his own command. He now resolved to divide his force, and move forward on both sides of the river, which has an average width of some two hundred yards, in the expectation that his left wing would meet Irvine's force of Police opposite Batoche. These arrangements were completed by the 22nd, and next day the forward march was resumed. A quiet night was passed, and at seven o'clock, on the morning of the 24th, the advance again commenced ; with scouts well spread out in front, and the mounted infantry, under Major Boulton, about two hundred yards behind them. In two hours afterwards the column was within fifteen miles of Batoche, and close to Fish Creek, a small stream, which after flowing a considerable distance almost parallel with the South Saskatchewan, turns round sharply to the west, and then pursuing a course of four miles, forms a junction with that river, the banks of which, at this point, are nearly one hundred feet high. For several hundred yards before it reaches the Saskatchewan, Fish Creek winds in and out like the lines of a fortification, and had cut its way deep into the earth, as have nearly all the prairie rivers and streams of the North-West. Here Riel had boldly determined to check Middleton's advance on Batoche, and if possible capture him ; and, in concert with Dumont, made the most skilful arrangements to accomplish that object. On the day before he had moved to Fish Creek with a force of at least two hundred Half-breeds and Indians, and at once commenced his defensive preparations.—Admirably constructed rifle-pits were made along the upper part of the steep banks of the creek, at two points where they curved outwards like a half moon, and gave an enfilading as well as a front fire. These rifle-pits not only effectually covered their occupants against an attacking force at the front, but also against a force advancing through the ravine below them, at the bottom of which

* Middleton's Report, December 30th, 1885, p. 2.

flowed the creek. A thin fringe of poplar wood concealed this ravine from observation until one was quite close to it, while low bluffs dotted the prairie, in every direction, and helped to hide the enemy from view. The idea was to permit the advancing force to descend into the ravine, and there slaughter it helplessly by the fire from the rifle-pits above, and from other points of safe advantage. It was a regular death-trap, set with consummate skill, and had not Middleton's march been conducted very cautiously, he would have fallen unexpectedly into it, and his loss must have been very great. Dumont's men were all admirable rifle shots, accustomed to constant hunting and occasional fighting from their youth up, while the Volunteer force opposed to them had never been under fire, and a part of them were only very slenderly acquainted with their drill. Had Middleton been at all aware of the formidable nature of the position in his front, he would scarcely have ventured to assail it. Nor is there the slightest evidence that he made any intelligent effort to learn its character before he ordered an advance against it, and thus showed that he lacked the first essential elements of a military commander. A detour of a few hundred yards to the right would have enabled him to throw a force across the creek at a much less defensible point ; and taken in flank and rear, at the same time, Dumont would have been easily compelled to retreat. But Middleton did not deem it advisable to follow this prudent strategy, if indeed it ever occurred to him, which is very doubtful, and rashly threw his men against an exceedingly strong position, defended by a subtle and skilful foe, to be mercilessly shot down.

The battle commenced by a body of mounted insurgents suddenly making their appearance on a bluff, opposite Middleton's left, and firing upon his scouts, without, however, doing them any injury, as the aim was too high. After a further exchange of shots, for a brief space, the insurgents took shelter in their rifle pits, and under other cover. Middleton was speedily at the front, and at once made his dispositions to dislodge the enemy, and enable his force to cross the creek. A desperate contest, which lasted nearly five hours, ensued. When hotly pressed Dumont set fire to the prairie grass to embarrass his assailants, as the wind blew in their faces, but Middleton beat out the fire, with the aid of his teamsters, and continued the battle. Shot and shell were poured into the ravine from different directions, to do little damage, however, to Dumont's men, who were safely sheltered all the time in the rifle-pits above the line of fire. But if his men escaped, his horses, of which some three score were left tied in the ravine below, were miserably slaughtered by this fire, and soon became a heap of dead or dying carrion. But the gunners, at the same time, suffered severely by the fire from the rifle-pits, in which Dumont had posted his best shots. At noon, the ravine was still firmly held by the insurgents, and a part of A Battery now gallantly made a dash into it to clear out the foe with the bayonet. But

not a single insurgent was to be seen, and our men had to shelter themselves, as best they could, from the sharp fire that rained down upon them from the commanding heights above, which it was impossible to scale. Valour was useless under these adverse circumstances, and the brave artillery had presently to retire, but succeeded in bringing off their wounded with them. Two companies of the 90th now made a fresh attempt to storm the ravine, but with no better success. No foe was visible. He was securely sheltered far above their heads, and leisurely shot the gallant fellows down. It was a most unequal contest! Raw Volunteers, not a man of whom was ever under fire before, fought skilful riflemen under secure cover; but they never shrank from the battle, and poured out their hearts' blood freely for their country. At two o'clock the attack slackened, and the main body of the insurgents retired, carrying off their wounded and Half-breed killed, but leaving three dead Indians behind them. They still retained full possession of the rifle-pits, from which no further attempts were made to dislodge them, and the victory rested completely on their side. Middleton now directed his left wing to recross the river to his assistance, and during the afternoon was reinforced by the 10th Grenadiers. The passage of the Saskatchewan, at this point, was a matter of no small difficulty, owing to the swiftness of the current, which runs here over three miles an hour, and a single scow being the only means of transport. A heavy thunder storm made matters still more unpleasant, but the troops were eventually all got safely over. Middleton had a total force of 351 men under fire in the recent action, out of which 10 were killed and 40 wounded, some quite severely. No estimate of the insurgent loss could be made at the time; but Middleton subsequently declared that he found among Riel's papers, after the capture of Batoche, a return stating that 11 Half-breeds and Indians had been killed on the field, or died shortly afterwards, and that 18 had been wounded. There is nothing to show, however, that this "return" was seen by any other person; and Middleton's statement, accordingly, lacks confirmation.* He had been completely out-generaled and badly beaten by Dumont, and would be naturally anxious to take the sting out of his own defeat, by making the enemy's loss appear as large as possible. His first experience of the Half-breed and Indian mode of fighting had been a most disastrous one for himself, as well as for the brave fellows whom he had led so unskilfully into the contest, and whose severe loss was mainly owing to his incompetence as a commander.

But although the victory rested with the insurgents, Dumont and Riel saw that they could not expect to much longer successfully resist the well-appointed force opposed to them, and which might at any time outflank them by a movement across the creek,

* See Diary of General Middleton, and also his Report of May 1st, 1885 in Blue Book, and correspondence of Toronto *Mail*.

a little farther up its course. They, accordingly, under cover of the ensuing night, withdrew their men from the rifle-pits, and leisurely retired to Batoche. A large supply of food was found, next day, in the few neighbouring houses, which proved that the insurgents had designed to make a longer stay, and supposed that they would be fully able to check the advance against them. But although the road to Batoche was now open, Middleton was so hampered with his large number of wounded, that a forward movement was out of the question. He felt greatly mortified by his unexpected defeat, and for a time appeared to be at a loss as to what course he had better pursue. His dead were buried with all the honours of war, and the wounded looked to as well as possible. The latter were eventually sent back to Saskatoon, a settlement thirty-five miles up the Saskatchewan, where they were tenderly cared for by the inhabitants, who freely opened their houses for their accommodation.* Middleton, however, remained at Fish Creek for thirteen days, waiting for the arrival of the steamboat *Northcote* with reinforcements and supplies. Despite great difficulties, resulting from low water, she at last made her appearance, and under the direction of an engineer officer was at once made defensible against musketry fire, a wise precaution as experience afterwards proved. On the 7th of May, the forward movement was again resumed, and after a few hours' march Dumont's Crossing, five miles from Batoche, was reached. The almost continuous Half-breed settlement, lying along the river, was found to have been completely deserted by its inhabitants, whose departure had evidently been a hurried one. Dumont's fairly well-filled store and comfortable house, at the ferry, had also been deserted, and were looted without compunction by the troops. Rendered wiser by past bitter experience, Middleton now left the river road, in order to avoid several very defensible ravines which crossed it; and on the 9th his force, about 850 strong, found itself in front of the insurgent lines at Batoche.—Here the South Saskatchewan makes a sudden bend, almost at a right angle, for about three quarters of a mile, and after flowing two miles farther on describes an equally sudden return bend. Within the space thus fenced off by the river at three sides lay the insurgent position, the face of which might be said to describe an obtuse angle. Its central point stood about a mile from the Saskatchewan, and gradually sloped off to the right until it rested on the village cemetery, with the church a little way off, giving a defensive frontage line on this face of a mile and an eighth. On the left, the line of defence was a mile long, and terminated in broken ground about two furlongs from the first bend of the river. The whole position was a natural fastness, intersected with wooded ravines, and other points of excellent cover for a defensive force, and its great strength had been skilfully increased in every

* Diary of General Middleton.

direction by admirably constructed rifle-pits, providing for a direct and flanking fire against an advancing foe. For the defence of this formidable position, the insurgent force amounted to five hundred Half-breeds and Indians, nearly all armed with excellent rifles, and supplied with abundance of ammunition.

As Middleton's advance guard moved forward a little way from the river, and in the direction of the cemetery, three houses, standing a short distance apart, around which a number of men were noticed, came into view. These houses were shelled and their occupants driven out. A little farther on stood the church and schoolhouse, from which white flags were displayed, and whence, as the troops moved forward, four priests, five nuns, and some women and children made their appearance, and craved protection. They had a sad story of danger and suffering to relate; and the priests told how they had endeavoured to keep the Half-breeds quiet, and how their lives had been repeatedly threatened by Riel and his followers. The advance was again cautiously resumed, and although now well within the enemy's lines no opposition was met with. Middleton presently found himself upon a ridge of high ground, from whence he could see a part of the little hamlet beyond, nestling peacefully near the river. Its defenders were now nearly all absent, engaged in an attempt to capture the *Northcote*, and a prompt dash of a few minutes would have placed Middleton in rear of the enemy's lines, and in full possession of Batoche. But although a brave soldier, and a good subordinate officer, he was no military genius, and his slow intellect never awoke to see his opportunity, the prompt use of which would have made him comparatively famous, and atoned for his blundering at Fish Creek. After studying the scene before him for a few minutes, he ordered one of his guns to be run up to the ridge on which he stood, and to open fire upon the wooden houses near the ferry. While Middleton was permitting his opportunity, for the immediate capture of Batoche, to slip from him in this way, the *Northcote* was engaged in running the gauntlet of the enemy, which she finally succeeded in doing after a most exciting struggle, during which a heavy and constant fire was poured into her. The ferry at Batoche was worked by the aid of a steel cable, rendered necessary there, as well as at other points on the Saskatchewan, owing to the rapid current. As the *Northcote* neared the crossing, this cable was suddenly lowered, until it almost caught the lofty pilot house. But the spar gear and smoke-stacks were swept down with a terrible crash, and she swiftly and almost helplessly swung in landwards. For a moment one of the two scows she had in tow grazed the bank of the river, when the insurgents instantly jumped from their cover, and made a sudden rush to board her, but were promptly driven back by a vigorous rifle fire from her main deck. No further attempt was made to bar the passage of the *Northcote*, which was carried downwards with the current, and came to an anchor, two miles farther on, in an almost helpless condition, when the

smoke-stacks were at once shortened, and again put up. Scarcely had this been done when a body of insurgents made their appearance, and firing commenced afresh. The *Northcote* was accordingly unable to return to Batoche, and finally dropped down the river out of reach of danger. Owing to the excellent manner in which she had been protected the insurgents' fire did little harm to her guards, whose casualties were only three men slightly wounded.

The escape of the *Northcote* greatly mortified the insurgents. But they had little time for expressing their regrets at their failure, as the sound of Middleton's guns warned them of the near approach of danger in another quarter. Hastening in the direction of the cemetery, a line of rifle-pits was promptly manned, whilst a high bluff on the opposite side of the river was also occupied by them. Middleton's gunners had only delivered a few rounds, when a rifle-fire was opened upon them from this bluff, at a distance of about two hundred yards. The gun was at once retired, and while this was being done a sharp fire burst forth from a line of rifle-pits, at a little distance, and a body of the enemy, hitherto concealed by the dense bush, made a sudden and daring rush to capture the guns, and would have been successful had not a gatling been turned on them at the critical moment. The action continued until three o'clock, when Middleton, finding himself unable to make any impression on the lines of the enemy, withdrew his troops, and formed an entrenched camp for their protection. His casualties during the day were two men killed and nine wounded. The latter were placed in the church, while the engagement was in progress, the nuns doing all they could to assist the doctors. The following night was an anxious one, the insurgents having advanced their lines as Middleton retired, and taken possession of the church and schoolhouse, which they strongly barricaded, and from whence they kept up a long-range fire on the camp, without however doing any serious harm. On the following day the contest was again resumed, the enemy being in stronger force than before, and showing more audacity. In the evening, when the troops were being withdrawn from their covered line of attack, the insurgents followed them up in force, to be received, however, by a body of the 90th, armed with Martini-Henry rifles, and posted in rifle-pits made to protect the camp, and compelled to retire in turn. During the day, the fighting had all been done under cover, Indian fashion, both sides trying to pot one another at long range. The loss on Middleton's part was one killed and five wounded. But Dumont had steadily held his ground throughout the day, improving his line of defence at every weak point, and the capture of Batoche appeared to be more distant than ever. On the following day the skirmishing was again resumed, and a feint attack made by Middleton against the left face of the insurgents' line of defence, at a point about a mile and-a-half from the cemetery, drew off a part of their force in that direction, and a slight gain was made towards the

church. The casualties of this day were only four slightly wounded. Middleton was greatly displeased at the waste of ammunition, and clearly saw that his present mode of attack could produce little or no satisfactory results, and that his men were becoming tired out and disheartened. Had he regular troops under his command, he would not have hesitated a moment to clear out the enemy's rifle-pits with the bayonet, but he was naturally loath to again seriously risk the lives of the Volunteers under his command, was at a loss what to do, and clung to the idea of still leading the insurgents to waste their ammunition, until they would be no longer in a position to defend themselves. Finally, however, on the evening of the 11th, some of his officers persuaded him to agree to a more resolute mode of attack next day in the direction of the cemetery, and to push forward there as far as they could. On the morning of the 12th Middleton, accordingly, repeated his feigned attack of the preceding day, and his artillery commenced to shell the village with good effect. Riel now became seriously alarmed, and, shortly after the action had begun, sent a message to Middleton, threatening to massacre his prisoners if the houses in the village were again shelled, and the lives of non-combatants endangered. Middleton replied, by advising him to put the women and children in some place by themselves, and he would not harm them.

The warm fire kept up on the left face of his line, led Dumont to suppose that the true attack against him would be delivered at this point, and he accordingly collected a strong force for its defence. Meanwhile, as the day wore away, the firing had slackened in the neighbourhood of the church, and a short distance from which now silently gathered the force for the true assault under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Van Straubenzee, who was acting as Middleton's Brigadier, and who skilfully organised and gallantly led the attack. Presently an extended skirmish line covered nearly the whole front of the enemy's position for a distance of some two miles, in order to distract his attention, and draw off his men from the neighbourhood of the church, which had the desired effect. Two companies of the Midland Battalion, 62 strong, gallantly led by Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, and supported by the Toronto Grenadiers, 230 strong, under Lieutenant-Colonel Grasset, and a company of the 90th, now went into the battle with a rush and a cheer, took the insurgent rifle-pits in reverse, bayoneted or shot down their occupants, or drove them before them to the village, where the fugitives found shelter in the buildings, and caused the attacking force a good deal of loss—more in fact than had been sustained at the rifle pits. Batoche was at length gallantly won, in the only way it could have been won unless by siege operations—at the point of the bayonet, but at the sacrifice of five killed, among whom were two captains and two lieutenants, and 25 wounded, making a total loss of 8 killed and 40 wounded during the four days' siege. On the first day the insurgents' loss was 4 killed and five wounded; second day 2 wounded; third day

3 wounded ; fourth day 47 killed, of whom 40 were found on the battle field, and 163 wounded ; making their total loss 51 killed and 173 wounded,* or not far from half their entire force. The final fatal charge had destroyed them, and scattered to the winds forever the idea of a Metis nation at the North-West. On the 13th the troops rested after their victory ; and Middleton was busily employed in receiving the submission and arms of the insurgents, many of whom were brought in by their priests, who now proved their friends in adversity. The ordinary offenders were humanely permitted to go to their homes, with a caution as to their future good behaviour, but thirteen of the leaders were retained as prisoners. At the same time, mounted men were sent out to scour the surrounding country in search of Riel and Dumont. The latter succeeded in making his escape across the frontier, and found secure refuge in the United States, from which no effort was afterwards made to extradite him. But Riel proved unequal to a vigorous flight, like that of his general, and was very soon captured, or rather gave himself up, and was eventually sent to Regina to stand a civil trial there ; the Government having determined not to resort to court-martial. On the 18th Middleton moved forward to Prince Albert, where he arrived on the 20th, to be presented with a congratulatory address on his recent victory, and to find a force of 300 Mounted Police and Volunteers defending a place not at all likely to be attacked, as it was situated on a level plain, destitute of cover for the shelter of an enemy.† The Police had not yet recovered from the demoralisation caused by their defeat at Duck Lake, and their hurried night-abandonment of Fort Carleton ; and, contrary to Middleton's expectation, had given no help whatever in the reduction of Batoche.

Meanwhile, important operations, for the suppression of the rebellion, were being undertaken in other directions. W. D. Otter, a resident of Toronto, while still a young man had, in 1862, joined the famous "Queen's Own," as a private, and was speedily distinguished for his soldierly bearing, and his great zeal for the military service. He soon rose from the ranks, and, in 1864, carried the colours of his regiment, on the Niagara frontier, during the Fenian raid. A little while afterwards he became its adjutant, and in 1875 was appointed, by the Government, as its commanding officer. From this position he subsequently retired, in order to take charge of the newly-formed C. Company of regulars and the Toronto Infantry School, and was now chosen, by the Minister of Militia, to command the column for the relief of Battleford. That column was assembled at Swift Current, a point on the Canadian Pacific Railway, 175 miles, as the crow flies, south of Battleford, but 202 miles by ordinary trail, and consisted of 285 rank and file of the Queen's Own, 112 men of B. Battery of Artillery, with two

* Middleton's Report, May 31st 1885.

† See Middleton's Diary of the Campaign.

nine pounders and one Gatling gun, 50 men of the Ottawa Sharp Shooters, C. Company 43 strong, and 45 Mounted Police. Including officers, the whole force was about 550 in number. In addition there were nearly 200 teamsters and supernumeraries, mostly armed, with 450 horses, for all of which provisions and forage had to be carried with the expedition, as none was obtainable along the line of travel. A large amount of preparatory work was speedily and successfully accomplished, and the column commenced its march to the north on the morning of the 13th of April. On the 15th, after traversing a distance of nearly thirty miles, Otter found himself at the South Saskatchewan, where the steamer *Northcote* awaited him to ferry his men across. But owing to a high wind, which rendered the passage of the rapid river very difficult, and other adverse causes, nearly three days were consumed in getting the column and the long line of teams to the opposite bank. At two p. m., on the 18th, the bugles of the Queen's Own played an enlivening march, and the forward movement again commenced. 175 teams had been collected for all purposes, and a waggon provided for every ten men; but owing to the crowding of baggage three could only ride at one time, and as these were soon represented by the weary and foot-sore, the stronger men had to march much of the way. The nights were still quite cold, and the young men of Toronto and elsewhere, unused to such rough campaigning, suffered in no small degree. But the brave-hearted fellows bore up gallantly, and there was no complaining. On the 23rd the Eagle Hills were reached, and after a slight brush between the Mounted Police, who acted as advanced scouts, and some Indians, the column found itself on the reserve of the Stony tribe, where the dead bodies of their farm-instructor, Payne, and of the rancher, Tremont, were discovered. All that day the troops moved forward through the wooded country lying between the Eagle Hills and the North Saskatchewan, and at length, as the evening drew towards a close, the white houses of Battleford, lit up by the last rays of the setting sun, were discerned in the distance, and still three miles away. A halt for the night was ordered by Otter, the camp securely formed, and the wearied men lay down to rest with their arms close at hand, as they were now in the immediate neighbourhood of the enemy. But they were too much excited, by the novelty of the situation, to sleep to any extent. Presently, as the night wore away, firing commenced between the patrol scouts and lurking Indians, and two of the latter were shot dead. In a short time afterwards, the enemy set fire to some of the buildings in the older part of the village, lying beyond the Battle River, and in the clear northern atmosphere the flames lit up the horizon for a long distance. The Indians had first looted every house in the most thorough manner, and articles of no use to them were then smashed, and strewn around in a spirit of the most diabolical malignity. Having done all the mischief possible, they silently slunk away, and not one of them was to be seen as the

column marched in next day, and at last completely relieved the 560 men, women, and children cooped up in the fort. Otter formed an entrenched camp a little distance from the barracks; and, for a brief space, his wearied men were permitted to rest themselves, to mend their clothing, much the worse already for the wear, and to grumble over their daily unpalatable rations of tough salt beef, pork, and biscuit.

On the 29th a Half-breed came into Battleford, and informed the authorities that he had recently escaped from Poundmaker's camp, where he and a number of his people had been detained. He stated that the Half-breeds would fight the Indians, if the latter were attacked before the arrival of Big Bear and his band, who were expected shortly, and that he had no doubt Poundmaker could be easily defeated. That chief, he further stated, designed to again attack Battleford when the western Indians came to his assistance, and he also expected help from Riel. That there was a good deal of truth, although somewhat highly coloured, in this Half-breed's statement, may be gathered from the fact, that on the same day Poundmaker and the four other hostile chiefs then with him, sent a letter to Riel, afterwards found among the latter's papers at Batoche, in which they told him of the successes of Big Bear, whose speedy arrival they now awaited; and that they were short of ammunition and unable to take the fort without his help. They had, however, captured all the cattle and horses in the neighbourhood.* Otter at once determined to prevent, if possible, the junction of Big Bear with Poundmaker, and compel the latter's submission before he could receive further help. On the 1st of May he accordingly moved out of camp, with a force of 325 men, including 60 of the Queen's Own, two seven pounders, a gatling gun, and a train of 48 waggons, and commenced his march to Poundmaker's Reserve, distant some thirty-five miles. This reserve was seven miles long and five wide, with its front resting on the Battle River. Nearly through its centre ran a small stream, which had been called "Cut Knife Creek," after a Sarcee chief who had been badly defeated on its banks, by Poundmaker, a few years before. It was an exceedingly pleasant and well-watered land, diversified with hill and dale; and its cultivated portion had yielded abundant crops for the Indians the year before. The banks of the creek were well-wooded, and much broken by ravines, coulees, and jutting rocks, and formed a natural fastness, every foot of which was necessarily well-known to the Indians. They were, accordingly, perfectly at home amongst its intricacies, and thoroughly understood all its strong points of defence.

Otter halted his force at eight p. m., when camp fires were lit and supper prepared. At midnight the moon had arisen above the horizon to light the way, and the forward march was again

* See evidence in the case of the Queen *vs.* Poundmaker, of August 17th, 1885, when this letter was produced and read in court.

resumed. But the sharp eyes of Indian scouts speedily detected approaching danger, and Poundmaker hurriedly prepared for defence. At day-break his camp was descried on the top of a hill, and as the scouts and Mounted Police moved in that direction, over rising and broken ground, a vigorous fire was opened on them from a concealed foe, and the battle at once began. The Indians endeavoured to surround Otter's force, and presently poured a flanking fire upon its left from every point which afforded good cover. But Otter was equal to the occasion, formed his line of battle with promptitude and skill, and fought the Indians after their own fashion. Every rock and tree, and inequality of the ground, were well-used for shelter, and his men kept under cover as much as possible. The gatling gun seemed to disturb the Indians more than anything else, and they presently made a rush for its capture, but were repulsed with a loss of four killed and several wounded. "Our men had now fairly settled down to their task," said Otter, in his despatch, "and in the most cool, collected, and praiseworthy manner, went to work to force the enemy to abandon their numerous points of advantage." At 11 o'clock, six hours after the action had begun, Otter had his flank and rear well-cleared of the enemy. But both his guns having now broken down, he realised that his position was not a tenable one, could yield no solid success, and accordingly determined to withdraw his force. His retreat was executed in the most skilful manner, and the Indians, who made a rush in pursuit, were quickly driven back. Otter brought off not only his wounded, but also his killed, with the exception of one private, whose body had rolled into a deep ravine, and could not possibly be recovered. His loss was 8 killed and 14 wounded. Several of the latter were seriously injured, but all of them afterwards recovered.* Poundmaker's loss was a good deal larger, although its exact number could never be learned, and there was much wailing and weeping in his camp and among his allies. His force of Indians in the engagement was some four hundred strong, and in addition to superior numbers he also had the advantage of a better position, and a thorough knowledge of the battle field. Although Otter was forced to retire, he had achieved a virtual victory, which had a salutary effect afterwards on Poundmaker, and showed him the folly of resisting the Government forces. The Half-breeds, who occupied a separate camp of their own, and were not by any means the prisoners represented to Otter, declined to assist either side, and mostly disappeared altogether during the battle, to return again in the evening when the fighting was all over.† Poundmaker now becoming seriously alarmed, and apprehensive of a fresh attack, moved off his reserve, on the 12th of May, with the intention of forming a junction with Riel. Two days afterwards he captured a large supply train of

* Otter's Report to Middleton, May 5th 1885.

† See Jefferson's evidence on Poundmaker's trial.

twenty-nine teams fifteen miles from Battleford, on the Swift Current road; and, on the same day, his Indians encountered a small Mounted Police patrol, one of whom was killed and another wounded. But he presently heard of the fall of Batoche and the capture of Riel, and the wily savage now saw that further resistance could only end in his own utter ruin, and sent a message to Otter to make terms with him. An answer was returned to the effect, that General Middleton alone had authority to treat with him, and that, pending his arrival, there would be a cessation of hostilities, provided he kept quiet. Poundmaker afterwards gave up his arms and his prisoners, and surrendered unconditionally.* With the victory at Batoche, and the engagement at Cut Knife Creek, all serious fighting had ended from Battleford downwards.

When the news of the insurrection first reached the Alberta District, which extends from the boundary line northward, and takes in the Rocky Mountains to the frontier of British Columbia, a meeting was held at Calgary for the purpose of effecting a defensive organisation. A troop of cavalry, called the Alberta Mounted Rifles, was at once formed, and afterwards accepted by the Minister of Militia as a permanent volunteer organisation. The command of the District was given to Major-General Strange, of the English Army, a prudent and capable officer, who sometime before had beaten his sword into a ploughshare, and betaken himself to the business of a stock rancher. On enquiry the General found that, as a rule, the settlers had no arms, and that even the cowboys and ranchmen, relying on the protection of the Mounted Police and the contiguity of the railway, had hardly a pistol or a gun amongst them. Fort McLeod, standing up among the spurs of the Rocky Mountains, and fifty-four miles from the frontier, was placed in the best possible state of defence, a system of mounted couriers arranged, and arms procured. The alarm quickly spread to Fort Edmonton, situated on the head-waters of the North Saskatchewan, and 275 miles from Fort McLeod, in a direct line, and the terrified settlers everywhere abandoned their farms, and fled for protection to the few fortified posts, or to the Canadian Pacific Railway. On the 10th of April, Strange received despatches, advising him that the railway employes refused to remain at their posts unless protected by troops, and that the navvies up among the mountains had quitted their work. He accordingly directed a detachment of the Alberta Rifles to guard the railway line, and watch the Blackfeet Reserve. On the 12th, the 65th Battalion of Voltigeurs, a Montreal volunteer corps, arrived at Calgary, and its presence materially aided to restore confidence, and give a greater feeling of security. On the 14th, symptoms of great uneasiness became apparent among the Blackfeet and Cree Indians along the line of the Canadian Pacific; and horses were stampeded and cattle stolen. Under these circumstances it became

* Otter's Report to Middleton, May 26th 1885.

necessary to place troops at various strategic points along the line of railway, so as to make that great base of operations as secure as possible. This duty was carefully performed by Strange, who was also busily engaged, at the same time, in making preparations for an advance to Fort Edmonton, where the Indians had several large reserves, and now showed signs of much excitement. On the 20th of April he commenced his northern movement with his first column, which consisted of some 300 men of all arms, and a convoy of 175 waggons and carts, forming a line of nearly two miles in length, and after a most difficult and fatiguing march safely reached Fort Edmonton on the 1st of May. His second column came up four days afterwards. His first care was to strengthen the garrisons at Forts Edmonton and Saskatchewan, and to place them in the best possible condition of defence. He next proceeded to build boats and collect supplies, preparatory to descending the river to attack Big Bear, who still ruled supreme in all the country around Fort Pitt. On the 14th the downward movement commenced, the land and river columns keeping in careful communication with one another, so as to guard against surprise, and give mutual support if necessary. Fort Victoria, a small outlying post, was reached on the 16th, for the defence of which Strange organised and armed a "home guard," which was placed under the command of the Methodist minister, McLachlan, who came to the conclusion that he could fight at a pinch as well as preach, and accordingly offered his services as commanding officer. On the 25th the expedition arrived at Frog Lake, and the remains of the murdered bodies found there were decently buried. On the evening of the same day Fort Pitt was reached, but Big Bear and his band, with all their captives, had wholly disappeared. Two buildings still remained intact, which were now put in a good state of defence, and made a depot for stores. Big Bear, however, was not far distant, but after a brief engagement he again decamped, and Strange followed to hunt him down. He was again brought to bay on the 28th, in a natural fastness, which was made still stronger by a line of rifle-pits. An engagement at once ensued. Strange, however, soon found that his force was too weak to drive several hundred Indians, assisted by Half-breeds, out of an exceedingly strong and well-covered position, and very prudently determined to retire, and await reinforcements from Battleford by steamboat. His loss was very slight, and only comprised three wounded. On the 2nd of June, the Rev. Mr. Quinney, of the Church of England Onion Lake Mission, his wife, three other white men, and five Half-breed families, who had all managed to make their escape during the confusion which followed Strange's attack, came into Fort Pitt.* They were followed, on the 22nd of the same month, by the remainder of Big Bear's captives, twenty-two in number, who, aided by the Wood Crees and Half-breeds,

* Strange's Report to Middleton, July 4th 1885.

had also made their escape. They were greatly worn out with the hardships they had endured, and much fatigued, but had suffered no ill-usage otherwise. For a few days before their arrival at Fort Pitt, they were almost entirely destitute of provisions, and had to subsist principally upon rabbits, which fortunately for them were plentiful along their line of travel, and easily shot. But although all his prisoners had now escaped, Big Bear was hotly pursued by Strange, Middleton and Otter, who endeavoured to surround and cut off his band. But the wily savage eventually eluded them among the muskeg swamps and recesses of the northern wilderness. So the chase was finally given up, and starvation was left to do its work. Under its silent but certain influence, Big Bear's band gradually melted away; and after wandering to the neighbourhood of Fort Carleton with a few faithful followers, who still clung to the failing fortunes of their chief, he was captured by a party of Mounted Police on the look-out for him.

With the capture of Big Bear, the "Second Riel Rebellion" had completely ended, after a brief existence of some three months. During its progress 5456 men of all arms were placed in the field, of whom 4658 were Volunteers, and 1549 from the Province of Ontario. The militia fervour had largely died out in Canada since the period of the first Fenian raid, the rural battalions were mainly in the same unsatisfactory condition as they are to day, and existed chiefly on paper, and the crack city corps had to be drawn on in the sudden exigence which had arisen. The rebellion of 1885 was sprung upon the country at a period of the year, when movements, over the half-frozen slush of the North-West prairies, were most difficult, and when forage for the horses as well as food for the troops had to be carried with every column. Arms, ammunition, and even clothing had to be provided, a medical field-staff organised, and a vast distance had to be travelled before troops reached the scene of action. Yet the latter were swiftly and well-placed at the needful points, and what might have been a most formidable and wide-spread rising, was stamped out ere it had almost well begun. But if the rebellion might be termed a little one, it was nevertheless an exceedingly expensive one. Up to the 30th of April, 1886, the payments on its account had reached \$4,451,584.38, and there was a small additional expenditure afterwards. During the campaign, the casualties among the field force were 26 killed and 103 wounded; while the total loss of the insurgents was at least three times as great. But even this list did not represent the whole of the injury, to life or limb, sustained during the brief contest. Many of our gallant city youths came home with the seeds of disease firmly planted in their systems, by the hardships they had so heroically endured without complaint. Sickness reaped its aftermath of death in due season, and there came to be weeping and wailing in many a home. Owing to the vigilance of the Mounted Police, and the admirable system of our Indian supervision, all the chief

criminals, with the exception of Dumont and a few others, who succeeded in getting over the frontier into the United States, were speedily in custody. As already stated, no court martial was set in motion to punish them. They were all placed on trial before judge and jury, during the summer, and given full scope for their defence. Two Stony Indians were executed for the murder of Payne and Tremont near the Eagle Hills below Battleford. On the same day Wandering Spirit, Little Bear, Miserable Man, Round the Sky and Manitoose, also suffered the extreme penalty of the law for the Frog Lake murders. For the shooting of Policeman Cowan, at Fort Pitt, Dreary Man and Louis Mognain, a Half-breed, were condemned to death, but their sentence was afterwards commuted to imprisonment for life. Poundmaker and Big Bear got three years' Penitentiary. Over a hundred other Indians and Half-breeds were tried for the lesser offence of treason-felony, some seventy of whom were convicted, and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment according to the degree of guilt. A number of persons arrested on the charge of high treason, and detained in prison for a time, until all danger had passed away, were discharged without trial. As regarded both Indians and Half-breeds the law was fully yet most mercifully vindicated.

On the 20th of July, Riel was put on his trial for high treason before Judge Richardson, and a jury of six, the number provided for by statute, as regarded criminal trials in the North-West Territories. So anxious was the Government to concede to him the fullest measure of justice, and to remove all cause of complaint, that it not only furnished him with able counsel for his defence, but also agreed, in consequence of his plea of poverty, to pay his witnesses' expenses. His trial lasted until the 1st of August, when he was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged on the 18th of September. The proceedings of the court, and the evidence in the case, fill 225 pages of a Government Blue Book. A careful perusal of this book must convince any impartial reader, that his long trial was exceedingly fair and even indulgent so far as he was concerned, that the crime charged was clearly proved against him, beyond all cavil, and that the verdict of the jury was a just one.—Contrary to the ordinary course of procedure, he was permitted to make long addresses both to the court and the jury, independently of his counsel. He wholly repudiated the plea of insanity, which, as the last resort, had been set up in his behalf. In the afternoon, after the judge's charge had been given, the jury retired to consider their verdict, and Riel knelt down to pray. After an hour's absence they returned into the court room, when Riel again stood up, and calmly confronted them. Every eye was turned upon him, every sound was hushed, as the Clerk of the Crown asked the usual question "is the prisoner at the bar guilty or not guilty?" "Guilty, with a recommendation to mercy," answered the foreman of the jury. After he had first made a long address to the court, Riel heard his sentence pronounced without moving a muscle. He

still felt confident of ultimate acquittal, when his case should come up, on appeal, before the higher courts of law. He was mistaken, however, and his hope finally proved a delusive one. The Canadian Court of Appeal confirmed his sentence, and it was again confirmed by the highest judicial authority in the realm, the Law Lords of the Imperial Privy Council. Despite the evidence given at his trial, which left no room to doubt his sanity, and full responsibility for his acts, the Government, which would still be glad to find some good excuse to relieve him, and so placate their French-Canadian supporters, appointed a commission of medical experts to observe him, and report upon his condition. They secretly watched him for some time, talked with him repeatedly, and finally pronounced him perfectly sane. He had some peculiar views on religious matters, it is true, but a great many very shrewd and very sensible people have, in all ages, been in the same predicament, and history teaches us how readily those views can be adopted, or exaggerated, in order to accomplish a specific purpose. Mahommed had peculiar notions about religion, yet he successfully founded a new creed and a new empire, and died in the full odour of sanctity, in the full possession of all his faculties. Napoleon Bonaparte became a Mahommedan in Egypt to ingratiate himself with its people and the Syrian followers of the Prophet, and he was a hypocrite but not insane. Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, in our own day, had also peculiar religious views, or at least pretended to have them, yet their sanity has never been questioned. Riel stands precisely in the same position as all these people. If he was insane on any religious question, or pretended to be insane, he became so for a purpose, and fully succeeded, for the time, in accomplishing that purpose—the great increase of his influence and authority with his Half-breed dupes. When the reader carefully analyses his apparent motives, and studies the character of his acts, from the day of his departure from Montana until his arrest, he cannot fail to arrive at the conclusion that he was a fully responsible being. His first idea in returning to Canada was clearly one of self-interest, and, in order to effectually carry out that idea, he applied himself with the most consummate art to create a situation for the Government so embarrassing, so difficult, that it must of necessity, as he supposed, buy him off a second time. Had the Government been willing to pay him his thirty-five thousand dollars, through the intervention of Father Andre, or even a smaller sum—his thirty pieces of silver—he declared himself ready and willing to betray the Half-breeds, and leave them to shift for themselves. His declaration, when he made this proposition, that he was, in *propria persona*, the “whole Half-breed question” stands recorded upon the sworn testimony of Father Andre. But Sir John A. Macdonald had one unpleasant experience in buying off Riel, and well knew that an attempt to buy him off a second time could only end, sooner or later, in his own political ruin, and therefore declined his proposition, or, rather, silently ignored it

altogether, as no answer was ever returned. Baffled in his first purpose, Riel now determined to coerce the Government, by overt acts, into negotiating with him, just as he had done in his first rebellion. In furtherance of this new line of policy, he planned the attack on Crozier, at Duck Lake, in order to capture him, and afterwards hold him as a hostage until his terms should be complied with. He afterwards planned the attack on Middleton, at Fish Creek, with the same object in view, to fail in his purpose a second time. An excellent drawing of the defensive lines at Batoche, made by him, was found among his papers, when that place was captured, on which every point of defence was indicated, and even the rifle pits marked down. It was he who also planned the attack on the *Northcote*, which came so near being successful.* These movements were all designed with the most consummate skill, and gave evidence of a very intelligent and acute mind and not an insane one. When these facts are viewed in connection with the skilful manner in which he obtained the complete control of the Half-breeds and Indians, and united them for a common purpose, the plea of insanity must be wholly dismissed. His full responsibility, therefore, direct and indirect, for all the loss of life and property that ensued—for the massacre at Frog Lake and other brutal murders—stands proved beyond all cavil or manner of doubt. But if anything else were needed to prove his complete sanity, and that his prophetic and kindred vagaries were adopted for a purpose, the necessary evidence will be found in the fact, that from the moment his doom was finally assured, beyond all doubt, all his peculiar religious notions at once disappeared, and he became fully reconciled to his church. Father Andre who had failed to get Riel his price from the Government, and with whom he had so bitterly quarrelled at St. Laurent in the day of his power—who had denounced him so strongly on his trial, as a would-be autocrat in religion and politics, became again his trusted spiritual adviser, and again found him alike penitent and docile.†

Had Riel been an Englishman, or a Scotchman, or an Irishman, he would have paid the penalty of the law, for his many misdeeds, without a voice being raised in his behalf. But, unfortunately for the Dominion, he was a French-Canadian, and his volatile countrymen, after having deluged the Government with petitions for his

* Statements of Riel to the Rev. Mr. Pitblado, Blue Book for 1886. p. 175. See also Middleton's despatch as to the capture of Batoche.

† Father Piquet, one of the priests at Batoche, before and after the siege, under date of the 15th of June, 1885, describes Riel as follows :—

“Who is the author of the North-West troubles? It is Louis Riel, and, as he is the author of them, it is he alone who deserves to be punished. If like me, you had followed the steps and studied the hypocrisy; the cunning and the secret arts that Riel has used to deceive and seduce these people and drag them into rebellion whether they would or not you would, as I do, cast upon that cruel and tyrannical man all the blame of that revolt. Riel made use of their religion; he made use of their ignorance, of their

reprieve, elevated him, after his execution on the 16th of November, into a national and political martyr. His righteous punishment for treason, for murder, for robbery public and private, for letting loose the savages of the Saskatchewan District to slay and plunder the helpless settlers—their benefactors and friends—to assassinate their own priests even, was made the basis of a new political party,—“the National Party”—alike distinct from the Bleu and the Rouge, and the war-cries of race and religion were revived with all their ancient force and fury. These cries proved so potent at the polls that the new party very speedily ascended into power, and were thus given the opportunity to create a state of things, morally and financially, which has proved most disastrous to the Province, and has greatly injured the whole Dominion. On Sunday, the 22nd of November, a great mass-meeting was held at the Champ de Mars, in Montreal, at which Laurier, Mercier, Coursol and other political leaders, were the orators of the occasion. There was great excitement, great indignation, and the Dominion Government was bitterly denounced for the execution of Riel.—French-Canada was in a blaze of blind fury and wrath from one end to the other. The flame has only recently died out, and the Province returned to its normal condition of comparative quietude and repose. The Venerable Father Dowd, of Montreal, warned his Irish hearers against joining in the agitation springing from Riel’s execution; and Joly, formerly the Rouge liberal leader of the Province, an honest man and an able one, resigned his seat in the local Legislature, because he could not identify himself with the raging storm. The agitation begun at Montreal spread rapidly everywhere through the Province, and the simple and impressionable *Habitants*, just as incapable of thinking for themselves as at any former period of their history, were goaded into fury by the diatribes of scheming demagogues and crafty politicians, bent on lifting themselves into place and power by the passions and prejudices of the moment. These unscrupulous men, so destitute of all true patriotism, the panders of popular madness, who could only

simplicity, touching every sensitive chord, to make them the dupes of his ambition. * * * * *

“There are persons who say that Riel is mad, but the more his conduct is examined the stronger must be the conviction that that nefarious man under the appearance of madness preserves the plentitude of his reason. All his plans have a sequence and a directness which show a fixed purpose to attain his end, and at the same time to escape the gallows if his criminal schemes should fail. Riel must bear all the responsibility of this rebellion. He alone is to blame for all the calamities that have happened or are still to happen—the necessary consequences of those troubles which have caused us all so much suffering.”

In 1887 a petition from Riel to President Cleveland, in 1885, was made public. Riel complained to the President of the United States that he had not been fairly treated, and proceeded “to declare my native land free,” and to ask that it be promptly annexed to the republic. The rebel chief had an eye to business, for he asked also that he might be the “first minister and secretary” of the United States governor.

realise their own personal advantage, in the existing unfortunate excitement of the hour, sowed the wind, and from the seed then planted a bitter crop of whirlwind has since been reaped.*

Aside from the stirring narrative of the North-West rebellion, the history of the Dominion, for 1885, presents few events of any great importance to record. Parliament met on the 29th of January. The speech from the throne was unusually colourless, the Government evidently being anxious to give as little opportunity as possible for comment. The Chinese immigration question was one of its principal features, and the report of a commission which had been sitting thereon was stated to be nearly ready. The matter was finally disposed of, by imposing a tax of \$50 on each Chinese person entering the Dominion. Blake made an elaborate speech on the address, in which the general policy of the Cabinet was adversely criticised. Macdonald replied, by stating that his adversary was quite cheery over the idea that Canada was less prosperous than usual. It was true, he said, that the Dominion was suffering from the depression that existed in free-trade England, and the protectionist United States. When other countries, so nearly akin to her, suffered, she could not hope to be an exception. On the 3rd of March the Finance Minister made his budget speech. The revenue for the preceding year was \$31,861,000, and the expenditure \$31,107,706, leaving only a small surplus when compared with preceding years. The electoral Franchise Act, introduced by the Premier in April, led to protracted and very acrimonious debates, which extended into the month of July, and added a good deal to the length of the session. The British North America Act provided that until the Dominion Parliament should regulate the qualification of voters, it should rest on the electoral basis of the several provinces. The Franchise Act proposed to make the qualification uniform, and provided for a system of registration, which afterwards proved a complicated and most expensive

* The North-West Territories Council, the governing body, at its meeting on December 19th passed the following resolutions :—

Moved by Mr. Perley, and seconded by Mr. Bedford :—

Whereas public meetings have been held in certain portions of the Dominion, at which it was sought to condemn the government for allowing the sentence of the court to be carried into effect in the case of Louis Riel, who had stirred up rebellion among the Half-breeds and Indians in these territories, and who, after a fair and impartial trial by a competent tribunal, was convicted of high treason.

And whereas, the peace, progress and prosperity of these territories would have been jeopardized, and a feeling of insecurity would have existed among the settlers, had the man, twice guilty of rebellion, and who had not shrunk from the terrible responsibility of inciting the Half-breeds and Indians to armed insurrection, been permitted to escape the just penalty for his misdeeds.

And whereas, a fair, firm and impartial administration of the law must be had if the laws of our country are to be respected by all classes, irrespective of nationality.

Therefore, this Council desire to place on record its endorsement of the action of the Dominion Government in allowing the sentence of the court to be carried into effect.

matter.* An Act was passed increasing the strength of the Mounted Police Force to 1,000 men. Long debates took place on Pacific Railway matters, during which it was stated, by ministers, that the total cost of the road to the Dominion, independently of the land grant, would amount to some sixty million dollars, or double the original grant to the Allan Company. Warm debates arose in connection with the Riel rebellion, and every effort was made, by the Opposition, to attach blame to the Government in having provoked it in some way, by its land policy or its negligence. Towards the close of the session, a vote of thanks was given to Major General Middleton, and the officers and men of the field force sent to the North-West. A bill was passed granting to every man of this force, actively engaged in suppressing the insurrection, 320 acres of land. A sum of \$20,000 was also voted to Middleton for his services in the field. Parliament was finally prorogued on the 20th of July, after a session of nearly five months' duration.

* For full particulars as to qualification and otherwise see 48 and 49 Victoria, Chap. 40. The basis of qualification was very low, and very nearly approached universal suffrage.

CHAPTER XV.

GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE,—*continued.*

THE new year brought no changes with it in the political situation. The Riel agitation still continued to vex the souls of all French-Canada. The Reform leaders of Ontario were somewhat at a loss, as to the best course to pursue in the 1886. matter. One part of them felt disposed to make political capital out of the existing situation, with a view to weaken the Cabinet with its French-Canadian supporters, while another part resolutely refused to countenance any proceeding of this nature, maintained that Riel's fate was a just one, and that his gallows should not be made the stepping-stone to power. In the existing temper of the people of Ontario, defending the popular madness in the sister province, must prove a good deal like playing with fire.—On the 2nd of February, the matter of the North-West rebellion came up in the Ontario Legislature, owing to an amendment to the address, moved by Solomon White, expressing approval of the policy of the Dominion Government in the punishment of Riel and other offenders. Mowat objected to the amendment, and declared that the House had not the necessary information before it to form a correct judgment. And, then, Meredith, the leader of the Opposition, contrasted the present timid policy of the Liberal Party in the House, with that pursued in 1871, when Blake introduced his vigorous anti-Riel resolutions. But White's amendment, nevertheless, was voted down.

The Dominion Parliament met on the 25th of February.—Among its new members was John S. D. Thompson, recently created Minister of Justice and afterwards knighted, and George E. Foster, who had also become a member of the Cabinet as the Minister of Marine and Fisheries. The speech from the throne was unusually brief. It stated that peace and order had been fully restored in the North-West, and that the Government designed to take such measures as would obviate all further cause for alarm. It congratulated the House on the virtual completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and alluded to the consolidation of

the Dominion statutes and other routine matters. The address, in reply, was moved on the following day, and elicited a long and caustic speech from Blake. He alluded to the existing depression in general business, although there were some signs of improvement, to the fact that the Intercolonial Railway was not paying even working expenses, and to several other public matters. His speech, as a whole, was of an unusually personal character, and very critical of the sins of omission and commission of the Cabinet. Macdonald's reply took higher and broader grounds, and was at once a shrewd and able rejoinder. The debate was wound up in a single afternoon and night, and the address agreed to as it stood.— During the earlier part of the session, numerous papers, in connection with the recent rebellion, were asked for by various members. On the 11th of March Landry, the French-Canadian Bleu member for Montmagny, moved, "That this House feels its duty to express its deep regret, that the sentence of death passed upon Louis Riel, convicted of high treason, was allowed to be carried into execution." Although made by one of its own supporters hitherto, this was virtually a "want of confidence motion" in the Government. A long and bitter debate ensued, which lasted at intervals for thirteen days, and in which every point for and against the resolution, that could possibly be urged, was put forward. At an early period of the debate, Langevin moved the "previous question," which shut out amendments, and forced the House to deal directly with the main motion. He finally moved that the question be now put, which was agreed to by a large majority, and Landry's motion was then defeated on a vote of 146 to 52. Cartwright and Alexander Mackenzie, as well as the great majority of the Reform members from Ontario, voted with the Government. But among the small minority from that Province stood Blake. He had fought very shy of the main issue, and was exceedingly non-committal, in that direction, during the debate, but had voted, in the end, to condemn the execution of Riel. He was again the political "pea under the thimble," and his policy on this occasion was strongly condemned by many of his best friends, and seriously compromised him with the public. The Ontario vote, on Landry's motion, stood 65 against it to 18 in its favour; the Quebec vote stood 36 nays to 28 yeas. The Maritime Provinces gave six votes in its favour, but every Manitoba and British Columbia vote was recorded against it. On the 29th of March Archibald W. McLennan, now Finance Minister, made his budget speech. The revenue for the preceding fiscal year stood at \$32,797,002, the expenditure at \$35,037,060, showing a deficit of \$2,240,058, a state of things the House regarded with a good deal of dissatisfaction. Aside from the Riel matter the business of the session was of a very ordinary character. The railway fever still prevailed, although in a somewhat subdued form, and found vent in twenty-one bills. Sixty-seven local and private and eighty public bills were placed on the statute book. Owing to the continued illness of the

Premier, as the session drew towards a close, the proceedings of the House assumed a very quiet and routine character, enlivened somewhat, however, at times by the efforts of Mr. Blake to have everything done "decently and in order." Parliament was prorogued on the 2nd of June. The Governor-General's closing address was equally as brief as his "opening speech."

The Legislature of Quebec followed the example of the Ontario and Dominion Parliaments, and presently indulged in a special sensation of its own. On the 28th of April, a Rouge member of its lower chamber, named Garneau, made a motion expressive of sorrow and regret at the execution of Riel. Gauthier, a Bleu, moved an amendment to the effect, that the House had nothing to do with the matter, which was beyond its functions, and must therefore decline to express any opinion upon it. Turcotte, another Rouge, thereupon moved an amendment to the amendment of a very violent character, which averred that the execution of Riel was an act of inhumanity and cruelty, and to be condemned by all friends of right and justice, without distinction of race or creed. The debate on these motions extended for over a week, and resulted, finally, in the complete discomfiture of the Riellites by a vote of 43 to 16. During the debate Cameron, of Huntingdon, hitherto a strong Rouge, condemned the action of his confreres in bringing up the matter in the House, and declared that Riel had well-deserved his fate. Recent news from the North-West, stated that the Half-breeds of the Saskatchewan District were also of the same opinion, and now bitterly deplored the many evils that the latter had brought down upon them.

By-and-by the spring merged into a glorious Canadian summer, which filled the woods and fields with its vegetation and its fragrance. On the 14th of June the greater part of Vancouver, a town of some three thousand inhabitants, which had recently sprung up in the wilderness, at the Pacific terminus of our great continental railway, and the buildings in which were almost entirely of wood, was nearly all suddenly swept out of existence.—By some means bush-fires had been started on the railway reserve, and a high wind speedily carried the flames into the town. The total loss was estimated at a million dollars, only partially insured. Several persons were fatally burned during the conflagration, while many others were seriously injured. The great majority of the inhabitants lost everything they owned, and a public appeal was made for assistance. The summer brought with it the usual Fisheries' difficulties between the United States and Canada ; and there were now many complaints on the part of New England fishermen, who declared that they were losing money by the existing condition of matters. Owing to the close watch kept along the coast by our cruisers, mackerel, which in 1885 cost \$2.25 per barrel on the Boston market, became very scarce, and had risen to \$6.50. From the North-West came the news that Poundmaker, who had been pardoned and discharged from prison, after eighteen

months' confinement, had died on the 5th of July. Instead of proceeding, on his release, to his own reserve at Battleford, he had retired to the Blackfeet camp of his father-in-law, Crowfoot, where he died, it was said, of a broken heart. Prior to the recent rebellion, it had been his great boast that the Crees had never fired a shot at a white man; and to the last he declared that the siege of Battleford, and the battle of Cut Knife Creek, had been forced on him against his will by the young men of his tribe.

Meanwhile, the Riel agitation, in the Province of Quebec, continued to gather force and volume with the progress of time, and the flame of race and creed was fanned to the uttermost by many of its political leaders, but especially by Honore Mercier, a French-Canadian lawyer of ability, but of previous dubious reputation. He had suddenly sprung into a foremost position as the great leader of the National Party, which speedily drew a portion of the Bleus and nearly all the Rouge professional politicians within its folds. These people recognised their full opportunity to ascend into power and place upon the new cry, and used it unsparingly to goad the *Habitants*, especially, into a wild passion of fury and revenge. The general elections for the Province took place on the 14th of October, and the Bleu Party, hitherto so strong and so cohesive, was now completely shattered by a ruinous defeat. In the recent Assembly that party had numbered 47 to 17 Rouges. But this state of affairs was completely reversed, and the National Party, now largely countenanced by the clerical order, ascended to power with over twenty of a majority in its favour.—“The Ross Administration is a thing of the past,” said the Rouge organ, *La Patrie*. The traitors to the Canadian nationality have been beaten along the whole line, and Mr. Mercier will, before long, be the leader of the truly national administration of Quebec.” “As we predicted some time ago,” said the *Daily Witness*, “the combination party, headed by Mr. Mercier, has swept the Province by means of the Riel cry. In every constituency, French or English, that has been the dominating issue. * * * A pyrotechnic display was made on the square in front of St. James' church, where a scaffold had been erected, with the inscription “*Riel venger*.” Hitherto the great majority of the English-speaking people of the Province had belonged to the Rouge Party, but they now changed sides, owing to the race and religion cry so vehemently raised, and the National Party might be said to be almost wholly French-Canadian. While the Rouge Party had hitherto been regarded as the liberal and progressive one, not only in political but also in religious matters, and was, therefore, never in much favour with the Roman Catholic hierarchy, the new party very soon took the wind out of the enemy's sails, by professing Ultramontane views and an exalted veneration for religion. It shrewdly aimed to stand well with the church, and particularly with its Jesuit section, now legally incorporated and more influential than at any former period, speedily won its way into grace and

favour, and completely supplanted the Bleus, who had hitherto, under the leadership of Sir Hector Langevin, been the recognised orthodox champions. In Ontario the local elections took place on the 28th of December, and resulted in giving an increased majority for the Mowat Government.

The new year brought with it a fresh period of political excitement. On the 15th of January, proclamation was made dissolving Parliament, and ordering a new election for the 1887. House of Commons. The nominations were to take place on the 15th of February, and the polling on the 22nd. The provisions of the Franchise Act, of 1885, would now come into active operation for the first time, and the new lists, made under its authority, had greatly increased the number of voters. It now remained to be seen how the Riel and revenge cry would operate against the Federal Government. It proved a potent adverse factor, especially in the Province of Quebec, where it again wrought havoc with the Bleus. The Conservative majority in the whole Dominion was cut down to somewhat over thirty, to which, however, the by-elections, which in Canada usually result in favour of the party in power, added some fifty per cent. The Macdonald Cabinet was safe for another term of five years.

Parliament assembled on the 13th of April, and, on motion of the Premier, seconded by Sir Hector Langevin, Joseph Alderic Ouimet was chosen speaker by acclamation. The speech from the throne was a brief one. It congratulated the House on the general prosperity of the country, alluded to the approaching fiftieth anniversary of the Queen's accession to the throne of the British Empire, to the prominent position taken by Canada at the Colonial and India Exhibition in London, to the pending negotiations with the United States on the Fisheries' Question, and to the more important measures to be laid before the House. The address, in reply, after a short debate, was agreed to at a single sitting.

Sir Charles Tupper, who had resigned his High Commissionership in January, and accepted the portfolio of Finance, made his budget speech on the 12th of May. The total revenue of the past fiscal year stood at \$33,177,040, while the expenditure had risen to \$39,011,612, leaving a deficit of \$5,834,571. This large deficit was in part caused by the cost of the North-West rebellion, and by a new charge of over a million dollars owing to the increase in the Mounted Police Force. To meet this state of affairs large additions were made to the existing scale of duties, on a long line of imported goods, and the tariff all round might now be described as a thirty-five per cent. one. The policy of the Government, at this juncture, was not only to equalise the revenue and expenditure, but also to give increased protection to domestic manufactures wherever it was possible to do so. Every manufacturer, no matter how small his interests might be, was now listened to with attention, and the fullest measure of protection usually accorded him. But, in many cases, the feeling of individual greed, in seeking a highly

protected market for its wares, afterwards proved its own Nemesis. The excessive rate of duties imposed speedily led, in many instances, to such keen home competition, that production was stimulated beyond a legitimate point, and so reduced prices as to leave scarcely any profit to the manufacturer. And from this state of things presently sprung the formation of trusts, and organised monopolies otherwise, which aimed to regulate prices to suit themselves. In this way, the cost of many necessary articles of life was greatly increased to the consumer, and a vast amount of smuggling took place, to the injury of the people's morals and the public revenue. The better class of English woollen goods, and many other lines in use for every-day life, and not produced at all in this country, and formerly largely imported, were now rarely met with owing to their increased prices, and the people had to content themselves with a much inferior article. During the session 131 bills were passed, out of which 44 related to railways, either new or old, which showed how the speculative fever, in that direction, still continued to rage. On the 13th of May the present Premier of the Dominion, Mr. Abbott, became a member of the Government without portfolio, and Parliament was prorogued on the 23rd of June with the usual formalities.

Meanwhile, an occurrence of a somewhat unusual character had taken place at Toronto. William O'Brien, the Irish agitator, came to Canada from New York. He was accompanied by a friend and countryman named Kilbride, who represented the rack-renting middleman—the curse of his native country, and the very worst feature of its landlord system. Kilbride was a tenant of Lord Lansdowne, joined the League and so got into hot-water, and came out to Canada to air his grievances at the expense of the Governor-General, and to make him odious with its people. In order to accomplish this purpose, a large meeting was convened in the Queen's Park, Toronto, on the 10th of May. There were some four thousand persons present, the greater part of whom were quite willing to give their visitors a patient hearing. But another part of the audience made themselves conspicuous by vociferously applauding O'Brien, while an equal, or perhaps, larger number constituted themselves into an opposition, and hooted and groaned to their hearts' content. A dangerous riot must have taken place between the rival factions, were it not for the strong force of horse and foot police on the ground, and which, with some difficulty, preserved the peace. While afterwards walking through the streets at night, O'Brien and some of his New York reporter friends, were suddenly attacked by a mob, very roughly used, and had to fly for their lives. On the following Saturday a great meeting, but of quite another character, was also convened in the Queen's Park, with Mr. Howland, the mayor of the city, as chairman, in order to condemn the wanton attack which had been made upon the Governor-General. A motion, made by the Bishop of Algoma, and seconded by the Bishop of Toronto, condemning that attack, was unanimous.

ly agreed to. Another motion made by Professor Goldwin Smith, and seconded by the Rev. Dr. Potts, declaring that the Imperial Parliament was perfectly competent to justly and wisely settle all Irish questions, met with cheers of applause, and was carried without a dissentient voice. The attacks on the Governor-General had only served to add to his popularity, and O'Brien presently retreated upon New York, to get himself into fresh hot-water there, by declining to identify himself with the Irish Labour Union Party, who looked up to Dr. McGlynn and Henry George as the great apostles of their social creed. As both these gentlemen were in the bad graces of the Roman Catholic hierarchy of New York and elsewhere, O'Brien refused to become identified with either them or their supporters, and so drew no small amount of odium on himself. As the summer wore away the efforts of Manitoba to connect Winnipeg directly with the United States, by means of the Red River Valley Railway, in defiance of the monopoly given to the Canadian Pacific Railway in its charter, created a difficulty with the Dominion Government, which was eventually arranged by a compromise. Autumn brought with it abundant crops in the North-West, and here and there in the older provinces, but a long spring drought in Ontario rendered both the root and grain crops light, and its general harvest was much below the average. The chief political event which took place, at this period of the year, was a convention, held at Quebec, of the various local governments, British Columbia alone excepted, at which it was agreed that Imperial legislation be asked, to amend the British North America Act, so that larger subsidies could be secured from the Dominion. The idea first emanated from Mercier, now premier of Quebec, who was anxious to replenish the exhausted exchequer of his Province. The agreement, with this object in view, was published and widely circulated. But it met with little favour at the hands of the general public, who regarded it as an ill-advised attempt to deplete the Dominion treasury, and it was never acted upon afterwards. The local governments were now nearly all arrayed against the Federal Cabinet, and the conference was accordingly regarded in the light of an adverse political movement. As the year drew towards a close, it was stated that Mr. Blake's health had been so seriously injured by late hours and hard debating, as well as by disappointment at his want of Parliamentary success, that he designed to abdicate the position of Reform leader.

The Dominion Parliament met on the 23rd of February. No change had taken place in the Cabinet during the recess. Sixteen newly elected members made their appearance, 1888. among whom was Sir Charles Tupper, who had gone back to Cumberland for re-election. The Governor-General's speech congratulated the House on the general prosperity of the country, and on the successful negotiation of a treaty with the United States as to the Fisheries' disputes. It drew attention to the fact that the great extension and development of our railway system

rendered additional safeguards necessary for the preservation of life and property. The address, in reply, was moved on the following day, by the member for Haldimand (Montague) in a very clever speech, in which he presented some remarkable facts for the consideration of the House. He quoted a paragraph from the *New York Times* to the effect, that the profits of the American farmer had become so small as to be almost unworthy of consideration; which no doubt was substantially true in the case of the ordinary agriculturist, whose profits were now devoured by the railways and the middlemen, and who made little more than a bare living. The latest returns showed that the total mortgages on Canadian farms stood at \$81,798,288, while the total mortgages on ten of the principal western states of the Union, from Ohio to Missouri, amounted to \$3,422,000,000, or twenty-five per cent. of their assessed value, whereas the farm mortgages of all Canada if placed upon Ontario alone would not represent more than nine per cent. He estimated the total farm mortgages of the United States as more than four times their national debt. The land of the state of New York was mortgaged for an enormous sum, and its farmers were deeper in debt than at any former period, and their farms had greatly declined in value.* We may add that the same state of things, as described by Mr. Montague, still widely prevails, and that the operations of the McKinley Bill has afforded the smaller farmers of the older states little if indeed any relief. The prices of all the leading lines of farmers' produce in the United States, as well as in Canada, are regulated by the English and not by the domestic market.

In the absence of Mr. Blake, who was still suffering from ill-health, the Opposition chose Mr. Laurier as their leader. In criticising the address the latter spoke very handsomely of the Marquis of Lansdowne, whose term of office was now drawing towards a close. While not disputing the figures presented by its mover, he pointed to the fact, that there must be something very wrong with the management of affairs in this country, in view of the large emigration to the United States, and stated that at least a million of Canadians were now living there. He could understand why the oppressed people from Europe went there, but he could not understand why Canadians should desert their own grand country, and declared that it was owing to the policy of the Government. The Premier jauntily responded, by stating that this was a free country, and that its people had a right to ruin themselves if they thought proper to do so. And they had declared that ruin was preferable at the hands of the members on the Government side, than at the hands of gentlemen opposite.

* We give these facts and figures on the authority of Mr. Montague, and believe them to be substantially correct. Were the true farm mortgage debt of all the states of the Union accurately ascertained, as well as the farm mortgage debt of Canada, it would be a very valuable addition to statistical information.

Mr. Laurier was of French descent, and if he were not so solid a liberal he would almost call him a Bourbon, who remembers nothing and forgets nothing. No amendment, however, was moved, and, after short but bitter speeches from Sir Richard Cartwright and Mr. Mitchell, the address was agreed to. The Finance Minister made his budget speech on the 26th of April. It supplied an unusual number of valuable tables, relating to the trade and commerce of the Dominion for the preceding two decades.* The revenue for the past year stood at \$35,754,993, the expenditure at \$35,657,680, leaving a small surplus of \$97,313. His statement was not followed by any alterations in the tariff, as had so frequently been the case in recent years. The principal feature of the session, was a debate which ensued on a motion made by Sir Richard Cartwright, on the 14th of March, to the effect that the natural products and manufactures of the United States and Canada should be respectively admitted free of duty into either country. The debate was a long one, and continued at intervals until the 9th of April, when the motion was negatived by a vote of 124 to 67.

On the 18th of May, the Senate and House of Commons agreed to present a joint address to the Governor-General, which expressed high appreciation of his services, and regret at his approaching departure. The Marquis had been already appointed Governor-General of India, the greatest office in the gift of the Crown, and has proved a successful administrator there. The session was brought to a close on the 22nd of May, after the final passage of various bills which were all of a routine character. Twenty of these bills related to railways, the fever touching which was not now so great as it had been. An act was passed which abolished the monopoly of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the North-West, and permitted competing lines and connections with the American railway system. Another act was passed giving effect to the new Fisheries Treaty with the United States, and it was hoped that this vexed question was now finally disposed of. "I cannot take leave of you," said the Governor-General in his closing speech, "without placing on record my deep regret that my official connection with your country should be at an end. * * * My interest in the Dominion will not cease on my departure from your shores, and I pray that in years to come its people may enjoy in abundance every blessing which it is in the power of Providence to bestow." Three days after the close of the session the Marquis of Lansdowne bade adieu to Canada, and departed with the good-wishes of the great majority of its people. On the 25th of May he embarked at Quebec on the Allan steamship *Parisian*, and safely reached England in due course. He had been a judicious administrator, kept himself entirely aloof from the entanglements of party, and so stood well with both sides of politics. His successor, Lord

* For these tables see House of Commons Debates for 1888, vol. ii, p. 1031.

Stanley of Preston, the present Governor-General, received his appointment on the 1st of May, and entered upon the duties of his high office on the 11th of June, when he was duly sworn in at Ottawa.

The new Governor-General is the brother and heir of the Earl of Derby. He became a member of the Beaconsfield Cabinet in 1868, and held various offices from that day to this, and among others the Presidency of the Board of Trade under the Salisbury administration. His wife is Lady Constance, fourth daughter of the Earl of Clarendon. He has a numerous family of sons and daughters.

THE GOVERNMENT OF LORD STANLEY.

The summer brought with it few domestic events of importance. In the Province of Quebec, the National Party continued to add to its popularity, and its leader, Mercier, who still remained at the head of the government, now wielded a large amount of personal influence, and appeared to be growing more secure in power every day. In order to strengthen its position, the local Cabinet had secured the passage of a Bill in the Legislature, granting \$400,000 in full settlement of the Jesuits' Estates claim, while, at the same time, a sop of \$60,000 was given for educational purposes to the Protestants, to keep that section of the community quiet. This Bill did not appear to attract much notice while passing through the House, but it presently provoked a storm of censure, not only in the Province of Quebec but also in Ontario. The preamble, which recited the approval of the Pope to the measure, was regarded with particular dislike, as trenching on the prerogative of the Queen; and the Jesuit order, which was looked upon as being at the bottom of the whole business, was unsparingly denounced. A bitter dispute arose, by-and-by, with regard to the disposal of the grant. The Jesuits claimed the whole of the amount, while Laval University and other educational institutions demanded their share. This dispute the Pope was at last petitioned to settle. His Holiness divided the plunder. The Jesuits had to content themselves with \$160,000, Laval University got \$140,000, \$20,000 went to the Labrador missions and \$10,000 to each of the Bishops.

In Manitoba the agitation connected with the Canadian Pacific Railway, and other adverse matters, had made the local Conservative Government unpopular, and the general provincial election, which took place on the 11th of July, terminated in its total defeat, and the ascension of the Reform Party to power. Under a law recently enacted by the United States, which prohibited the importation of foreign labour under contract, resident Canadian workmen were now prevented, for the first time, from crossing the frontier to pursue their daily occupations, as had hitherto been their wont. They were told that if they wanted to work in the United States they must also live there. As no prohibition of the

same kind existed on the Canadian side of the line, this proceeding was regarded as a harsh and unfair one, and as giving evidence of a very narrow and unfriendly feeling. It was hoped, however, that the supposed final settlement of the Fisheries Disputes, by the treaty framed by the "Joint High Commission," would create a better and harmonious state of things. President Cleveland, when submitting this treaty to the Senate for confirmation, declared that it met with his approval, "because it supplied a practical, satisfactory, and final adjustment, upon a basis honourable and just to both parties, of the difficult and vexed question to which it relates." It led to a prolonged debate, which lasted at intervals during the greater part of the summer, and which was closely watched in Canada, with the final result that it was rejected, on the 21st of August, by a strict party vote of 30 Republican senators to 27 Democrats. Cleveland, in the meantime, had been nominated for a second term of the Presidency, and the Republican Party was bound that his friends should not go to the polls, with the credit attaching to him of having negotiated a successful treaty. It was politics before principle, or public expediency. In order to placate the electorate and strengthen his own position, even Cleveland meanly stooped to the political necessities of the hour, by recommending to Congress retaliatory measures against Canada, which had, even according to his own showing, done everything in her power to settle the dispute. But, in addition to other considerations for the rejection of the Treaty, the growing greatness of Canada had begun to create alarm in Congress, and Cullom, a senator from Illinois, pointed to the fact, that nearly fifty per cent. of the commerce with China and Japan, was already carried by vessels sailing from British Columbia. Canada, however, was somewhat consoled for this treaty disappointment by the blessing of an abundant harvest. Manitoba, especially, rejoiced in a bountiful return for the labour of the husbandman, but the crop, unfortunately, was partially injured by early frost. During the latter part of the year, several changes took place in the Dominion Cabinet. Charles Hubbert Tupper, the son of Sir Charles Tupper, an able although a youthful public man, became Minister of Marine and Fisheries, in place of Mr. Foster, who assumed the portfolio of Finance. John G. Haggart, of the Town of Perth, became Postmaster-general, and Edward Dewdney Minister of the Interior, in the room of Thomas White, of Montreal, who had died on the 21st of April. As winter progressed, 1888 drew tranquilly to a close, throughout all the Dominion, and the new year presently made its appearance.

Parliament assembled on the 31st of January. The Governor-General's opening speech was somewhat longer than usual. He expressed his gratification at being associated with the 1889. fortunes of the Dominion, and stated that it would be his earnest desire to co-operate with Parliament for the advancement of its prosperity. He regretted that the treaty concluded between

Her Majesty and the President of the United States, for the adjustment of the Fisheries Disputes, had not been ratified by the Senate, and that Canadian legislation of last year, on the subject, had, accordingly, become in a great measure inoperative. It now remained for Canada to maintain her rights, as prescribed by the Convention of 1818, until some satisfactory treaty arrangements were made. Measures were to be laid before the House to assimilate the laws relating to bills of exchange and promissory notes, the improvement of the Atlantic Mail Service, and the creation of a line of fast steamers between British Columbia, China and Japan, as well as for other necessary purposes. The address, in reply, was agreed to after a brief debate. The new Finance Minister made his budget speech, which supplied a large amount of valuable statistical information, on the 5th of March. The total revenue for the past fiscal year stood at \$35,908,463, the expenditure at \$36,718,494, leaving a deficit of \$810,031.* This deficit was chiefly owing to the falling off in the duties on spirituous liquors. The total net debt of the Dominion, on the 28th of February, stood at \$236,095,114. On the 26th of March William E. O. Brien, the member for Muskoka, moved, in amendment to the motion to go into "Committee of Supply," a long resolution condemnatory of the action of the Legislature of Quebec, in granting \$400,000 to the Jesuit order of that Province, in satisfaction of all its claims on the score of its ancient estates, which had already been devoted, by act of Parliament, to educational purposes. His objections to the measure were, that it used the public funds to endow a religious organisation, that it recognized the right of the Pope to influence Provincial legislation, and that the endowment of the Jesuit order, an alien, secret, and politico-religious body, which had been driven out of every Roman Catholic nation where it formerly had a footing—a step rendered necessary by its intolerant and mischievous intermeddling with the functions of civil government—was fraught with danger to the civil and religious liberties of the people of Canada. His motion asked, accordingly, that the House pray His Excellency to disallow the Bill. A long debate ensued, which lasted until the 28th of March, when the House decided, by a vote of 118 to 13, that the Legislature of Quebec had not exceeded its authority in passing the "Jesuits' Estates Bill," and that the Dominion Parliament had no right to interfere. There can be no doubt that this decision was the only one that could be arrived at. But, at the same time, it was none the less a fresh triumph for the Mercier administration, which had dexterously and craftily won the Jesuit influence to its side, and had now become all-powerful in its Province. With the aid of open Jesuit support, and secret Jesuit intrigue in Italy and in Canada, the National Party had now become the party of the Pope, the church and the people, and

* The figures given by the Finance Minister were not quite correct, so we give the true figures from the public accounts, as we have also done in previous cases.

Mercier began to rule at Rome as well as at Quebec. The Jesuits' Estates Bill and its immediate results led to unusual excitement throughout the Dominion, and were discussed at great length, and with much bitterness, by the public press of Ontario. Parliament was prorogued on the 2nd of May. The quantity of legislation was rather less than usual, and possessed no features of much importance or requiring special notice.

The spring of 1889 was chiefly distinguished for the recurrence of the great Anti-Scott Act wave, which had so violently set in during the preceding year. The people had weighed the Act fairly in the balance for three years, found it wanting in many ways, were much dissatisfied with the tyranny of its operations, and the unsatisfactory manner of its enforcement, and voted, as a rule, by vast majorities for its repeal. In Ontario, especially, despite the energetic struggles of the Methodist, the Presbyterian, and the Baptist churches, it was defeated in all directions, until every city and county in which it had prevailed, had released themselves from its operations. Many of the ministers of these churches had not only exerted themselves actively in the advocacy of this law, but also in enforcing it, and now shared the odium of its overwhelming defeat, a circumstance which seriously militated against their personal influence afterwards, as well as against that of the religious bodies they represented. They had abandoned moral suasion and religious teaching, the true basis of national reformation, and betook themselves to the platform of legal coercion, to pay the penalty of their fatal mistake in being utterly routed at the polls. The cause of prohibition instead of being promoted by the operations of the Act was seriously compromised, and received a blow from which there are yet no signs of recovery. The proper enforcement of the Act was, as a rule, found to be utterly impracticable, despite the vast secret detective machinery which it set in motion. "I am glad it has been repealed," said one of the judges, "because the Act has done much to lower the tone of the law, and bring its administration into contempt." The summer brought with it a renewal of the Anti-Jesuit agitation, and great meetings were held at different points to denounce the Quebec Jesuits' Estates Bill, and the House of Commons, as well, for not voting for its disallowance. A convention of 688 Anti-Jesuit delegates, from different parts of the country, assembled in Toronto, on the 11th of June, at which strong condemnatory resolutions were passed, but without any effect on the accomplished result, which remained unaltered. The Jesuits' Estates Bill still stands upon the Statute Book of the Province of Quebec, and is likely to remain there for all time. One of the results, however, of the Toronto convention, was the appointment of a deputation to wait upon the Governor-General, to ask him to disallow the Bill. This he absolutely declined to do, in the face of the large vote against that policy in Parliament, and of the fact that the Act was well within provincial authority. As the summer wore away, efforts were made by

the Canadian authorities to induce a milder application of the United States' Alien Contract Law, so as to permit of residents at this side of the line pursuing, unmolested, their daily occupations in the United States. These efforts, however, were not successful, and the existing unpleasant condition of matters continued unabated. But, despite the want of success in this direction, our Government showed no disposition to retaliate in any form; and even, as regards the Fisheries, what was known as the *modus vivendi* was still permitted to stand. Under its operations licenses continued to be issued to American craft to exercise various privileges in our waters. While Canada during the summer had scarcely produced an event of any note, the United States had been scourged by numerous appalling catastrophes, among which were great fires in Lyn and Boston, and the flood at Johnstown, Pennsylvania, which overwhelmed a city of forty thousand inhabitants, and by which it was estimated that a fifth of its population had lost their lives. On the 19th of September, however, there was a rude awakening at the ancient city of Quebec, from this happy condition of Canadian affairs. A part of the rock on which the citadel stands gave way, and several thousand tons weight of huge masses of stone crashed downwards, three hundred feet, to the street below, crushed in seven houses, killed 28 persons, and wounded some 20 others. It was afterwards discovered that an unknown closed drain from the citadel, leading downwards to the river, was the cause of this catastrophe. The water instead of passing off by this drain, made its way into the fissures of the rock, and the operation of the frost, for many successive winters, gradually widened these fissures, and at length led to the disaster. Few other events of any public importance occurred in the Dominion, during the remainder of the year. Two changes took place in the Federal Cabinet. Charles C. Colby, member for Stanstead, had become President of the Council in room of the Premier, who had taken the portfolio of Railways and Canals.

Parliament assembled on the 16th of January. The Governor-General's speech was more lengthy than usual. He told how 1890. he had visited Manitoba, the North-West Territories, and British Columbia during the recess, and had been received everywhere with loyalty and good-will. His third paragraph stated, that in consequence of the repeated seizures, by United States' cruisers, of Canadian vessels engaged in the capture of seals in Behrings Sea, his Government had strongly represented to Her Majesty's ministers, the necessity of protecting our shipping while engaged in their lawful calling, as well as guarding against the assumption, by any nation, of exclusive proprietary rights in these waters. Measures were to be laid before the House, relative to the renewal of the charters of several banks, amending legislation affecting the North-West, touching bills of exchange and promissory notes, and other public matters of importance. When the address came up for consideration, Laurier eloquently denounc-

ed the National Policy as the cause of all the country's woes, as favouring the few at the expense of the many, and as having made the lot of the toiling masses harder than ever. It had created sugar barons, and cotton lords, and railway kings, but it had, at the same time, put the nails upon the doors and windows of thousands of homes, and sent their inhabitants to a foreign country. It had reduced the value of farming land, in the great Province of Ontario, by at least twenty-two million dollars. As one remedy for this state of things he advocated commercial union with the United States. The Premier retorted, by stating, that the foundation of the Reform Party was that Canada was ruined, and would remain ruined until that Party came again into power. He emphatically denied that the National Policy was a failure, and asserted that it truly embodied the principle of Canada for the Canadians. The address was then agreed to without further debate. On the 21st Mulock, the Reform member for North York, gave notice in the House of an address to be presented to the Queen, repudiating recent disloyal utterances in the United States and elsewhere, by certain of the public men of Canada and others, and professing attachment to Her Majesty's Government, and the determination to preserve the unity of the Empire. This address was afterwards agreed to by acclamation, there being no dissentient voice. On the 12th of February, Dalton McCarthy, the member for the North Riding of Simcoe, moved the second reading of his Bill for the abolition of the use of French as an official language in the North-West Territories. It led to a long and bitter debate, and was eventually lost on a vote of 117 to 63.

The Finance Minister made his budget speech on the 27th of March. He congratulated the House and the country, on the general beneficial results of the preceding twelve months. Business had been reasonably good, although there had been a deficient harvest in some districts, and low prices for farm produce. Railway building had been vigorously prosecuted, and the volume of general traffic had been larger than in any year of our history. The total revenue stood at \$38,782,870, the expenditure at \$36,917,834, leaving a surplus of \$1,865,036. At the close of his speech, he proposed to make numerous amendments to the Customs Act of 1886, raising the duties in many cases, and somewhat enlarging the free list in the interest of manufacturers. Cartwright criticised the budget speech with his usual asperity of manner. He declared, that not for thirty-five years had there been such extreme distress as now existed in many parts of the country, even in Ontario; and yet the Finance Minister was supremely happy in his fool's paradise. With a large surplus, and in expectation of a still larger one, he proposed to add, by his proposed changes in the tariff, to the burdens of the people. His protection policy was reflected in the Congress of the United States, by the hostile McKinley Resolutions, designed to exclude, from that country, by way of retaliation, the agricultural products of Canada. The prosperity of this coun-

try depended mainly on the agricultural class, and next to it came our miners, our fishermen, our sailors, and our lumbermen. If they prosper all the other classes will prosper. He was replied to by Colby, who pointed to the depressed condition of farmers in the United States, and showed from American authorities, that the farms in New York State alone were mortgaged for over seven hundred millions of dollars. In Illinois recent returns proved that its farm mortgages stood at \$381,322,339. In Michigan they stood at \$129,229,553, and in Indiana at \$106,855,884. He also pointed to the fact, that owing to the poor condition of the agricultural population, farms were being everywhere abandoned throughout the New England States, and were now lying waste. The policy of the Finance Minister was, however, eventually sustained by a vote of 95 to 57. As the session progressed Blake again made his appearance in the House. His health had improved, and he spoke on several questions with much of his wonted vigour and great ability.

On the 19th of April a special committee, appointed to enquire into a charge made against General Middleton, of having appropriated, to his own use, a quantity of valuable furs, the property of Charles Bremner, a Half-breed trader and farmer, who resided at Bresaylor, twenty-two miles from Battleford, made their report. According to this report Bremner, who was a rebel partisan of Riel, had surrendered with Poundmaker, and brought his furs with him. Middleton, who was then at Battleford, confiscated these furs, and ordered that two packages of the best of them should be put up for himself, one package for Hayter Reed, and another for S. L. Bedson, both members of his staff. The furs packed for Middleton and Reed, were put on board the steamboat which carried the General to Winnipeg, but somehow they mysteriously disappeared during the voyage; while the package for Reed was received by him at Regina, but again returned to the Police authorities at Battleford, on the ground that he had come to the conclusion that their seizure was illegal. The committee further reported, that the confiscation of these furs was an unlawful and unwarrantable act; and that Middleton, himself, had admitted that he had recently become satisfied that it was so. This report came up for final consideration on the 12th of May, and was agreed to after a sharp debate, in which Middleton's improper and illegal conduct was strongly condemned. The termination of the whole matter was, that he was compelled to resign his command, and returned to England with a very unpleasant cloud on his reputation. But he did not pay Bremner for his furs. The Government also refused to compensate him for their loss, and disclaimed all responsibility for the transaction.* On the 13th of May, Mr. Barron, the member for the North Riding of Victoria, brought up

* See Report of Select Committee, in Blue Book for 1890, for full details, as to sworn testimony in this fur matter and otherwise.

the question of the "Quebec Harbour Improvements," by drawing the attention of the House to a series of articles which had appeared in *Le Canadien*, a Quebec newspaper, published by Israel Tarte, charging gross misconduct on the part of Thomas McGreevy, M. P., and others, in connection with these works. It was stated that McGreevy, who, in addition to being a member of the House, was also chairman of the Quebec Harbour Commission, and the intimate friend and confidant of Sir Hector Langevin, had used his position to obtain information from the office of Public Works for the benefit of favourite contractors, Larkin, Connolly & Co., and that in this way the Government had been defrauded out of a large sum of money. McGreevy was not present when this matter was brought up, and it ended for the time in a statement by Sir Hector Langevin, that his attention had recently been called to certain incriminating letters, and that if there were any indiscretion in his department, it would be fully enquired into. But it was plainly evident that a dangerous storm for the Government had suddenly appeared above the horizon, and that Barron's menacing speech embodied the first echoes of the still distant thunder. Parliament was finally prorogued on the 16th of May. The legislation of the session partook much less of the railway charter-fever than had been the rule in preceding years, but the revenue surplus was effectually dissipated by grants, footing up to nearly three million of dollars, to different railroads.

On the 6th of May a terrible catastrophe took place at Longue Pointe, ten miles below Montreal. Here the Sisterhood of Providence had erected, in 1873-4, a vast asylum for the insane at a cost of considerably over a million of dollars. It was opened for patients in July, 1875, for the care of whom the local government contracted to pay the nuns the annual sum of one hundred dollars per head. The institution partook more of the character of a prison than an hospital, and was not conducted in accordance with modern ideas, either as regarded practical science or otherwise. There were, at least, 1,300 patients within its gloomy walls. Shortly before mid-day this vast building took fire in the women's quarters, in one of the upper stories. A scene of indescribable horror ensued. While all the male lunatics escaped, over a hundred and fifty occupants of the female wards were burned to death, as well as four of the nuns. Numbers of half-dressed patients fled to the woods, and as a consequence the inhabitants of the surrounding country became greatly alarmed. A soaking rain added to the miseries of the hour, and as night approached the scene of desolation and suffering was pitiable in the extreme. It took several days to bring order out of the chaos that this terrible catastrophe produced, and before the poor nuns and their wretched patients could be at all comfortably housed and provided for.

On the 22nd of May, the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, who had selected the Canadian route from India as being much pleasanter and quicker than that across the Isthmus of Suez,

arrived at Vancouver on their way home to England. They were presented with an address of welcome by the citizens, and left for the east by special train next day. On the 30th the royal party were at Toronto, where they met with an enthusiastic reception. After a visit to Niagara Falls, and a brief stay in the Dominion, the journey homewards was resumed. The Ontario general elections took place early in June. The Mowat Government was again sustained by a good majority, and the Conservative Party of the Province had still to remain, per force, in the cold shades of Opposition. The Quebec general elections also took place in June, but a little later on. The Riel and race cries still continued to have potent force, formed an important election lever for the National Party, and Mercier, accordingly, with an increased majority at his back, assumed a new lease of power. Meanwhile, the attention of the Canadian people had been strongly turned to the debates, in the United States Senate, on the McKinley Bill, so portentous of much mischief to this country, and which showed, in many ways, the most unworthy fear and jealousy of the rising influence and commerce of Canada, and the covert desire to coerce it into either political or commercial union. It was a Republican measure, and persistently fought at every stage by the Democratic side of the House, but without avail. It displayed the strong anti-Canadian feeling which had now sprung up in Congress, and struck at our natural products so severely as to be, in many cases, almost prohibitory. Horses were taxed at \$30 each, cows at \$10 per head, calves and yearlings at \$2,00, pigs and sheep at \$1.50. Barley was increased from 10 to 30 cents per bushel; and the duties on butter, cheese, and eggs were advanced to the prohibition point. It was regarded with no little disfavour by the more moderate section of the Republican Party, and Blaine did not hesitate to denounce it "as the most dangerous, if not the most infamous, measure that was ever concocted by any party." And he emphatically declared, "that the men who vote for this Bill will wreck the Republican Party." But the feeling in the Senate, in favour of the Bill, was too strong even for Blaine to overcome, and he had, eventually, to rest content with the insertion therein of a clause, providing for reciprocity with such countries as made special commercial concessions to the United States. The American brewers made a strong stand against the barley item; but even their influence was insufficient to stay the hand of Congress, and the Bill eventually became law, on the 10th of September, by a strict party vote of 40 yeas to 29 nays, and went into active operation on the 5th of October.

During the summer, the Behring Sea difficulty continued to be a prominent matter of discussion; and at one time it appeared as if it were about to lead to very serious consequences. Immediately after the final passage of the McKinley Bill, it leaked out that President Harrison's Cabinet, with a view to carry the approaching Congressional elections in favour of the Republican Party, had

determined upon a spread-eagle policy of bluff and bluster, in connection with the Behring Sea dispute, while pretending, at the same time, to the British Minister at Washington, Sir Julian Pauncefote, to be most anxious for its settlement. With the view to effectually put an end to this double-dealing and disgraceful proceeding, solely entered into for election purposes, and to influence especially the Irish vote, some member of the Cabinet or other high personage was said to have given the secret away to the newspapers, and no more was heard of the unworthy plot.* As the best answer to these intrigues, Admiral Hotham, commanding the British Pacific fleet, presently made his appearance at Esquimaux with several of his men-of-war, and the Government at Washington was quietly informed, in an indirect sort of way, that if any more British vessels were seized by force they would be retaken in the same manner. Matters at once assumed a more amicable appearance, and there now began to be a good deal of talk, on the American side, about peaceable arbitration. Meanwhile, the Autumn Assizes at the Town of Woodstock, in western Ontario, brought with them the great sensation of the year, in the trial of Reginald Birchall, a young married Englishman of education and ability, for the foul murder of his still more youthful countryman, F. C. Benwell, in order to obtain possession of his effects. The dead body of Benwell had been discovered in a swamp, and was for some time unrecognised. But a slight clue, in the shape of a tell-tale cigar case, was sufficient for a skilful detective, who gradually wove a web of adverse circumstantial testimony around Birchall, which after a long trial ended in his conviction, and his execution subsequently on the 3rd of November. It was the chief criminal trial, and much the longest, that had ever taken place in Canada. While it lasted the newspapers of this country, of the United States, and even of England, were filled with its details. Birchall was paid a large sum by the *Toronto Mail* for his autobiography, which had a very wide sale. The remainder of the year produced scarcely a single Canadian event of any importance, and 1890 presently went down into the grave of all its predecessors, and its successor came trooping in.

Although the life of the existing House of Commons had not yet expired by effluxion of time, it presently began to be rumoured that a new general election was close at hand. On the 1891. 22nd of January it was reported, at Ottawa, that a dissolution had been decided on; but nothing very definite could be ascertained. These rumours, however, turned out to be true, and on the 4th of February a proclamation was issued dissolving Parliament. The ostensible plea put forward, for this sudden and unlooked-for procedure, was that the country should be asked to endorse the policy of the Government, in seeking to enter into a new reciprocity treaty with the United States. On the side of the Opposition, on

* See New York *Herald* of July 15th, 1890, for fuller particulars.

the other hand, it was asserted that the true cause of the dissolution arose from a desire to secure a fresh majority, in a new Parliament, and a fresh lease of power before the McGreevy-Langevin exposures took place, which must as certainly lead to the defeat of the Government as the revelations in the Allan case. Subsequent occurrences proved the worthlessness of the reciprocity plea, and strengthened the charge made by the Opposition. The nominations were to take place on the 26th of February, and the polling on the 5th of March. The notice was alike startling and sudden, and the Government was bitterly accused of seeking to snatch a verdict in its own favour on a slender pretext. But scant as was the notice, the excitement soon rose to fever heat, from one end of the Dominion to the other, and the sounds of political strife presently resounded in every direction. Sir John A. Macdonald brought out his great lieutenant, Sir Charles Tupper, from England, to aid him in the coming struggle ; and, although in his seventy-fifth year, entered into the campaign with the apparent vigour and all the ardour of youth, and no one would suppose that the hero of so many political fights was about to win his last battle. The prospect was not cheering for the Government by any means, and for the moment it looked as if it were courting certain defeat. The Province of Quebec, now supremely ruled by Mercier, who still dexterously manipulated the Riel and race cry for all it was worth, and skilfully dangled the old dream of Papineau, a solid New France on the banks of the St. Lawrence, before the eyes of his unthinking countrymen, was sure to give a large adverse majority ; while the vote in Ontario was equally certain to be hostile. On the 9th of February Mercier addressed a vast meeting at Montreal, and announced that the National Party was in full sympathy with Laurier and the Opposition. On the 13th a great Reform meeting was held at Toronto ; and the Premier of Ontario declared himself bitterly hostile to the Macdonald Cabinet, and asked his followers to give energetic assistance in its overthrow. Long addresses to the public were issued by Sir John A. Macdonald and Mr. Laurier, explaining their relative positions, and claiming support on the score of their respective policies. Ministerial and Opposition candidates confronted one another in every riding, and the struggle promised to be one of the hardest fought, and most momentous, that had ever taken place in the Dominion. The Roman Catholic Hierarchy of Quebec presently took a hand in the fray, and issued a *mandement*, read in all the churches on the 22nd of February, asking electors to vote only for those candidates who would bind themselves to do justice to their unfortunate compatriots in Manitoba and the North-West.* They ardently desired to have the School and French language questions settled in their Church's interests. Skilful opportunists as they were, and had ever been, they sought to use the existing crisis for their own

* *Montreal Daily Witness*, February 25th, 1891.

special advantage. The newspapers of each party teemed with hostile editorials of surpassing bitterness ; while a host of correspondents mingled in the fray, and added to the gall and wormwood Maelstrom of the hour. Professor Goldwin Smith, in a letter to the *Toronto Mail* of the 8th February, sharply denounced the action of the Government, in dissolving Parliament without due cause, as a gross violation of constitutional principle. He declared " that the reason assigned by a minister for a dissolution, was so transparently fictitious, that he can scarcely be said to have paid public morality the homage even of an attempt at deception. It was that he and his colleagues were preparing to make overtures, through a commission, to the Government at Washington, for the extension of trade relations, and that they could not do this to advantage unless they had a freshly elected Parliament at their backs." The newspaper, *Le Canadien*, still published at the city of Quebec by Israel Tarte, a Bleu in Dominion politics, but a National Party man in his own province, fiercely denounced the Minister of Public Works, Sir Hector Langevin, for having received bribes from contractors, and being otherwise guilty of gross dereliction of duty, to the great injury of the public purse and public morality. These charges were repeated all over the Dominion by the Opposition press, until the very air seemed to resound with sharp denunciation and incriminatory invective, and the Government forces appeared to become more and more demoralised every day. But Sir John A. Macdonald speedily came to the rescue, and soon revived their drooping spirits. Like Bret Harte's "Heathen Chinee," he had still a strong trump card up his sleeve, and when the Opposition had pretty well exhausted their thunder played it with consummate skill. At a great Conservative meeting, held at the Academy of Music in Toronto on the 17th of February, and after a vigorous partisan speech from Sir Charles Tupper, he warily proceeded to show his hand. Nothing could exceed the rhetorical skill displayed by his exordium, and the manner in which he sought to establish himself in the good graces of his audience was worthy of a Demosthenes. He alluded to his residence amongst them while earning his bread, during the dark days after he had been driven from Office in 1873, and how his protectionist policy had benefited the whole people of the Dominion, and especially its industrial classes. And, then, he accused Sir Richard Cartwright, the leader of the Ontario section of the Opposition, of having turned from a Tory into a Grit, because he had appointed Sir Francis Hincks Finance Minister instead of him. "He wrote me a little note," said Sir John, "stating that he could no longer be a supporter of mine in consequence of that." And then the Premier accused Cartwright of being a party to a foul conspiracy to force this country to abandon its allegiance to the Queen, and connect itself with the United States. In proof of this charge, which virtually amounted to one of high treason, he stated that Cartwright had selected Mr. Edward Farrer, who had been editor of the

Mail in its Tory days, before it had fallen from grace, and whom he presently translated to the editorship of the *Globe*, as his ambassador and go-between to Washington, for his purposes of "veiled treason." In order to sustain this charge he proceeded to quote from a secret pamphlet, recently written by Farrer, of which a few copies only had been printed, and evidently for use by some parties in high positions in the United States, in which various means were recommended to coerce Canada into closer relations with that country. That pamphlet pointed out "that the imposition of a tonnage tax by the United States on all Nova Scotia vessels, laden wholly or in part with fish, would soon put an end to seizures by Canadian cruisers." It also advised, "that a ready way of bringing the Government and all concerned to their senses, would be to suspend the bonding privilege, or to cut the connection of the Canadian Pacific Railway with the railway system of the United States territories at the Sault Ste. Marie. It would be better still," it went on to say, "to oblige Britain to withdraw her countenance and support from the Canadian contention as she did in 1871. That would secure the desired end without leaving the United States open to the charge of being animated by hatred of Canada, on which Sir John A. Macdonald trades." The case against Farrer was made stronger by the production, by Sir Charles Tupper, of a letter of his addressed to Erastus Wiman, of New York, under date of April 22nd, 1889, in which he very freely discussed the Annexation and Commercial Union proclivities in Canada, and gave it as his opinion that the annexation feeling would increase if commercial union were entirely withheld. A letter from R. R. Hitt, an influential member of Congress, was also produced, in which it was said "There is some logic in what Farrer states of not making two bites of a cherry, but going for annexation at once." How these letters had been procured was not explained, but they had evidently been obtained by some surreptitious means in New York, and forwarded to Sir John A. Macdonald, who at once saw the great advantage they must bring to him in an election; and they no doubt formed an important factor as regarded the sudden dissolution of Parliament. Farrer presently strengthened the case which had been so clearly made out against him, by admitting, in a letter to the *Globe*, that he had written the obnoxious pamphlet; twelve copies of which only had been printed, one of which was sent to England, two to the United States, and nine still remained in his own possession. He claimed that he had a perfect right to the free expression of his opinions, that he had no design to prejudice the case of Canada with respect to her fisheries, and that, in any event, the Reform Party was not bound by anything he might say or do in his private capacity. But these pleas were very generally regarded by the public as exceedingly weak ones, as carrying falsehood on their face, and as only making his defence worse instead of better. And the rumour was now skilfully set afloat, that some of the more hostile clauses

of the McKinley Bill owed their origin to the covert desire, on the part of some recreant Canadians, Farrer amongst others, to coerce this country into annexation. The revelations at the Toronto meeting created the greatest excitement throughout the country, and completely offset the McGreevy-Langevin charges. Farrerism had come most opportunely to the rescue of the badly-cornered Government, and saved it from the ignominious defeat that otherwise most surely awaited it. The public mind had become widely opposed to the extreme courses of the National Policy, and the prevailing hard times were looked upon as its doing, whilst Tarte's charges against the Minister of Public Works were sapping the Government supports in every direction. The Farrer revelations poured oil upon this troubled sea, proved a perfect god-send to the Conservative press, and the cry of disloyal traitors, which it presently let loose from the Atlantic to the Pacific, sorely weighted the Reform Party at the polls on the 5th of March. The elections resulted in a majority of 27 for the Government. But the political battle did not by any means end with them. A large number of seats was protested by both parties, and the struggle for political supremacy thus transferred from the polling booth to the courts, where it was fought out, to the bitter end, at a vast expense to all concerned, until 1892 was well-advanced. But the Conservative Party gained all along the line, not only in the courts but, also, thanks to Farrerism and other cognate isms, in the by-elections, and at their final close the Government majority had increased to some fifty-five. In England the Conservative Party had adopted the free-trade policy of Peel and Cobden, accepted the new condition of things in its entirety, and sedulously sought to place itself in harmony with the wishes of the people. In Canada, on the other hand, the Reform Party, which claims to be the party of the people, shuts its eyes to its environments, refuses to learn anything or unlearn anything, and even the bitter lesson of repeated defeat fails to educate it to wiser courses. It is ever putting its foot into one political pitfall or another, and always doing something to weaken its own naturally inherent strength. Canada sadly needs a party of moderation, loyal to connection with the Mother Country, in harmony with the wishes of the people, opposed to extreme organic changes commercially or otherwise, and steadfastly prepared to give the public a purer, a better, a more economical, and more patriotic Government. Once upon a time the Reform Party did all that, but its "right hand has now sadly lost its cunning."

Parliament met on the 29th of April, when Peter White, member for North Renfrew, was chosen speaker by acclamation. On the following day, at 3 p. m., the Governor-General proceeded in state to the Senate chamber, and delivered his opening speech. Its tone was exceedingly tame and cautious, and showed that the Government was not quite sure of its position, and anxious to avoid contention. Its only feature of importance was embodied in the statement, that owing to certain representations made thereto

by his ministers, the Government of the United States would be prepared, in the following October, to enter into a conference with regard to the extension and development of trade between the two countries and other matters; and that it would, accordingly, be advisable to continue the *modus vivendi*, in accordance with the terms of the Washington Treaty of 1888. The debate on the address was much longer than had been usual in recent years, and lasted for four days, but was not distinguished for either brilliancy or power. The Premier, although looking as jaunty as ever, was not by any means as happy in his language as he was wont to be, and the Opposition appeared to be more anxious to purge themselves of Farrerism, and place themselves right with the public on the loyalty score, than to assail the Government, although a good deal was naturally said about springing the recent elections so suddenly upon the country without due cause. The address was eventually agreed to, without any amendment having been made thereto. It was well-understood that Tarte, who had been returned to Parliament for the County of Montmorency, would, at an early period of the session, prefer direct charges against Thomas McGreevy, the member for Quebec West, so the Opposition did not feel much disposed to waste its strength on minor matters. It was confidently expected, too, that these charges would seriously affect the Minister of Public Works, and probably ruin him as well as the Government, and give the by-elections to the Opposition. The crisis came, on the 11th of May, when Tarte, seconded by Guay, another French-Canadian member, moved a long series of accusations against McGreevy, the gist of which was that he had used his position as a member of Parliament, and as chairman of the Quebec Harbour Commission, to obtain from the Public Works Department, from 1883 to 1890, information which he used, with the aid of certain Government contractors, for his own advantage, thereby making a considerable amount of money, said to amount to \$200,000. Sir Hector Langevin promptly denied that he had ever communicated information of the character alleged; and McGreevy declared that the charges made against him were false and concocted by a political clique, and that the letters produced and said to be his were forgeries. But the whole matter, nevertheless, was finally referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, and a long and memorable enquiry very speedily commenced, the proceedings of which filled a ponderous Blue Book of 1359 pages. This enquiry developed a most extraordinary and improper state of affairs in the Department of Public Works, largely established the truth of the charges against McGreevy, and plainly demonstrated, beyond all manner of doubt or cavil, that if Sir Hector Langevin were not guiltily aware of the frauds and gross irregularities which had been practised in his department, which appeared to be exceedingly improbable, he had, at least, conducted its business in such a loose, incompetent, and unsatisfactory way as to show his utter unfitness for his position. The latter view of the

case was so clearly established, that he found it necessary to resign his portfolio, and retire altogether from the Cabinet. The result of this and other similar enquiries, during this memorable session, showed the necessity of investigations of this character being conducted in the future by a Royal Commission composed of judges, who would be bound by proper rules of evidence, and thus shut out a mass of irrelevant testimony of no value to the public, and involving much needless expense.

The impending ruin which Sir John A. Macdonald now saw hanging over the head of his first lieutenant of some thirty years' standing startled him greatly, and so affected his nervous system, that rumours of his failing health soon began to circulate. His friends urged him to seek rest and change of air, but he refused to leave Ottawa while the House was in session, and in the face of the dangerous crisis which had arisen. The election campaign had taxed his bodily strength to the utmost, and when he came to fully realise the difficulties that now surely awaited his Cabinet, a condition of mental and physical prostration was produced, which speedily led to symptoms of the most alarming character. On Friday, the 5th of June, while a motion was pending which censured Sir Charles Tupper for interfering in the recent elections, although still holding the office of High Commissioner, and the House resounded with the fierce political strife, which finally ended in the narrow majority of 21 for the Government, the life of the Premier was gradually and quietly drawing to a close at Earncliffe. Shortly after ten o'clock, on the night of the 6th, the career of the most successful statesman of modern times came to a close. When Parliament re-assembled, on the following Monday, eloquent eulogies were generously pronounced by Laurier and others on the great political leader who had passed to his everlasting rest, and the House adjourned for a week. Sir John A. Macdonald had a grand public funeral. His remains lay in state in the Senate Chamber for a night and a day, were gazed upon, for the last time, by many thousands of people, and were finally interred in the family burying ground at Kingston, where old friends and old foes stood at his open grave and bewailed his loss. His death is too recent to permit of anything like a full and fair criticism of his life and character. His friends will naturally praise him as the embodiment of many excellent and even noble personal qualities, of a host of public virtues : his foes will decry him as the possessor of serious personal vices, as a political sinner of the most decided type—the successor of Walpole in many ways.—The truth lies, however in his case, as in the case usually of all Adam's sinful descendents, midway between the two extremes. To form anything like a fair estimate of the public life of Sir John A. Macdonald, it is absolutely necessary that his environments should first be carefully examined, and the difficulties which beset, and still besets, the path of the Canadian statesman fully considered. To govern at all he has constantly to sooth or reconcile political and social elements of the most conflicting and opposite character. He has to deal, in the first place, with the antagonisms of race, and to harness up the volatile and impulsive French-Canadian, so slow to learn the art of self-control and self-government, with the sober and sedate Anglo-Saxon who learned that art ages ago, and loves to live up to it to the letter. He has to mollify undue Orange Protestant pretension, on the one hand, and to soften the hostile drumbeat of its 12th of July : to conciliate, on the other, the

arrogance of Roman Catholic ecclesiasticism, ever untiringly seeking for some special advantage for itself, and the opportunity to elevate its claims to the detriment of every other creed—an ecclesiasticism whose cardinal motto in Canada is *divide et impera*, and which to further its purposes trades its influence in turn with both parties, and readily supports a Mowat at Toronto and an Abbott at Ottawa. Then he has to placate the several provinces of the Dominion, reconcile their rival interests, and buy up their support with “better terms,” or bribe them with grants to railways or other public works when nothing better can be done. He has to administer his government solely for the benefit of his own particular party, always hungering and thirsting after the loaves and fishes, no matter whether that party be Conservative or Reform. At election times he has to set every influence—every artifice—in motion to win the popular vote, and not be too squeamish about profiting by the corrupt courses of his supporters, who mysteriously provide for the creation of a fund to buy up the Reptile loose fish that form the tail end of either party, and whose itching palms are always open for a bribe. That is the normal condition of the whole Canadian electorate as revealed again and again by the election courts, modified occasionally, it is true, by periods of great popular excitement, when the Reptile element is effectually thrust aside for the time being. All the conditions we have briefly limned, formed the political atmosphere in which the deceased Premier lived, and moved, and had his being, and in which if he did much evil he also did much more good. The Statute Book teems with admirable laws of his framing; the Parliamentary Hansard abounds with his clear-cut, well-conceived, and eminently practical and often eloquent speeches. His was the hand that largely accomplished Confederation, and to his courage and tact we owe the consolidation of the Dominion by the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The only wonder is, that considering his adverse surroundings, and the Americanised condition of Canadian political life, he accomplished so much, was able to unite discordant elements so well. He was a born leader of his fellows, and exercised a moral magnetism which drew the ablest men of the Conservative Party, and, in many cases, of the Reform Party as well, to his side. Those who did not join him went down, sooner or later, before him, and he wore out one leader of the Opposition after another. It is true that he was a professional politician, minus personal estate, that he had accordingly to live by his profession, and that place and power were to him as the breath of his nostrils; but he stood, nevertheless, the foremost man in the state while Rideau Hall saw six Governors-General come and depart. They came and went away but he remained, and the reigns of five English Prime Ministers only equalled his long term of office. In his earlier days he was a rollicking blade of the old Canadian period, when whiskey, and horseplay, and occasional fighting prevailed at election and other times of excitement, and John A. was there as well as others; and his “come on boys and have a drink” has been heard many a time at scores of bar-rooms. In 1864, while canvassing the County of Leeds against Albert N. Richards, of Brockville, who had been recently appointed Solicitor General in the John Sandfield Macdonald Cabinet, he and poor D’Arcy McGee, his brilliant and latest convert to the Conservative side, got on a desperate spree, and shock-

ed the sense of propriety of the more sober and staid electors. But he won the election nevertheless ! “ And how did you win it ? ” said a friend to him the second morning afterwards, as he still lay on his back in bed at the Revere House, Brockville, looking somewhat sick and sore, but not sorry. — “ Oh ” said he, jauntily, with a slight dash of profanity, “ Richards bought them all up the first day, and we bought them all back again on the second ; and there,” said he, pointing to his valise, “ I have still got two thousand dollars left which we did not require.”* The result of that corruptly-won election drove the Sandfield Macdonald Cabinet out of power, and put John A. Macdonald’s Cabinet in its place, but with a majority so narrow, that the functions of constitutional government virtually came to a deadlock. Then followed the appeal to George Brown for the use of his joint-authority scheme ; and the new Dominion presently sprang into existence. In his later and better years, after his second marriage, Sir John A. Macdonald, the chronic and not always over-refined joker and *bon vivant* of former days, became the sedate statesman, the wise legislator, the fast friend of continued British connection, the Imperial Privy Councillor, the guest of the Prince of Wales, the guest of the Queen. While he would take money corruptly for the benefit of his party, as shown by his own sworn testimony in the Allan case, and had no compunction to buy himself, in that way, into power, there is not a tittle of evidence to prove that he ever took a cent corruptly for himself personally ; and had not some of his admirers created a fund for his family, the interest of which produced only a few thousand dollars a year, he would have died without leaving any proper provision for his widow. So if he had many faults he had many virtues also. Peace to his ashes ! Canada assuredly will never see his like again ! Let him who is without sin amongst us cast the first stone at his memory.

Parliament re-assembled on the 16th of June, when it was announced that Mr. Abbott had become Premier.† The remainder of the session might be said to be almost wholly occupied by the consideration of scandals, in one public department or another. The McGreevy and Langevin developments stimulated the Reform Party in a sharp search after fresh abuses, and it appeared, for a time, as if the Government would be unable to bear up under the load of odium which presently pressed upon its shoulders. Owen E. Murphy, an

* On this election, which lasted according to law, for two days, the Reform Party spent some seven thousand dollars and lost it, while the Conservative Party spent eight thousand and won it. The bribery was open and unblushing on both sides, and a protest was accordingly out of the question and was never made. The reader will bear in mind that this was in 1864, and that even then bribery and corruption at Canadian elections was already an old story. The truth is, that there has been a great improvement in this direction, that the election courts have done a vast amount of good in purifying the exercise of the franchise, and that the country is getting much better in this respect instead of worse.

† The new Premier was born in 1822, at St. Andrews, Quebec, where his father was the Church of England clergyman. While still a mere youth he applied himself to commercial pursuits, and about 1840 became a clerk in the store of C. & J. McDonald & Co., of Gananoque, who then carried on an extensive business as general merchants, lumbermen and millers. He afterwards turned his attention to law, graduated at McGill College, and commenced the practice of his profession in Montreal in 1847, and speedily won a high reputation in commercial cases. Connecting himself with the Rouge Party, he was elected to Parliament for his native county, Argenteuil, in 1859, and in 1862 became Solicitor-General in the Sandfield Macdonald Cabinet. He afterwards acquired no small notoriety in connection with the Allan Scandals. After being out of public life for several years he again entered Parliament in 1881, and was finally translated to the Senate, and became its leader on the Government side. In 1887 he became a member of the Cabinet without portfolio, and was knighted in 1892.

apt disciple of the Boss Tweed section of the New York Tammany Hall School, who had held public office in that city, possessed himself thievishly of some fifty thousand dollars of the people's money, and fled to new pastures in Canada, now figured as the corrupting medium in the McGreevy scandal revelations. He had been a member of the firm of Larkin, Connolly & Co., great public works' contractors, speedily developed into an expert briber right and left, and showed an intimate acquaintance with "ways that are dark." The McGreevy Brothers, Thomas and Robert, having bitterly quarreled over the plunder, Murphy took sides with Robert, and primed Tarte with the necessary facts and documents for an explosion. He showed himself to be an accomplished Judas, as well as a scoundrel otherwise, and finally to escape due punishment on a conviction at Quebec, for criminal conspiracy, forfeited his bail, and fled back again to his old quarters in New York. There was some talk there of prosecuting him for the fifty thousand dollar theft, but the Tammany Hall public attorney opportunely discovered an extensive legal flaw in his favour, and declared that the facts in the case would not warrant an indictment. So Murphy has been left untouched, and although, in his case, the "rogues fell out," honest people have not by any means yet come to their own, and it would not be at all surprising were he again to blossom into an important New York official of some sort—a city police magistrate, perhaps, with a salary of eight or ten thousand dollars a year.

The enquiries pushed into other departments, aside from that of Public Works, unearthed the grossest abuses. In the Printing Bureau, controlled by the Secretary of State, it was found that its superintendent, a French-Canadian named Senecal, had levied blackmail, in the most impudent manner, on type-founders, paper makers, and others, in the shape of per centages, to the extent of some fourteen thousand dollars. It was ascertained that in the Post Office Department female clerks were permitted to draw wages for services never performed, and that other irregularities prevailed. These revelations led to many dismissals. The Government did a good deal to prevent abuses of this kind in the future, and had a bill passed during the session forbidding the reception, on the part of public officials, of gifts, or rather bribes, from contractors. As a matter of course, its efforts to purify the public departments from corruption and wrong-doing, did not go far enough to satisfy the Opposition, who denounced these proceedings as alike half-hearted and double-dealing, and made grudgingly and of necessity, with the view to cover up other delinquencies which would not at all bear the light of day. And the Conservative Party, from one end of the Dominion to the other, felt sorely humbled, while even the very name of Canada became synonymous with corruption, and grew to be a by-word and a reproach. In England, the public press was lost in amazement at the gross nature of the disclosures. "Here in the Mother Country," said the London *Times* of the 16th September, "there can be only one feeling, that of deep regret for the wrong done to the fair fame of the eldest of our daughter nations, by the lax morality of her politicians. It would be out of place for us to lecture the Canadians, as if they were all responsible for the practices which might be paralleled in our own Parliamentary history, a good deal later than the days even of Sir Robert Walpole. * * * The most alarming feature in

all these stories of corruption is, the close alliance between fraud and party organization. Contractors and companies have to secure the support of influential persons, whether officials or their intimates, by contributing liberally to party funds, and getting needy politicians out of their chronic difficulties." Even the newspaper press of the United States, a country, in modern times, only surpassed by Russia for official speculation and knavery, turned up its nose at afflicted Canada, and joined in the general howl against her. As for the Reform Party, from its leader Laurier downwards, it revelled in an ecstasy of delight over its comparatively angelic purity, and pointed the finger of scorn at the Conservative rottenness and corruption that now arose like a foul plague-spot over the land. But, presently, the tide began to turn, and as it ebbed out to sea left uncovered a still blacker, and, if possible, viler state of things on the Reform side. On the 29th of July, a Bill sent up from the Commons, entitled "An Act respecting the Baie des Chaleurs Railway," was referred by the Senate to its Select Committee on Railways, Telegraphs and Harbours. In connection with this Bill extraordinary developments were presently made, which showed that the grants to the railway had been manipulated by a hanger-on of the Quebec Government, named Pacaud, to the extent of at least one hundred thousand dollars, and that a large part of this sum had been handed over to Mercier, and to other members of his Cabinet, for election and even private purposes. The Baie des Chaleurs Railway was to run from some point on the Intercolonial Railway to New Carlisle, on Paspébiac Bay, and received a total subsidy from the Dominion Parliament of \$620,000, of which \$95,825 still remained unpaid and unearned. On the 6th of August the Senate made an order for a full investigation under oath into the matter of this Bill, and the charges of fraud made in connection therewith by the opposing counsel, and the committee made its final report on the 11th of September.* This report showed that an organised system of blackmail existed in connection with public works in the Province of Quebec, and that members of its government were participants therein. The revelations in this case were followed up by others, and it was shown that Pacaud and his fellow go-betweens had plundered the treasury of the Province, by various devices of the most impudent and shameless character, and had systematically levied contributions upon public contractors, not only for election but also for personal purposes. The worst days of Louis XV. were revived in New France, and a new race of Bigots and Cadets had again plundered the unfortunate *Habitants*.

As the session progressed, attention was pointedly called to the fact that the Intercolonial Railway was still unable to pay its working expenses, and had to be run at a serious loss. It had cost \$57,000,000, and at three per cent. should pay \$1,710,000, but during the preceding year, in addition to the total loss of interest, the working expenses had amounted to \$653,000 more than the receipts. While the earnings of that road had only been 63 cents per mile for the year, the Canadian Pacific had earned \$1.41 per mile. In September, on motion of Mr. Abbott in the Senate, a joint address, of both Houses, to Her Majesty was concurred in, asking that Canada might be relieved from the conditions of the commercial treaties with Belgium (1862)

* For full information on this and other corrupt matters the reader should consult the Blue Books for 1891.

and the German Zollverein (1865) in which she had been included by the Palmerston Government without her knowledge or consent. This matter came up at an early period of the ensuing year in the Imperial House of Commons, which absolutely refused to disturb these treaties on the ground that they were beneficial to England.

When the figures of the recent Canadian census came to be laid before Parliament, they produced a feeling of much disappointment. It had been confidently expected that the population of the Dominion would show a satisfactory increase over the census of 1881, but this expectation proved illusory. It was now stated to be 4,829,411, against 4,324,810 in 1881, showing that the increase was only 504,601, a number not nearly equal to the immigration alone, and leaving no representation for the natural birth additions, estimated to be at least a million souls. The Opposition at once laid this most unsatisfactory state of affairs at the door of the National Policy, and declared anew that it was forcing Canadians to leave their country. In the Maritime Provinces the population might be said to be completely stationary. The population of Quebec now stood at 1,488,586, an increase of 9.53 per cent. The population of Ontario stood at 2,112,989, an increase of 9.65 per cent. Manitoba had now a population of 154,442, an increase of 148.06 per cent., while the population of Alberta was now 67,554, an increase of 164.70 per cent. The per centage of increase, as regarded the whole Dominion, was 11.66, against 17.31 for the decade ending in 1881. This was undoubtedly a poor result for all our railway building and all our public expenditure otherwise, and gave much point to the hostile criticism of the Opposition. As the necessary result of this state of things, the question of annexation to the United States now began to be covertly talked about here and there throughout the Dominion, and even a few public meetings were held to discuss it. But the great majority of the Reform Party, led by Mr. Mowat, and the Conservative Party with a few exceptions, discountenanced the movement, and the feeble annexation cry, which had arisen in a few border localities, very soon became feebler still, and so entered but a little way into the arena of practical Canadian politics. But the hard times continued to grow harder as the year drew towards a close, and real estate of every description shrunk greatly in value, and outside a few highly favoured localities became, especially in the older provinces, almost unsaleable. Despite the fact that the same state of things now affected many districts in the United States, the American press, taking its cue from the more pessimistic Canadian newspapers, triumphantly pointed to their own large per-centage of increase compared with ours, and hastened to pronounce the Dominion a failure. The session was finally brought to a close, on the 30th of September, after an existence of five months. As one result of the McGreevy and other scandals, an additional indemnity of \$500 was granted to each member, and there was a large extra outlay for Blue Books, the production of which heavily taxed the capacity of the Printing Bureau. But the additional expenditure was money put to good account, and cannot fail to result greatly to the advantage of the country, in the prevention of future corruption. The professional politician has been taught the lesson that honesty is the best policy, even if he has no true feeling of *amor patriæ*, and is forgetful of the

fact that he is making history to his own discredit, and that every wrongdoing, however secretly and skilfully it may be covered up, is sure to leak out, sooner or later, and prove its own punishment. But it will do more ! It will put the professional politician on his good behaviour for the future, and prevent him from being as ready, as has been his wont, to manipulate the public exchequer in his own behalf. It will also render the people more watchful of their representatives. And thus good in many ways cannot fail to result from the disgrace and evil which have so recently befallen this country. It is to be hoped, also, that the people, will now open their eyes more fully to the dangerous precipice on which they stand, to the great necessity of purer and better political methods, not only as regards their Parliamentary representatives, but also as regards themselves ; for if they, as the very fountain source of all government, become impure, the stream of public life that flows from them must necessarily be of the same character. "Righteousness exalteth a nation," but rottenness and corruption can only end, sooner or later, in national destruction. It should never be forgotten that national sins bring down national punishments, just as surely now as at any former period of the world's history.

Meanwhile, a breathing space had been given to the sorely wounded, and scandal-smitten Conservative Party, as regarded Dominion affairs, and public attention presently became concentrated on the doings and sayings in the ancient Province of Quebec. Premier Mercier had gone to Europe, in the earlier part of the summer, to procure a public loan of ten million dollars, in order to be in a position to pay the floating debt of the Province, and meet other obligations arising from his extravagant and reckless administration.— During his six years' term of office, the provincial debt had risen from \$22,000,000 to \$35,000,000, the revenue had become wholly unequal to meet the annual expenditure, and the yearly deficit had assumed a chronic form of nearly a million dollars. But English capitalists did not favour giving him a loan, and he crossed to France where, after a good deal of difficulty, he borrowed four million dollars at an unusually high rate of interest for Canadian securities. This sum would not even meet the floating debt of the Province, which amounted to \$6,462,033, and a grave financial difficulty had now to be encountered. But if his success, in the borrowing line, had not been very brilliant, he fully succeeded in covering himself with glory otherwise. The admiration of the astute Jesuit Order for their faithful advocate still continued unabated, gave him a ready passport to high ecclesiastical favour, and its great influence was exercised so effectually at Rome on his behalf, that the Pope created him a count of the Holy Roman Empire, and affectionately blessed him as a true son of mother-church. The same influence followed him wherever he went in France, and surrounded him with such a halo of exalted consideration, that bishops and priests bent down before the great churchman from over the sea, and held special religious services in his honour. And he presently returned to Canada, brilliant with the reflected glories of the Papal Court, and in the full odour of especial sanctity. In imitation of the great nobles of the Mediæval period he was permitted to have a private chapel of his own at his country seat (for he had now both country and city residences) ; and the simple and confiding *Habitants* bent down lowly to the

great man, whenever he made his appearance before their admiring eyes. But not content with ruling the people, he now aspired to rule the Church, and, with the Jesuits still at his back, assumed the right, through his direct recognition at Rome, to coerce the Bishops into giving him their support. Monseigneur Langevin, of Rimouski, reproved one of his cures for taking an active part in favour of a Mercier candidate, was reported to Rome for so doing, and through Jesuit intrigue had been deprived of the active government of his see. Bishop Lafleche, of Three Rivers, also incurred the Count's displeasure for not giving him full support, and was duly reported to the Vatican, whence a special agent was despatched to Canada to enquire into that and other kindred difficulties. Even while still in conflict with several members of the Hierarchy, Papal blessings and honours continued to fall thickly on the almost saintly head of Mercier. He returned from his European tour in July, and was received by a great public demonstration in Montreal; and although rumours now began to float thickly in the air, that there was much underhand wrong-doing in connection with his Government, and that from being very poor he had suddenly become suspiciously rich, and very expensive in his habits as well, his public standing still remained good, while his audacity of demeanour was as superb as at any former period. But, by-and-by, the Baie des Chaleurs Railway enquiry came up in the Senate, and the startling revelations which followed led to an adverse train of circumstances, as regarded the Count, that terminated most disastrously for him. It was presently succeeded by the issue of a commission, by Lieutenant-Governor Angers, to Judge Jette and two others, to enquire into all the circumstances connected with this railway matter. The commissioners did not exactly agree in their report. They all found that the public exchequer had been plundered of a large sum, but Jette considered that Mercier knew nothing of Pacaud's impecunious transactions, while his two confreres were clearly of the opinion, that the Premier and several of his colleagues had a guilty knowledge of their character. The sudden illness of Jette delayed his minority report, but before its reception Angers decided to act on the majority report, and dismissed the Mercier Cabinet, although it had at its back a large support in the Legislature. A new administration was promptly formed, with the same De Boucherville, whom Letellier had at one time so summarily dismissed without due cause, at its head. It advised a dissolution of the Assembly, which accordingly took place on the 22nd of December, and the writs were issued for a new election, to be held on the 8th of the following month of March. The last provincial Parliament had ended on the 30th of December 1890, and there being thus no session within the year prescribed by the British North America Act, there was a good deal of discussion about the Lieutenant-Governor having violated the constitution. But in the face of the extraordinary revelations that had been made, he deemed it the better way to regard the interests of the people as being paramount to all other considerations. He accordingly declined to put the country to the expense of summoning a Parliament to meet, which would be sure to support Mercier, and whose action must, accordingly, lead to fresh and perhaps dangerous embarrassments. His policy, it is true, was equally as unconstitutional as that of Letellier in 1878, but with the difference that he

had much clearer and stronger grounds for the procedure. The sudden dismissal of the Mercier Cabinet caused a profound sensation throughout the Dominion, and led, on the 17th of December, to a long and very coarsely abusive letter from the late Premier to the Lieutenant-Governor, which by no means helped his cause. And the old year went out darkly and gloomily on the eldest Province of the Dominion, and it was very difficult to predicate the final result of the crisis that had arisen.

The hurried manner in which the members of the Mercier Cabinet had to vacate their posts, caused them to leave a number of very compromising documents behind them, which revealed a most astounding system of public plunder, such as no one could ever dream of existing under a constitutional form of government. These were promptly gathered up by the new Cabinet, and led, on the 15th of January, to the issue of a fresh 1892. commission of enquiry. Its proceedings speedily developed the most impudent pilfering of the public exchequer, by one device or another, which had ever been known in modern times in this or indeed any other constitutionally governed country, if we except perhaps the Boss Tweed robberies in New York, and the proceeds of which were traced directly to Mercier and other members of his Cabinet, and to the notorious Pacand, the prime agent in the majority of cases. These exposures and the canvass for the approaching general elections went hand-in-hand, and the excitement became very great. "By race cries," said the *Daily Witness*, of Montreal, "Mercier came into power, and by means of bribes to religious bodies he confirmed himself in power. In order to strengthen his position he sought to clothe and adorn himself with the robes of approval and praise of the Pope and the Roman Catholic Church, thus confirming and increasing the influence of that church over the electors in things political. If the prestige and influence of the Church has suffered as it never suffered before in Quebec, by the swift and sudden downfall of one whom they have praised and honoured and upheld above all others, while all the time he was wallowing in a slime-pit of disgrace and dishonour, it is by Mercier's fault not by his intention." "The injury you have wrought" eloquently said that Nestor of Reform in the Eastern Townships, Robert Sellar, "does not end with the injury you have inflicted on your race and church. You have brought such disgrace upon the Liberal Party that it staggers under the load of shame you have heaped upon it. You have piled debt upon this poor province that is going to levy tribute on the labour of its farmers for years to come; debt incurred in the name of public improvements, but which, in reality, was created that your followers might be enriched. You have sown the seeds of distrust between the two nationalities, and did your best to teach the French to look upon the English as their enemies. You have aroused prejudices and awakened aspirations whose realisation would cause the disruption of the confederation. Worst of all, you have lowered the standard of public morality, created a class who make politics a trade, and regard the public revenues as their means of becoming rich, and so debauched the public conscience that honest government in future is rather hoped for than expected. Not until you got into power did anyone dare to say that this province is unfit for self-government. The fair name of Quebec you have besmeared in the mire of corrup-

tion, and brought disgrace upon a frugal and well-meaning people." At a great meeting of the Club National of Montreal, held on the 12th of the following February, Mercier defined his existing position. He bitterly denounced the great Protestant English papers of Montreal—the *Witness*, the *Star*, the *Gazette*—for waging a fierce guerilla war against him, and declared that the three great Protestant papers of Toronto—the *Globe*, the *Empire*, the *Mail*—were doing the same. "Circumstances have made me," he said, "the standard-bearer of my nationality, and I have still the courage to defend our flag, and the force to make them respect it. The dream of Durham will never be realised ; never will the French race and the French flag disappear from this Province. * * * The people will set aside the judgment of Angers, and on the 8th of March I will return to Montreal in triumph, hailed again by my compatriots and by the friends of my party. I will then drive the tyrant from Speucerwood, and will resume my place in the Legislative Assembly, sustained by a strong majority. Then indeed will I be revenged !" These were brave words, and told so confidently of approaching success, that many persons believed his success to be still possible, and doubted of his overthrow. But as the fatal 8th of March drew near, there were various premonitory signs of the ruin that now surely awaited him. The labours of the commission continually accumulated evidence against him of numerous disreputable acts, and in a manner so clear and so convincing as left no room for cavil or denial. One after another of his former friends and supporters now deserted his standard, and several of them publicly denounced him as wholly unworthy of further confidence. Even his Jesuit friends, finding what a terrible mistake they had made in supporting him for their *own* purposes, and seeing how utterly they had compromised themselves, deserted him also, and silently stole away from his support like rats from a sinking ship. The Bishops secretly rejoiced at the prospective fall of their Jesuitly supported master, and remained, with one or two exceptions, discreetly silent. But several of the Parish priests, of the Gallican school, rejoiced over the discomfiture which had befallen their ancient foes—the disciples of Loyola, and urged their flocks, with good success, to vote against Mercier. So the Papal Count, and the devout son of the Church, was left to battle almost single-handed with his fate. The Jesuits had sowed the wind in taking such a man by the hand, and they were now reaping the whirlwind in the disgrace which he had brought upon them, and for which the \$400,000, they had extracted through him from the sorely burdened Province, were scarcely a sufficient compensation. It was always their role to attempt at more than they could accomplish—to grasp at more than they could hold, and history was merely repeating itself in their case. Owing to this condition of affairs, the clerical hand was very slightly felt in the elections, and the people, left to themselves pretty much, did the right thing at the right time. It was a Waterloo of the worst kind for Mercier. So badly was he beaten, that only fourteen of his friends were returned, and the National Party, recently so strong and so formidable, had been suddenly dashed to the earth. The Bleus, who had been under the political harrow so badly for the preceding six years or so, naturally rejoiced over their victory, although it was in reality a victory for honest public opinion and not for party. It

gave Lieutenant-Governor Angers a direct absolution from the ballot box for his unconstitutional conduct, and the people emphatically declared that, in his case, the end sought to be achieved had justified the means. Such a crisis, or, more properly speaking, unconstitutional revolution, could never have arisen in an English-speaking province; and it is to be hoped that nothing of the kind will ever take place in the Dominion again. The French-Canadian element, always such a thorn in the side of sober constitutional government in this country, has been at the bottom of all the great abuses which have arisen in administrative affairs since the advent of the Dominion. It was a French-Canadian, Sir George E. Cartier, that made the corrupt bargain with Allan; the McGreevy and other kindred enquiries developed the fact, that the grossest abuses prevailed in the public departments at Ottawa, which had French-Canadians at their heads; French-Canadians have never been plundered with more audacity than by their own countrymen, Pacaud and Mercier; and the Riel rebellion, which cost the Dominion millions of dollars, and many valuable lives, was a French-Canadian one. The latest developments in this direction, are the direct charges of corruption, made by Mr. Edgar, in the House of Commons, against a French-Canadian member of the Cabinet, Sir A. P. Carron, and the damaging refusal of the majority to permit of their proper investigation. In these and other kindred facts lie a grave difficulty for the future of the Dominion, which time alone can solve; and the question, whether it is possible for Anglo-Saxon and Gallic communities to grow and prosper together? still remains unanswered, despite the experience of over a hundred and thirty years.

POSTSCRIPT.

In these Volumes the people of Canada are presented with the results of over two years' steady work, in the shape of revision and original composition. The author's chief aim has been to frame his narrative in such a clear, concise, and simple manner, as will enable his readers to make themselves acquainted with the full story of Canadian History, from the first discovery of the country down to the current year, without much weariness of the spirit or the flesh. He designed to add a chapter on the existing commercial and political condition of the Dominion, based on facts which presented themselves strongly to his notice as the second volume of this work gradually grew under his hands, and on much valuable statistical information courteously supplied by the Deputy Minister of Agriculture, but, having already exceeded his allotted space, he is unable to do so. Before he finally lays down his pen, however, he would briefly point out, that the existing depression in Canada, while arising from various causes, is chiefly owing to the extravagance alike of Government and People, and the reckless waste of the general resources of the nation, public and private, on non-productive enterprises and personal luxury. For the past fifty-one years, the people of Canada have expended a vast amount in excess of their legitimate income, had to borrow largely to make good the deficiency, are now paying the penalty of their unwise courses, in the shape of a huge interest account; and the evil

day, in which further borrowing can afford no sensible relief, and will only make matters worse instead of better, has now assuredly settled down upon them. From the Union, in 1840, to Dominion Day, the Imports into Canada exceeded the Exports to the extent of \$174,975,924 ; and from 1867 to June 30th, 1891, we bought more than we sold by \$491,053,774. It will thus be seen, that in the fifty-one years succeeding the Union our Expenditure exceeded our Income by the vast sum of \$666,029,698, and on at least a moiety of which interest still continues to be paid. The deficiency in our resources, caused by the Balance of Trade being almost constantly against us annually, had to be made good by borrowed money, or by the permanent capital brought into the country by settlers and others, which could only be a fraction of the whole amount. While the excess of expenditure over income—of imports over exports—must be fairly charged to the debit account of the people, themselves, the inflation produced by the lavish outlay of borrowed capital, stimulated the Dominion and local Governments, and city and town municipalities, to recklessly plunge deeper and deeper into debt. On the 30th of June, 1891, the public debt of the Dominion amounted to \$237,809,030, much of which has been spent in non-productive enterprises, which produce no return to the tax payer for his annual interest payments. The Provincial Governments, especially in the case of Quebec, have also been wasteful in their expenditure ; and numerous municipalities have followed their evil example. In this way the benefits which arise from the vast natural resources of the country are being neutralised, the springs of its prosperity weakened by premature exhaustion, and a severe adverse artificial pressure on daily existence produced, to escape from which people fly their country in dismay. Unless a new leaf is turned over, and a great change for the better takes place very soon, the Dominion, like all its constitutional predecessors in Canada, will have presently worn itself out by its own friction—by causes originating within itself—and another of these necessary revolutions, which have arisen every few decades in this country, will be forced upon us in order to meet the difficulties of the new crisis which is already appearing above our national horizon. The Constitution of 1791 was no longer workable in 1840, and had to be abandoned. The Union Act ceased to be of value twenty-seven years after it had been passed ; and the Dominion arose as the only cure for complete Deadlock. In twenty-five years more, a state of things has arisen, as regards the Dominion, which apparently indicates that the British North America Act has also nearly performed its mission, and that we are on the eve of another grave crisis which can only be obviated by a fresh revolution. What the character of that revolution may be the author does not undertake to predicate, and, with the clear light that he has thrown upon the past, leaves his readers to work out the problem of the future for themselves. There are, unquestionably, dangerous breakers and a lee shore ahead. It now remains to be seen whether Government and People will rise to the occasion, and safely win the calm sea beyond.

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